

*Basic Information*  
ON  
INDONESIA

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION  
REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

# Basic Information

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The Ministry of Information.

## THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND OF OUR INDEPENDENT POLICY. PREFACE.

*This booklet contains a collection of articles which have previously been published in "Indonesian Affairs" or in other publications of the Ministry of Information. Only the article "Economic Problems in Indonesia and Our Way Out" is taken from the magazine "India Quarterly".*

*The articles in this booklet all contain "basic information" on the main issues now being confronted by the Republic in various fields.*

*With the publication of this booklet we intend to supply basic material to our readers, especially foreign readers, who want to make a more intensive study of the situation in Indonesia in various fields.*

### *The Ministry of Information.*

*This picture shows that Asia is not completely free from Western control. A deeper analysis of the situation will lead us to the consciousness that, at bottom, the present problems that whirl all over Asia are caused certainly not to an unimportant extent by a conflict of interests which are in fact non-Asian. How is it possible that the Korean people are divided into two parts which are in a seemingly irreconcilable armed conflict, if both parts claim a united, independent and sovereign Korea? Because the way to be followed to that mutual goal has become a problem that is no more purely a question between Koreans*



## THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND OF OUR INDEPENDENT POLICY.

If there is one phenomenon which puts its seal upon the face of post-war Asia, it is certainly the victory of nationalism in Asia over Western colonialism. Where formerly we found an area named British India, there have now emerged independent, sovereign, national states, i.e. Pakistan, India and Burma. Chiang Kai Shek's Republic of China has fallen and Mao's People's Republic of China stands in its place, where Western control has been wiped out completely. The United States of America has released the Philippines from its political control and the Republic of the Philippines has been established. The Netherlands East Indies has reached the end of its history (except in West Irian) and in its place has come the Republic of Indonesia, an independent and sovereign power over a vast group of islands which had been under Dutch control for more than 350 years.

But this victory of nationalism in Asia over Western colonialism is incomplete, since Malaya, British North Borneo, Portuguese Timor and West Irian are still areas in Asia under control of Western powers. A scuffle between the ideals of national independence and the itch of colonialism continues violently in Vietnam. Divided Korea is still the scene of a civil war from which intermingling Western hands have not yet been withdrawn. Japan is up till now an Asian area occupied by allied Western powers.

This picture shows that Asia is not completely free from Western control. A deeper analysis of the situation will lead us to the consciousness that, at bottom, the present problems that whirl all over Asia are caused certainly not to an unimportant extent by a conflict of interests which are in fact non-Asian. How is it possible that the Korean people are divided into two parts which are in a seemingly irreconcilable armed conflict, if both parts claim a united, independent and sovereign Korea? Because the way to be followed to that mutual goal has become a problem that is no more purely a question between Koreans



themselves, but is connected with political and strategic interests of powers outside the Korean people, powers which, in the final analysis, are non-Asian. Vietnamese under Bao Dai and those led by Ho Chi Minh are posted in conflicting positions that have led them into a war between brothers of the same blood, of which the end is still not in sight. Why and for what? It is certainly not because the two groups are in disagreement over the final aim of an independent, united, sovereign Vietnam, but again because non-Vietnamese interests have been interwoven with those of the Vietnamese themselves. It is not dissimilar in essence with the case of the conflict between Mao's and Chiang's Chinese. Difficulties with the Hukbalahaps in the Philippines are also to be catalogued into that kind of "conflict between brothers arising from extra-family causes", though of lesser proportions.

That in this twentieth century is the tragedy of Asia existing side by side with the victorious end of the struggle of nationalism in Asia against Western colonialism. When we are in search of the roots of the present unpleasant situation in Asia, our analytical way of thinking will lead us to the reality that the centuries-old Western colonialism indeed paved the way for Western cultural influences to pervade all facets of the life of certain strata of the peoples concerned. The privileged social-economic position of people in these strata made it possible for them to live close to or within the sphere of the spiritual and material life of Western people, while the people of other strata were, socially and economically, not in the position to enjoy those things. The latter group formed the biggest layer within every colonized people. They lived in circles distant to those of the first strata of people. Consequently, colonized societies in Asia always had such a stratified structure that in a spiritual sense one group of people lived close to and another one distant from the colonizing Westerners.

