

SOME BASIC CONSIDERATIONS IN 25-YEAR DEVELOPMENT

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THE FOUNDATION AND ORIENTATION OF THE STRATEGY OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

I. THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND THE IDEALS OF 1945

The declaration of independence is the climax of the national struggle. But this is not the end of the struggle; the struggle is continued to give content to national independence: by means of development in all fields.

A just and prosperous society has not materialized. The main cause has been deviation from the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila *).

The way-out: Returning to a consistent and authentic implementation of the 1945 Constitution, Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution serve as the foundation and the source, containing the authentic values that give orientation to the development of the State and Nation.

II. THE IDEAL FOUNDATION

1. Pancasila as the Source of all Sources of Law

Pancasila is the source of all sources of law animating the whole system of legislation governing all the aspects of the life of the State. Since the declaration of independence Pancasila has been established as the Philosophy of the State and the supreme source of the life of the State and of national development, and has served as the Philosophy of the Nation.

*) Pancasila or the Five Principles, consisting of Belief in God, Humanity, Nationalism, Democracy and Social Justice.

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Pancasila is very closely linked to the Proclamation, and so it is to the State of the Proclamation and its continuity. As the core of the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution, Pancasila possesses the essence, nature, position and function as *the basic fundamental norm for the State*. The status of Pancasila, therefore, is permanent and tied down to the continuity of the Republic of Indonesia, and it cannot be changed by legislative or constitutional means.

2. Pancasila as the Ideology of the Nation

a. Specifying the Notion of Ideology

Ideology is the totality of systematic and fundamental ideas on the *political life of men as Nation*. Politics is a flexible application of the ideological principle to the affairs of the State.

Politics and ideology cannot be separated from each other, but they are not identical. They should be *differentiated* in meaning by giving each its proper place and function.

The relation between Pancasila and the New Order: the New Order cannot be identified with Pancasila. Pancasila is the fundamental norms to be carried out by the nation and the State; the New Order is the attitude of the Indonesian people in order to apply those norms correctly. Its emergence is a reaction to the deviation of the Old Order.

b. Pancasila — the Nature of Man

Looking into Pancasila means looking into *the nature of man*, because the values contained in Pancasila are not the exclusive possession of the Indonesian people.

The source of those fundamental values belongs to the Indonesian people as *men*. The norms of Pancasila are *inherent* in the existence of man as man, no matter what his concrete modes and conditions are.

Pancasila possesses *fundamental* and *universal* values. The norms of Pancasila are fundamental, because they directly concern the conscience of man as a subject with reason, free will and moral sense. They are universal, because they are not only meant for a group of people or a nation, but for any individual man with a personality.

Looking into man means analyzing him: what is the meaning of man, his existence and the purpose and obligation of his life. But what we face is a man as a subject, not an object.

3. The Man of Pancasila

The existence of man has its own proper mode of being. Man's being is fundamentally and essentially 'in the world'. Man cannot exist without involvement in the world. He lives and acts always in relation to the world.

The term *in the world* cannot be interpreted only locally. Man's being 'in the world' means being consciously present in the world, living in the world, and living in unity with the world.

The world is the structural unity of men. This unity is realized by the fact that man possesses a cooperation element called 'body'. The body is subject to physical laws, but in a special way it forms an integral and essential unity as the animated matter of man as a person. For that reason man is called 'esprit incarné' (the unity of body and soul).

a. Work and Culture

Being in the world means active living. The world is to be humanized in order to make it decent to be lived in. Therefore man has *to work*. Work is the expression of *man's personality*, so work has a fundamental value in the life of man.

To promote a structural unity between himself and the physical world is to create culture. And the world humanized by man is called *culture*.

Keeping in mind that work and culture are the essential activities in existence of man, it would rightly be agreed that man is in the process of a *struggle* towards development, modernization, and realization of his ideals.

Development and modernization will be meaningful, only if man himself, both as an individual and a social being, is the ultimate goal.

b. Man and his Fellow Men

In dealing with the world around, man is aware that his own self is different from the reality outside his own self called the non-ego.

The ego is the *subject*; the non-ego is the *object*. Subject and object are two completely different notions. The subject is to value, appreciate, use and control the object. The subject is *transcendent*. Therefore the subject is to be more valued than the object.

Man is a subject, not an object. Men have equal rights and obligations. Man is to be acknowledged and treated as man. Hence man should be humane.

c. **Man and Society**

The principle of humanity makes us see another fundamental dimension, namely that man is a social being.

Man together with his fellow men forms a society. In establishing society man is forming a nation having a State. This reality has given rise to *nationalism*. National consciousness encourages national development.

Nationalism does not imply isolation from other nations. Nationalism is a relative realization of the principle of humanity, namely in a certain region, a certain nation, and a certain culture and interest.

Out of national consciousness the Indonesian people have established a State with *public welfare* as its ultimate goal, not only in the material but also in the spiritual sense: creating cultured, responsible, honest and just citizens who love one another.

In order to achieve public welfare, the principle of order to be applied is democracy; the State endeavours to create prosperity by listening to the voice of the people. This is guaranteed by political democracy allowing freedom of speech, of the press, etc. Besides, social democracy is necessary to give opportunity to the citizens to make progress in the social, economic, and other fields. Social democracy will not work without a *social sense*.

d. **Man and God**

Man recognizes his 'limitedness'. Man admits the existence of the Reality which is the foundation of all reality, the source of all existence, the goal of all that is, which we call God.

By the principle of Belief in God, man is not only viewed one sidedly (only from the economic or social viewpoint) but integrally.

The State acknowledges the existence of The One Supreme God as a principle of the State; it does not mean that the State is based on a certain religion. Belief in God has a meaning of its own, and it is not identical with religion.

This first principle reveals a form of Theism: it is not a theocratic Theism, but it is a democratic Theism.

4. **Pancasila as Moral Norms**

Pancasila, which is based on the nature of man, contains and reveals principles and norms of how man can properly realize

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his self. Pancasila as moral guiding principles is not norms limiting the freedom of man, but it properly channels man's life and activities.

III. THE STRUCTURAL FOUNDATION

The Meaning of the 1945 Constitution

The Constitution forms part of the written basic law of the State. The basic law of the State covers the whole system of the State structure consisting of rules constituting the State body, and governing its administration. They are partly written and partly are not.

In general, the Constitution does not contain detailed rules on the State affairs, but only fundamental norms to be supplemented by legislation.

At least Constitution should comprise the following provisions:

- a. the form of the State and its organization,
- b. the composition appointment and competence of the government in a broad sense,
- c. the fundamental rights of the citizens and the corporate bodies,
- d. the fundamental norms for the realization and administration of justice,
- e. that the State and the government are to serve the interest of the people.

The 1945 Constitution consists of the Preamble and the body of the Constitution, which contains 16 chapters and 37 articles, with some transitional and supplementary articles. The Preamble is superior in status to the body of the Constitution. The Preamble contains the spiritual principles of the State (Pancasila), the political basis (the sovereignty of the State), and the aim of the State, and it determines the State Constitution. The Preamble, therefore, serves as the fundamental norm of the State. Its basic ideas are framed in the articles of the 1945 Constitution.



THE CONDITIONS FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

I. THE FIRST CONDITION IS STABILIZATION

All plannings and undertakings are based on a framework of decisions. The framework of decisions are determined by intrinsic and extrinsic, rational and irrational factors. The orientation of decisions show the scope of the decisions in which they are made.

In general the scope of a decision reflects the situation of the surroundings. On the basis of considerations in keeping with current values, factors of great importance to decision making are determined.

In the process of modernization, decision making, which used to be mostly based on traditional ties and primordial loyalties, should be directed to more efficient considerations based on integral values.

National stability and national security are most important to economic development. National stability and national security are the first and foremost conditions for the continuity of the decision-making process in the framework of development in Indonesia.

II. OBJECTIVE FACTORS AS THE STARTING POINT FOR DEVELOPMENT

In general the program of national economic development and modernization should be founded on objective realities in society.