These two groups had each their own way of life and their own way of thinking. These two different worlds of thinking were sources of misunderstanding, or even sometimes of conflict of opinion, that caused tension between these two groups of people when problems concerning the fate of the country were to be dealt with. There were many intellectuals who, having acquired Western knowledge, came back and lived among the masses in order to understand the people's "cri de coeur" and

to give them the guidance they needed. But there were intellectuals who remained distant from their own people and for whom the whispering voices emanating from the greatest depths of the simple souls of their people remained to be a cry in the desert.

In pre-war Asia, nationalism, the desire and the claim for national independence, had already become a common spiritual possession of the whole nation of every country but as a consequence of the psychological situation depicted above, we saw and see a difference of opinion in some Asian countries as to the way by which to reach the national aim. One group preferred the way of cooperation and evolution, the other chose the non-cooperative and revolutionary way. If this alone were already able to cause a split in the national strength, the situation became worse where the colonizing authority had too hard a head to understand, or lacked the wisdom and the skill to make an approach to the national aspirations. The danger of a national split became a reality where the colonizing power managed to place the cooperative group in the position of an antipode to the non-cooperative one.

Indonesia had always to face this danger of a national split too in the course of its efforts to defend the sovereignty of the Republic proclaimed in 1945, when there arose a group of people calling themselves Federalists who, in close cooperation with the Dutch, opposed the Republic of Indonesia which then had its centre in Jogjakarta. But, thanks to God, this temporary split was neutralized and the Indonesian people have been reunited since August 15, 1950, in the unitary Republic of Indonesia. A less fortunate situation is however to be seen in Vietnam. The national split has deepened into an armed conflict and the national goal seems to be still far away for both the conflicting groups. Taking advantage of this tragic situation, the French attitude is hardening. Pushed back into a corner, Ho and his adherents were compelled to seek cooperation with the Soviet Bloc. The Democratic People's Republic of Vietnam is recognized, not by the Western democratic countries, but by the Soviet Bloc. This is nothing but a natural course of development. From what other source could Ho and his people expect support for their struggle, if the Western democratic world is ill-disposed to them? This development becomes more complicated, since it reaches the level of a conflict between international interests. The Hukbalahaps



troubles in the Philippines might follow the same development if not wisely settled.

Another source of the present problems in Asia with tragic consequences for all the world has sometimes been a pure accident of history. Two Korean leaders, Kim Il Sung and Syngman Rhee, did not, unfortunately enough for the Koreans, follow the same direction in their escape from the Japanese, when these came in to occupy Korea in 1905.

Kim Il Sung fled first to Manchuria and, when the Japanese invaded this area in the Sino-Japanese war, went to Moscow. Haunted by the same danger, Syngman Rhee fled to Shanghai, Chungking, and at last went to Washington. And, when Russian troops were to occupy North Korea after the end of the second world war, Kim Il Sung was brought back to the Koreans as their leader. Just so the American troops of the occupation did for South Korea with Syngman Rhee.

Also because of this accident of history Korea cannot be united and the Korean split has developed into the present Korean war, which has grown to a worldwide conflict of non-Asian interests. Indonesia may consider itself happy that its two leaders, Soekarno and Hatta, did not have to undergo a similar fate. They have always remained in close contact throughout the decades of our struggle and have become now the symbol of Indonesian unity. It is to be hoped that Indonesians may learn a lesson from what other nations in the surrounding countries have experienced. And with this as the background, the Indonesian people with their President and Vice President, Soekarno and Hatta, hope that the Indian and Pakistan nations can solve the Kashmir problem in an atmosphere of brotherhood and peace, for the sake of peace in Asia and of world peace in general.

One important fact in the transition period from an old way of living to a new one is that a new outlook upon life is adopted on which to base the new way of living, so that it may serve as a hold. In terms of social psychology the communities in Asia which have been colonized for centuries, have more or less become communities tied to (colonial) traditions, in the sense that during the age-old domination by foreign powers, traditional concepts and norms have gradually developed in the way of thinking of the members of those communities, from which people cannot easily free themselves; simply because certain inner values are

required for a society to perform its functions and people are accustomed to living according to the concepts and norms which have grown in the course of time.

Now, the foundations of traditional ways of thinking in colonized communities began to stagger as soon as there began to develop a national consciousness among the colonized nations in Asia — in Indonesia that is since 1908. People were seeking new bases for their outlook upon life, which were more in conformity with the rising national consciousness. The old traditional ties grew looser, old moral values were cast off, and new ways of living and thinking were sought, upon which the people could build a national life of their own.

To mention an example, the opinion current during the colonial period, that every facet of Western culture was superior in value to Eastern culture, has grown steadily weaker since the awakening of national consciousness.

People are beginning to appreciate their own national culture and Asian culture in general, without depreciating the good points of Western culture. Where possible people seek to arrive at a harmonious synthesis between East and West. The so-called "thought of association" disseminated by the Western world, alleging that nothing could be achieved by the East without the help of the West, is losing strength more and more in the way of thinking of the Asian nations, as people are beginning to rely on their own strength. They are developing their strength without losing sight of the interdependence of the nations all over the world. This confidence of Asian peoples in their national strength was first awakened by the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904—05, which was considered a victory of the East over the West by the Asian nations. This victory opened the eyes of the Asians to the fact that Asia too can develop to such a strength that it may become a match for the West. The inferiority complexes which imbued the inner life of Asian nations gradually began to shrink to make room for national self-respect. People were beginning to realize the significance of their own ancient culture.

These are merely some examples of the enormous train of changes in the way of thinking in Asia, which commenced at the beginning of the twentieth century. Everywhere in Asia one notices the strong desire to live an independent national life based on a concept which accords with the specific national characters



of the various nations. One wishes to live one's own life. One wishes to develop one's own personality amongst other nations in this world. Just as a young man newly grown-up feels that he can only be of some importance in the great community of men if he is able to find his own way, if he can make himself respected by the strength of his own personality, so do the peoples of Asia generally feel.

A people cannot become a worthy element in the international balance of powers, nor can it become a contributor of full value towards the general endeavours of mankind to attain a better world, if it does not possess its own personality.

A child cannot develop the consciousness of responsibility that is required for all of its actions if it is kept on the apron strings by grown-up people. A task completed under tutelage will not give a child such a degree of satisfaction as will a task done by the child itself. As a child, so a nation. So do Asian peoples think in general, and so does the Indonesian people to an even much greater extent. Indonesia wants to be master of itself.

This radical transformation of all values is not only a spiritual process that is typical of the twentieth century, i.e. the general awakening of national consciousness in Asia. It is also a process that has developed naturally out of events themselves.

The centuries-long Dutch colonialism in Indonesia with its racial discrimination in political, social and economic fields, so unfair to the national feeling of justice, had aroused by itself forces reacting against the existing colonial order. A general spirit of resistance was perceptible. In addition historical events outside Indonesia undeniably played the role of a stimulant to the growth of the spirit of resistance against the colonial order which was about to destroy the whole personality of the Indonesian people. Such historical events for instance include the Japanese victory over Russia in 1905 mentioned before, the Young Turkish Revolution of 1908, the Chinese Revolution against the Manchu Dynasty in 1911, World War I, 1914—18, and the Russian Revolution against the Tsarist regime in 1917.

With that spirit of resistance throughout the country there grew the national spirit, which found expression in the rise of numerous organisations of the nationalist movement. These had the ultimate aim of raising the Indonesian people to the place of an independent nation. This is not the place to consider all those organisations of the nationalist movement one by one. Enough for the

purpose of this article to mention that in spite of all restrictive measures by the colonial rulers against the growth of the national spirit, in spite of the fact that many leaders had been put in jail or else had been exiled to Boven Digul (in West Irian) or to lonely islands, the colonial government never succeeded in breaking the vital force of this national spirit. On the contrary, this national spirit ripened into a general national will, only waiting for the time and opportunity to take fate into its own hands and thus become the national deed.