1. Natural Resources of Indonesia

The territory of Indonesia is 1.904.345 square kms. It is divided into the Regions of Level I (provincial level), II (district), and III (subdistrict). The climate being without many variations has brought about a very good vegetation in several regions of Indonesia. Often there are two or three harvests a year in these areas. From the mining production, oil is an important source of foreign exchange for the State.

2. The Demography of Indonesia

About 65% of the Indonesian population is to be found in the islands of Java and Madura, and the rest in the outer islands.

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For the period of 1950 — 1969 this percentage was very stable. This proves that transmigration in Indonesia has not been successful in overcoming imbalance in population density. The Indonesian population increases by 2,7% per annum.

3. The Economic Structure

The characteristics of the Indonesian economic structure is that the Indonesian economy is an agricultural economy, in that agriculture plays the most important role in the national economic structure as a whole. The Indonesian economy is an open economy, in that foreign trade also plays an important role in the whole structure of the Indonesian economy.

In consequence, another distinctive mark of the Indonesian economy is its susceptibility to developments taking place in other countries of the world, especially those that are Indonesia's trade-partners, either directly or otherwise. The Indonesian economy is a high-cost economy, which weakens the Indonesian position in the world market.

4. The Indonesian Labour Force

The entire labour force can be split up into two groups, one in the urban areas, and the other in rural areas. According to the Population Census of 1961, the percentage of unemployment in Indonesia was 8.8% in the urban areas and 4.9% in the rural areas. At least 70% of the labour force in Indonesia is employed in the agricultural field.

5. Education

Viewed from the needs for development in Indonesia there are still to be found the following imbalances:

- a. **Horizontal imbalance:** The number of students attending the schools of general education is twice the number of those attending the vocational schools. This applies to all levels of education: university, high-school, and elementary school levels.
- b. **Vertical imbalance:** The ratio of the numbers of elementary schools, high schools, and universities shows that the growth of the high schools lags behind the other two.
- c. **Imbalance in admission:** This involves an imbalance between the number of school-age children, and the number of schools available.

6. Mental Impediments of the Indonesian People

One of the determining factors in development planning is the mental attitude of the people. A research in the mental attitude of the people retarding development is in order.

Three mental characteristics are to be distinguished in Indonesia, namely the peasant mentality, the priyayi*) mentality, and the transitionist mentality. Each type of mentality has its own peculiar attitude to life, work, and in relation to his fellow men and to nature (world).

- **The peasant mentality:** It is marked with a resigned attitude, considering life itself as bad and full of miseries, so that work is limited to the fulfilment of the needs of the day without concern for the future.
- **The priyayi mentality:** It is equal to the peasant mentality but considering that life is bad it is therefore to be denied, so that the physical urge must be overcome by the spiritual urge, and manual work is not worth doing. This attitude gives rise to paternalism.
- **The transitionist mentality:** work is not oriented to quality, but maximum benefits are sought by minimum means.

A socio-cultural order should be established for a developing nation by implanting a sense of respect and appreciation for the material world and technology, orientation to the future to be built with courage of running risks, and with resoluteness in cooperation with others, and with discipline and sense of responsibility. Such a socio-cultural order is of great importance to the rise of enthusiasm for national development by means of mechanization and industrialization based on modern technology.

III. DYNAMIC FACTORS DETERMINING THE STRATEGY OF DEVELOPMENT

1. Development at home

- a. **From the New Order until the General Election of 1971**
Any deviation will in due time call forth an effort to straighten it out to restore the original line pursued. The climax of deviation in the history of the Indonesian

*) Priyayi originally referred only to the hereditary aristocracy which the Dutch pried loose from the kings of the vanquished native states and turned into an appointive salaried civil service. (Clifford Geertz: *The Religion of Java*, p. 6).

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independence was the G-30-S/PKI*) rebellion that epitomized deviations in various facets of life, but especially deviation from Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. This has called forth a reaction aiming at a total correction towards a new direction. Thus the New Order has emerged, which endeavours to make most fundamental changes and to pursue a most fundamental development, namely in the field of concrete values and in the socio-cultural values in a new process of enculturation.

The program of struggle in an attempt to straighten out deviations has been launched in the form of what has been known as the 'Tri Tuntutan Hati Nurani Rakyat' (Tritura: The threefold demand of the People's Conscience) consisting of:

1. dissolution of the PKI
2. dissolution of the Dwikora Cabinet
3. reduction of prices.

Those three demands have shaped the policy to embark upon the new direction towards the realization of the ideals of the 1945 Proclamation. The struggle of the New Order has given birth to the Letter of Command of March 11, which constitutes the first strategic victory, which has been confirmed by constitutional means.

The settlement of conflict between the New Order and the Old Order by legal means has been a proper step. The principle of Constitutional State and of Pancasila Democracy has started to be carried out.

With the Panca Krida program of the Development Cabinet prescribed by the MPRS Decision no. XLI/MPRS/1958**), a new era has emerged in its full form. This has been further reinforced by the nomination of Bearer of the Supersemar***) as President of the Republic of Indonesia.

b. Results of the 1971 General Election.

After the 1971 General Election there has been a re-grouping of the factions in the House of Representatives as follows:

- the ABRI faction****)
- the Unity for Development faction
- the Democracy for Development faction
- the Golkar faction

*) September-30 Movement of the Indonesian Communist Party.

***) MPRS — Provisional People's Consultative Congress,

****) Supersemar: March 11 Letter of Command.

*****) ABRI: the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia.

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Besides the political parties, the ABRI with its dual role plays a strategic role in Indonesia.

In the implementation of development in Indonesia the technocratic group also plays an important role. This should prove that development is not pursued on the basis of any particular ideology.

The young generation should be directed right from their school and university years towards their role in development.

2. Development Abroad

The strategic factors abroad determining development in Indonesia comprise the *economic* and *political* fields.

- a. In the economic field, the Indonesia's partners overseas constitute strategic factors. Besides, Indonesia maintains economic relations with overseas organizations such as the ASEAN, ECAFE, UNCTAD, EEC, IGGI, ILO, GATT, FAO, THE WORLD BANK, and IMF.
- b. Politics is also a strategic factor determining development in Indonesia. At present there is a tendency of the sources of world conflicts shifting to Asia. The efforts of the super power for expanding their influence in Asia can give rise to arm conflicts that would endanger the political, economic, and social development in our country.

IV. THE DYNAMIST TO REACH ACCELERATION IN DEVELOPMENT: THE DUAL ROLE OF THE ABRI

The ABRI was born among the people. For that reason the ABRI does not constitute professional soldiers as national defence and security apparatus but also as a social force. From the beginning the ABRI has performed its dual role.

The ABRI always serves as a custodian of Pancasila against betrayals and deviations, either by the extreme leftists or the extreme rightists.

From the very birth of the New Order the ABRI has been a dominant factor in the national life. The ABRI has served as the stabilizer and dynamist and custodian of the New Order's policies.

Apart from the historical factor, the ABRI's dual role also has legal and constitutional bases which makes it possible to properly develop and further the implementation of the dual role in keeping with Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.



THE STRATEGY OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

I. MODERNIZATION AS A MEANS TO INCREASE THE PEOPLE'S WELFARE

To develop the nation and the country is to give content to national independence. This means increasing the prosperity and welfare of the people, which is ultimately directed to creating happiness for all citizens.

The most appropriate policy for developing countries is *modernization*. Modernization is an unavoidable challenge. The fast progress in the field of communication has changed the constellation of society and that of the world into a more and more dynamic organic unity. The situation of one place at the same time influences that of another.

Since the time dimension of the present has undergone a complete change and we are confronted with the challenge of taking part in controlling "the increasing gap" in the world, we are called to accelerate the process of modernization to be pursued. This acceleration is fitted into the framework of modernization for development.

The right policy of development results from an assessment of some approaches which are considered relevant. *The two approaches that are mutually supporting and complementing are to maintain the security of the Indonesian people, who have achieved independence with great difficulty ('security approach'), and to lead them to a higher standard of living in accordance with the ideals of independence ('prosperity approach').*

1. Problems in Modernization

Considering the fact that Indonesian society is still a traditional one, *modernization constitutes and demands changes and renewal's in the system of traditional values.*

Viewed from the socio-cultural changes, modernization demands an open attitude towards foreign influence and culture, and it requires strong support from progressive leaders who are able to arouse an ethos of progress and enthusiasm for work. All this should be oriented to modern times by abandoning the idealization of the past.