The already unstable colonial power in Indonesia at last received its death-blow on March 9, 1942, when the Dutch East Indies had to surrender unconditionally to the Japanese army after a negligible resistance lasting three months. During the rest of World War II, the Indonesian people had again to groan under a foreign regime, that of the Japanese army of occupation. Also this hard period of about three and a half years, however, was not able to break the general desire of the people for an independent national existence. Our leaders knew how to make use in all possible ways of the psychological state of the Japanese who then were yearning to gain and to maintain the sympathy of the Indonesian people for the sake of their war efforts. Thus it was possible for our young people to get the chance of training themselves in the use of arms, for Indonesians to have ample opportunity to practise administration of the State more independently, for the Indonesian language to develop so rapidly, for our leaders to have the time to keep up the national spirit. All this was possible notwithstanding the severe control exercised by the Japanese occupation authority on all national activities, and notwithstanding the sufferings and miseries Indonesians had to undergo during the occupation.

These so-called "legal activities" of a part of our leaders, in splendid cooperation with the underground activities of another group of our leaders during the occupation period, were a good preparation for our national deed that had still to come then. And, at last, the atomic bomb which fell on Hiroshima dealing a blow to the centre of the Japanese war potential, was at the same time a knock-out to the foreign domination that had oppressed the Indonesian people for the second time in history.

It was on August 15, 1945, that Japan unconditionally surrendered to the Allies. Thereafter came a very unstable psychological situation in Indonesia. The Japanese army although still



as good as intact, was in a down-hearted state of mind. The Indonesian people, particularly the youth, were full of self-confidence thanks to the hard and severe self-training during the occupation.

There was a general aversion from and fear of the return of the Dutch colonial government to Indonesia with the help of the allied forces. It was feared that the Indonesian people would, just like a common item of stock, be handed over to the Dutch again. All this created a revolutionary atmosphere of such an unstable nature that the time was regarded as ripe for our national will to take our country's fate in its own hands once and for all, and to perform at last the national deed, so long anticipated.

On August 17, 1945, the Indonesian people proclaimed the independence of Indonesia through the mouth of the two prominent leaders, Soekarno and Hatta. Therewith the sign was given to break forever the traditional colonial ties with the Netherlands.

In such a transition period from a society bound by colonial tradition to one based on a new structure, there could have arisen a mass-psychological situation, in which an amorphous atomized and unbound mass, longing for an inner hold, would be receptive to all kinds of influences. These influences could have come from anywhere, and might have been advantageous or disadvantageous to the further development of our society. This could have happened if our leaders had not acted wisely.

Fortunately our leaders understood the dangerous situation. Some time before the Japanese collapsed an inner mainstay was given to our people when Dr. Soekarno, our present President, enunciated a statement of principles on July 1, 1945, in the second session of the Preparatory Committee for Independence, a body set up during the Japanese occupation. Upon that statement of principles — later on to become known among Indonesians as the Pantjasila — our Republic of Indonesia would be based.

The Pantjasila are democratic principles, an ideology of law. When Dr. Soekarno was enunciating them, he spoke of a "psychological foundation of free Indonesia, a philosophy with deep thoughts and spirit and thorough desires on which to erect the building of free Indonesia, stable and eternal".

After Dr. Soekarno had explained in detail what the Pantjasila contained — Belief in God, Humanism, Nationalism, Sovereignty of the People and Social Justice — he made the following appeal to the people. "Therefore if the Indonesian people want the

Pantjasila I have proposed to become a reality, that is if we want to live as a nation, a free nationality, a free member of the world, to live with humanism on a democratic basis in a society with social justice in peace and security, then we must not forget one condition to make this true: We must struggle, struggle and struggle again. Don't think that with the creation of free Indonesia our struggle comes to an end. No, I tell you, in free Indonesia our struggle must be carried on, only in another form. We shall fight on together as one united people to achieve what we have laid down in the Pantjasila...".

And indeed, the Pantjasila has always been the guiding spirit in our struggle for independence since August 17, 1945. It gave us enthusiasm in our four years' struggle against the Dutch for sovereignty over Indonesia.