The process of modernization cannot be free from conflicts in that new norms will run counter to old ones. For that reason *the process of modernization needs planning* (planned change). Modernization as 'planned change' must be clear as to the

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direction to be pursued. This requires *clarification concerning the moral of the Pancasila State and the application of the Pancasila principles to every facet of life.*

One of the frames of reference for a modern country is the welfare state of some Western countries. The technological and economic progress of developed countries is to be taken over. *Modernization not only implies problems of using modern technological equipments, but a new system of management.*

Modernization cannot be separated from technology, since basically *technology is the result of thought directed to the harmonization of men with nature in a more efficient way.*

2. Society and Technology

There are various ways of introducing the new technology and its use:

The strategy of imitation: The most modern technology is introduced simultaneously serving as a shock-therapy to change society. Education as its support is to be given in the form of practice and training on the job.

The strategy of adaptation: Maintaining the form of traditional society, people use technology that is simple or already adapted to their level of development. This process is carried on after education in schools or information centres.

The revolutionary strategy: This is implemented in the communist countries, namely, by first changing society through a revolution, after which simple or adapted technology is introduced.

The integral strategy: Introducing directly either modern or adapted technology, so that changes may take place gradually. Education is given both in schools and on the job. For acceleration of modernization the integral strategy is adopted.

II. TARGETS OF 25-YEAR DEVELOPMENT

Development is aimed at achieving the welfare of society and the happiness of its members. *From the aspect of growth, the first direction has been decided to be based on the growth of national production*

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aimed at. This conception has the following formulation as its starting-point:

- a. To increase the Indonesian Gross National Product at least three times.
- b. To increase the Indonesian Gross National Product by 8% at the average annually.

Through this direction a long-term policy extending at least over one generation may be formulated. This is meant to encourage national participation for a long term which will guarantee continued efforts give content to independence in a concrete manner.

The New Order identifies itself with the realization of national development and it is constantly in a process. This process continues and develops through real and concrete fulfilment and realization.

The policy of national development as a means of promoting national resilience is not only based on economic planning and consideration. An integral development not only takes into consideration the socio-economic factors as supplements to economic planning, for in such a system of planning the complex nature of the life dimension of man and society is not as yet fully covered and translated.



CONDITIONS FOR REALIZATION

I. BASES FOR DIRECTION

1. The generative cultural process

National resilience depends on the mentality and ability of the nation. The implantation of national pride and the channelling of a nation's ability is based on *education*. The starting point is the *generative cultural* reasoning, since efforts based on education constitute the *cultural continuity* of a nation, which is adapted to its outlook of life and its political wisdom.

The present struggle of the Indonesian people is a struggle for the realization of a new structure, which really gives new values to the life of society and fulfills the demands of its healthy growth and development. For this purpose all efforts are to be

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fashioned into dynamization and democratization supported by generative cultural process which is future oriented.

2. The formation of identity

The Indonesian man is demanded to realize the essence of his human enculturation, namely the awareness of cultivating harmoniously the elements of nature and those contained in man towards his perfection.

The identity formation is of great importance in serving as the basis and source of power possessed by society in realizing the generative cultural process leading to modernization.

The process of enculturation with other cultures and the demands of modern time require a concerted effort to consolidate national identity, *so as not to lose its sense of direction and the bond of cultural values needed in a healthy development.*

II. CONDITION FOR REALIZATION

1. Educational Field

Development towards a healthy growth is basically to be supported by a generative cultural process, which is the function of education at any time and anywhere. The pattern of an integral education demands proportional synthesis between education as a prerequisite of the development of society in all fields, and *education that essentially aims at man in his totality.*

The development of Indonesian society at its present stage requires *a climate of education with development as its motive.*

a. The educators: Teachers and Student

The task of an educator is to guide man so as to enable him to deal with and solve various problems by himself. Hence *an educator also serves as a catalyst passing on the life values* to his pupils in order that they may live these values. Education is an institution of change, so the educator will only be successful in his task and vocation if simultaneously he can play the role of dynamizer, modernizer, and innovator. In the process of modernization the generative strategic factors play an important role. *The main supporting factor is the students*, because they are the source, distributors, and sower of the seeds of modernization.