This Pantjasila gave real content to our national consciousness, affording us a new inner hold, so necessary in a revolutionary process of social transition. In the Pantjasila we can find the binding power for the great diversity of groups in our national community. In that way disunion could be prevented in the turbulent days of the revolution.

When, in the midst of the struggle against the Dutch, and under the undeniable influence of the ideological controversy between the Soviet and American blocs, certain forces arose trying to push our country in the direction of the Soviet bloc our Government, mindful of the Pantjasila, gave the following statement on September 2, 1948: "The Government is of the opinion that we must not become an object in the international political clash. We must remain an entity with the right to decide our own attitude, to achieve our own aim: a fully independent Indonesia".

Behind this statement stood the majority of the Indonesian people. Guided by this thought, the Government in cooperation with the people was able to crush the Communist revolt led by Muso in Madiun from September 19 till November 23, 1948, and afterwards to bring back those who had been deceived to the principles of the Pantjasila. Thus a further discord among our nation could be prevented. Otherwise there would have been a terrible national tragedy.

Having learned from our own bitter past, and from the bitter experiences of other nations in our immediate neighbourhood, we have continued our self-chosen independent policy up to the present time. Even now, when with our independence officially recog-



A philosophical foundation like the Pantjasila, a guiding principle for Indonesian political life which has such an appeal to a nation of seventy-five million people, could not possibly be merely the result of a brainwave in a sleepless night of one man named Soekarno. It must be a conception of life, having slowly grown out of the inner life of a people which struggled for centuries against colonial oppression to regain an independent national existence in order to be able to live as a worthy member of the world community of nations.

But in doing this the Indonesian people want to follow a way which accords with the Pantjasila. Indonesia is a new nation in the sense that it has just regained its independence. As a new nation it will devote itself undisturbed to the development of its personality as a nation, and to the building up of its country which has suffered so much and so long. With that it will give essence to its regained freedom without losing sight of the necessity for cooperation between nations.

The Indonesian people will approach with open heart and open eyes any other nation that wants to live in friendship with it and can appreciate and respect another's conviction. Without fear and with open heart and open eyes we watch all ideologies that

In this historical and philosophical background we have tried to facilitate comprehension and understanding of the Indonesian policy of independence. As can be seen from this article, our independent policy has its roots in the conception of life that has slowly grown out of it. It is no opportunistic attitude, but has sprung out of a certain attitude of life of the Indonesian people. We are pursuing our own national ideals.

It is not our intention to convince others of the rightness of the way the Indonesian people are following today. With Prof. C. A. Mennicke we say: "Understanding does not yet mean conviction. For one's conception of life has its roots in the depths that cannot be fathomed by a man's intellect. That is why conviction is a rather rare phenomenon. And for the same reason it is still more infrequent that somebody changes his mind. Because, he who can know what his mind really is, will gladly give his life for it".



## INDONESIA'S STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES.

By George Mc. T. Kahin.

*The following article appeared in the September 26, 1951, issue of Far Eastern Survey. It is written by Mr. George Mc. T. Kahin, who is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Government at Cornell University, U.S.A., and Executive Director of the University's Southeast Asia Programme in the Department of Far Eastern Studies. Mr. Kahin spent several months of study in Indonesia in 1948-49, and has since closely followed events in Indonesia from abroad.*

*Believing that the observations of informed foreign students can contribute considerably to a better understanding abroad of Indonesian conditions, we are pleased to be able to reprint the article below. It appeared in Far Eastern Survey under the subheading of: "In attempting to follow democratic channels the new Republic needs trained, responsible leadership and greater mass political participation".*

Thus far, in Indonesia, in contrast to several other newly-independent Asian states, the attainment of political independence has not been followed by increasing political disintegration. The initial confusion which occurred shortly after the transfer of sovereignty was generated principally by short-term factors, most of which have been wholly or largely eliminated. But the internal political cohesion induced by the struggle for independence has not been seriously weakened by conflicting social and economic aims of indigenous political groups. Indeed, in few if any states of southeast or south Asia does there appear to be so widely based agreement on national aims.

With only slight variations the leaders of all significant political groups in Indonesia, except the Communists, are dedicated, for the immediate future, to the development of roughly the same kind of social and economic pattern, namely, a mixed economy — cooperative-socialist-capitalist — with primary emphasis on the cooperative sphere and secondary emphasis on the socialist.

There is somewhat more difference regarding long-term aims, especially as to how much emphasis should be put on increasing the socialist at the expense of the capitalist sector. But the goals envisaged by the leading parties for the next decade or two are remarkably close.

This results in large measure from the fact that in Indonesia, in contrast to most other south and southeast Asian countries, few if any political leaders have a vested interest in the existing social and economic status quo. Not only is concentration of land ownership relatively slight, but few Indonesians with political influence have an important stake in the present system of agrarian relationships <sup>1)</sup>. Likewise only a handful of politically influential Indonesians have any vested interest in the sphere of capitalist economy, which has been almost exclusively in the hands of Europeans and Chinese. This situation goes far to account for the strong and widespread belief among Indonesian leaders that the Indonesian people, possessing virtually no capitalists or private capital of their own, can be protected against exploitation only by a government which intervenes widely in economic life on their behalf, a government which is basically socialistic.

In a positive sense this homogeneity of outlook stems from the very considerable similarity of ideological or religious convictions concerning social justice among the leaders of the most important non-Communist political groups. This similarity of outlook and of short term goals is found among the Religious Socialists and other progressive elements in the principal Islamic and Christian parties, as well as among the several variants of Revisionist Socialists in groups such as the Indonesian Socialist Party and the Partai Nasional Indonesia, and it constitutes a major source of political health and strength.

### Strength of Democratic Ideas.

In addition, among the leaders of this large non-Communist majority there is, with the possible exception of one moderately strong party on the right, a general dedication to democratic ideas and practices which roughly approximate those dominate in the Western democracies. How long this will continue to be true is the crucial question. Probably the answer depends chiefly upon whether the now dominant social-economic phase of the Indone-

<sup>1)</sup> The most acute agrarian problem in Indonesia is that of credit.



sian revolution can be contained within democratic, non-totalitarian channels. The will to achieve this is strong among the great majority of politically conscious Indonesians.

As they realize only too well, however, there are many conditions which will make the democratic path extremely difficult, and may make it impossible. The poverty and economic backwardness of their country is for many Indonesians a compelling argument for giving priority to their social-economic as against their social-political goals. They are determined to try, and many of them to try very hard, to reach their social-economic goals via the road of democratic government. But should this course yield too limited a result a good many are likely to conclude that they have no recourse but to pursue their main goal by means of some form of authoritarian or perhaps even totalitarian political organization.

The principal long-term problem germane to this question is that of capital. The social reconstruction to which the Indonesian leaders are committed requires an immense amount of capital in relation to Indonesia's national income. Moreover, priority must be given to expenditures for reconstruction of the damage wrought by three and a half years of Japanese occupation and four years of subsequent warfare. Such expenditure, heavy though it is, can do little more than restore the economic base of the prewar colonial economy. It cannot fulfil the widespread expectation among the Indonesian people (who now number approximately 80 million as compared to 70 million before the war) that political independence would mean an automatic rise in their level of living.

Thus far the Indonesian government has been able to marshal sufficient funds both to undertake the reconstruction of existing damage and to proceed, some distance at least, with the broad program of social-economic engineering to which it is committed. The heavy world demand for Indonesia's chief exports and the credits advanced primarily by the United States and secondarily by the Netherlands have made this possible without the necessity of placing any substantial burden on the Indonesian people.

But either or both of these conditions might quickly end. In that event, in order to continue with its vital program of expanding the means of production, developing a balanced economic structure, and general social and economic reconstruction<sup>2)</sup>, the government would be forced to rely upon a program of domestic

<sup>2)</sup> This assumes that repair of damage to the old economic structure will soon be mostly completed.

capital accumulation under extremely difficult conditions. This would mean forcing the population to cut its level of consumption significantly below the present low standard, with which many elements are acutely dissatisfied. This would require an exceptionally strong government, and it is by no means clear that such strength could be developed without resorting to highly authoritarian and possibly totalitarian techniques.