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In their participation, the students provide guidance and communicate continued national participation in development.

The function of the University, which is fashioned to provide regional guidance, also gives direction to the students' participation. Its participation is embodied in the activities of regional development in the framework of national development.

Politics in a broad sense should be fostered among the students, since it intensifies the desire for participation.

Politics dedicated to development demands the use of intelligence and knowledge.

To responsibly play their role the students should, as a first step, seek for new ties that would serve as a new moving force for the acceleration of development towards a better future.

b. Education of the Work Force

Education integrated in the programme of development is not only aimed at preparing the work force, but also at arousing the desire to develop among the young generation as communicators for the continuation of the life of the state and the nation.

Work is the expression of man in the process of his enculturation and development, so work and work force are more than just an embodiment and institutionalization of economic needs.

The concept of efficient allocation of the work force as brought out by educational planning from the economic point of view has neglected the conditions and implications of innovative changes in the system of production and the working process. Innovative changes can occur in the process of production itself partly as a result of a multiple increase in the number of skilled workers, and partly as a result of changes in values and outlook of life, motivation, and traditional ties and views of society. Beside producing the necessary work force, this revised concept will also create a climate which can ensure the transitional process of the social structure, which from the economic point of view also constitutes a primordial factor. On that basis, therefore, the most suitable system of education for Indonesia at present is the practical vocational school system preceded by elementary education which is both general and practical.

c. Mental education and vocational training of the State apparatus

The challenge of development and modernization requires an effective and efficient State apparatus. One of the main factors

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to its perfection is the restoration of the basic idea and function of the State apparatus, namely the promotion of its "loyalty to the State".

Mental education and vocational training for the State apparatus are urgently needed to achieve that aim. A civil servant is a servant and at the same time a leader of the people. In an effort to do away with wrong attitudes and abuses, ethical education is needed for the civil servant. By civil servant's ethics not only involves legal provisions, but especially ethical norms.

2. Economic Field

Experience shows that the development process should be accompanied by stability (growth with stability). The stability needed is not only the stability of prices, stability in the economic field, but also stability in the political and social life in general. The main target is to increase the Gross National Product threefold in twenty five years' time.

a. Strategic targets in the economic field

- Raising the per capita income twice in twenty five years' time;
- A balance of payments which undergoes no deficit and renders no profit for official aids, either from foreign countries or international bodies;
- A minimum of open unemployment;
- The growth of national entrepreneurs who are able to run the economy without relying on foreign power;
- An equal distribution of income and welfare;
- In future Indonesia should be able not only to *maintain the level of development achieved so far*, but to continuously and progressively increase it so that the GNP may be increased three times at the end of this period.

b. Acceleration and Modernization

The target of the balance of payment demands a continuous *increase of export* for the coming years. The national economic needs demand the availability of ever-increasing foreign exchange reserves increase. These needs must be met by the inflow of foreign exchange from the increasing export and direct foreign capital investment.

In these coming years the growth of oil and wood production will be profitable, but the economic growth cannot rely only

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on those two commodities. From the point of view of the creation of job opportunities and the social conditions of the people *the export of traditional commodities will remain of great importance* to the Indonesian economy.

The Indonesian economy still lacks capital in comparison with the need of investment for growth. Development is not only meant for increasing production and national income, *but also for an equal distribution of income and wider participation of the people as a whole* in the process of development and in enjoying the results of development.

A policy for directing the pattern of production and the level of technology using greater labour force ('labour intensive') should be adopted. The pattern of such an industrial development may be *at the expense of growth to a certain extent*, but a growth that is not accompanied by a solution of the problem of unemployment and of the people's participation will only endanger development in the future.

Indonesia is a country rich in natural resources, *with an economic structure leaning heavily on agriculture, and an open economic system. The process of development to be carried on should reflect that objective reality.*

3. Political Field

In the political life the aim to be achieved in framing the policy is *a re-ordering of the political life*, including the way of thinking and political mentality, organization of the socio-political forces, the political structure, etc, so that a stable and viable socio-political situation may be attained to support the development of society.

a. Democracy

The development and practice of Pancasila Democracy is to be pursued in *a healthy climate of political development*. The people should be made more aware that their work, function, and profession form an absolute part of the manifestation of having, and belonging to, a State.

b. The People's Participation

To promote the people's participation *autonomy* is to be granted to the regions and a proper financial balance between the Central and regional governments is to be maintained.

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c. The Political Structure

For a renewal of the political structure, a simplification in the system of *political organizations is necessary*, so that in the coming general election of 1976 there may be only 3 emblems.

d. The Floating Mass

It is appropriate to distract the people's attention from political problems and ideological exclusiveness to efforts of national development. For that reason it is necessary to limit *the activities of the political parties* to the district level only.

e. Golkar and Political Renewal

As a modernizing element, *the Golkar itself cannot be separated from the process of political restructuring* in the framework of a total renewal.

4. The Law

a. Development and Enforcement of Law

The Pancasila State aims at protecting the whole of the Indonesian people and their entire native land of Indonesia. The State of Indonesia is based upon law and its government is based upon constitutionalism, not absolutism. This means that the State recognizes the supremacy of the law. The State is neither above nor beyond the law, but it is subordinate to the law.

The State shall guarantee legal security. This means that the sovereignty of the State is subordinate to that of the law, but the law itself is subordinate to the moral ideals embodied in Pancasila.

As a State based upon law, the State of Indonesia shall first of all guarantee the development and enforcement of law, which must mean the development and enforcement of just law, the rule or upholding of justice.

b. Enactment and Codification of National Law

One of the most urgent tasks to be accomplished is enactment and codification of a clear, practical, pragmatic, and all-embracing national law that covers all fields.

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Enactment and codification of national law must be based upon the outlook of life, the legal consciousness and ideals, and the moral ideals of the Indonesian people.

c. **Enforcement of Law and Legal Consciousness of the People.**

Justice is to be upheld not merely by the enactment of a good national law, but it must be accompanied by consistent enforcement of national law.

The main institutions of the State, namely, the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary, need to foster a harmonious cooperation, complementing and supervising one another.

In the development of the law, the judicature plays an important role as chief upholder of law. The free and impartial judicial power serves as a test to the State. Functional coordination between those involved in the administration of justice such as the judge, the public prosecutor, the police, and the barrister, needs to be promoted.

Legal consciousness is to be developed among the people in order that they may not only abide by the law but also have the courage to defend and claim their rights. The legal consciousness of the people constitutes a guarantee for the upholding of justice.

5. **Social Field**

a. **The Town Village Unity**

Both the town and the village can serve as a moving force but at the same time they can hinder national development.

A one-sided policy will only intensify the imbalance between the town and the village as demonstrated, by the increase of urbanization.

In developing the town as a production centre of goods and service, the urban society has started to develop the infrastructure for developing the use of technological equipment and new techniques. This has not occurred in the rural society.

In this context the policy adopted tends to *introduce the new method directly*, since the challenge of a new life and a new living is posed by the challenge and introduction of the new technology and agricultural techniques.

The function of the town as a centre of cultural development justifies the demand that the town should not only serve as a continuing factor only, that is merely continuing a concept already developed by another town or country. The

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town should be the centre of new ideas and inventions, or at least of working them out.

b. Institutions

Institutions are needed for managing the development of society. The type of institutions should be suited to existing conditions and to the purpose to be achieved.

The groupings that arise in a situation needed for modernization can be considered as specializations.

A confused background and orientation unbefitting the situation prevalent in Indonesia, where formality is still preferred to function, have always hindered the proper functioning of democracy.

c. Communication and Mass Media

The mass media play a decisive role in a pluralistic society such as Indonesia where a confusion in the system and structure of society and between traditional norms and primordial loyalties on the one hand, and new institutions on the other is to be found. They can serve to encourage further progress, but at the same time they can intensify hindrances.

This role not only lies in fulfilling the need for equipment of communication infrastructure but for the greater part it lies in the value of information given. Consideration is to be given to the aim of information and the form of its approach. The people's acceptance of it can vary, as is evidently the case with the town and country people, and with the government and the people.

d. Migration and Family Planning

The development of the social order is much influenced by migration and population growth, both quantitatively and qualitatively. A qualitative imbalance can have social implications. So the problem of migration and population growth must form part of national planning. *This will determine the degree of saturation in the capacity of a particular location to absorb manpower, before or after it has reached the maximum absorbing point.*

Transmigration is needed in the intercourse of the national cultures, and it should be functionally carried out.

National welfare can be minimally interpreted as a balance between the number of population and the national production, and an equal opportunity for the people to properly enjoy their rights in all fields of life.

SOME BASIC CONSIDERATIONS

Family planning must absolutely be carried out nationally, so that we can achieve the degree of health and welfare of the family and a population growth that would not exceed the nation's capacity to increase production.

6. Defence and Security

a. National Stability and Security

National stability and security are necessary for the success of development. Those two factors are determined by intrinsic conditions lasting for years, such as 'cultural-lag', which renders an artificial form of stability and security, as well as by external conditions in the form of *infiltration and subversion* aided and controlled by an outside power.

b. Shifts in the Balance of International Politics in Asia.

The fact that Indonesia as a maritime country is situated on serious a strategic international cross-road should draw *its attention to the value of its seas.*

It is necessary for Indonesia to pay attention to the region of South-East Asia, which becomes an arena of interpower politics between the big powers such as the United States, Japan, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. It is appropriate, therefore, for all South-East Asian countries from time to time to change and adjust their attitude and policy on various problems to the shifts and changes in the balance of international politics for the sake of their respective national interests. Latest developments show that small and developing countries *can never rely on the power of other countries.*

c. National and Regional Resilience

Experience shows that the South-East Asian countries have to bear responsibility for their own national stability and security, independence, sovereignty and integrity. *The doctrine of national resilience should be developed to prevent any possible threat to the national security of the countries concerned.*

In order to help one another, the countries concerned have to cooperate in the fields of common interest, especially in the framework of *regional cooperation*. The ASEAN cooperation will play an important role, and this cooperation should be fostered, so that *regional resilience* could really be attained.

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Foreign military bases and military pacts can precisely pose a threat to national stability and security, since any internal upheaval will likely invite intervention.

7. Cultural Field

a. Towards a National Culture

The pattern of the Indonesian culture is unique. The cultivation of culture should be carried out simultaneously in two ways:

- a. association of cultures to promote awareness of having 'Bhineka Tunggal Ika' (Unity in Diversity) and,
- b. this developing culture is associated with foreign cultures.

Oneness to other cultures is a condition for the advancement of the process of acculturation. An isolationist attitude would prevent development and would lead to involution of culture.

b. The Cultivation of Culture

In order to acquire *the most suitable model* for the future development of Indonesia, culture should be cultivated in support of that process. The Anthropologists should contribute their ideas to this problem. It is of great importance to deepen our knowledge of culture *to enable us to formulate and determine the order of life needed for the process of modernization*. Thus the development of culture is above all the cultivation of culture.

c. The Culture of the Southeast and Regional Resilience

The idea on the meaning of cultural development for national development must also be conceived in the framework of regional development.

At first Indonesia and her neighbouring countries formed one cultural region. But colonialization has resulted in formal relations between a number of States in the region. The role of culture in regional cooperation is now more realized in that as a common denominator it can promote sound cooperation, thereby preventing the Balkanization of Asia.

Apart from being heritage of the same history and culture, this common denominator stems from the fact that the peoples that live under the same physical and geographical

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conditions lead a cultural life based on the land and the sea. It is through the sea that the culture of this region has developed in the past.

It may be said that the region of the Southeast constitutes a support of the culture of the Southeast. This may be seen in the forms of culture that now still prevail such as the theatre, the shadowplay, and the kinship system. The elements of the culture of the Southeast, which comprises the so-called Malay cultures and the Oceanian culture, would need to be developed together.