### Critical Shortage of Personnel.

There are other important factors that will help determine the speed with which Indonesia moves toward its social and economic goals, and will, therefore, influence the prospects for democracy or authoritarianism.

The problem of securing adequate administrative and technical personnel may be crucial. Even with the moderate intervention in economic life now undertaken by the government, the number of adequately trained personnel is grossly insufficient. It is not even enough to staff the non-economic areas of government. This shortage is due primarily to the meager educational facilities provided by the Dutch during the colonial period, and secondarily to their reluctance to take many Indonesians into the upper and upper-middle ranks of the civil service, thus depriving them of experience which would be invaluable today.

From the standpoint of cold logic it is perhaps unreasonable for the Indonesian government not to retain a large number of the undoubtedly competent Dutch and Eurasian administrative officers and technicians who served the colonial regime. But the emotional content of the still pulsing Indonesian nationalism is too strong to permit this. What chances there were for such a solution were largely destroyed by the Westerling incident.

It should also be noted that Indonesia is perhaps unique among the newly emancipated south and southeast Asian nations in that its Eurasian population — who filled very competently most of the middle administrative positions in the colonial government — unequivocally declared for the colonial master and with only a few exceptions fought the movement for independence. Thus in Indonesia today Eurasians are not generally welcome in the many administrative and technical positions which they are often better trained to fill than Indonesians.

The Hague Agreement provided that for two years after the transfer of sovereignty Dutch and Eurasian civil servants of the



Netherlands Indies regime would be retained and paid by the Indonesian government. For the most part they have merely drawn their salaries. Some, irked by being under Indonesian authority, have petulantly refused to do good work. This, plus the general nationalist-nurtured anti-Dutch feeling, the Westerling incident, and the New Guinea issue, has spoiled the chances of most of those who have sincerely desired to pitch in and help the new state to the best of their ability. With the ending of the two-year period at the close of 1951 it is generally expected that most Dutch civil servants, and many Eurasians as well, will leave for the Netherlands.

An obvious solution to the problem of personnel shortage would seem to be the wide recruitment of skilled persons abroad to fill government positions and to teach their skills in Indonesian schools. However, Indonesia's international orientation has thus far made the government reluctant to go far in this direction. The importance, particularly in respect to domestic politics, of maintaining a foreign policy independent of the two power blocs has made the government extremely cautious.

Most of the available supply of such personnel is in the American—Western European bloc and the importation of large numbers would give rise to charges that the government was subservient to that bloc. The high salaries and living conditions necessary to attract such personnel are for the Indonesian rank and file all too reminiscent of the old colonial pattern. It is felt that their large-scale importation would provide material for Communist propaganda to the effect that the government had submitted to a new and disguised form of imperialist exploitation.

### Steps to Recruit and Train Experts.

This difficulty would be largely obviated if an adequate supply of such personnel could be obtained through the United Nations. The government is at present in a position to pay for such personnel, but apparently very little is available. An attempt on a limited scale is finally, and certainly belatedly, being made to remedy this situation by recruiting some skilled personnel in Europe, so far as possible from countries not tied in with either power bloc.

Long-term projects for solving this problem by training Indonesians abroad are still on a pitifully inadequate scale. So far most such training is being done in the Netherlands, which has been more cooperative than other countries in providing the

necessary facilities. However, this solution is difficult because few Indonesians have the educational background for study above the high school level<sup>3)</sup>. Before any substantial number of students could be sent abroad, they would have to be given the necessary preliminary training in Indonesia. Moreover, almost all potential candidates for overseas study are already in government employ, doing necessary work, and no qualified replacements are available.

It would seem that the most realistic solution for this problem would be the large-scale importation of qualified foreign teachers. Indonesians whose present work is needed to keep the government functioning could go to school during part of the day and at night and thus increase their capacities without seriously detracting from the performance of their duties. However, very little has yet been done in this direction.

### Letdown of Morale and Enthusiasm.

There is another important factor, largely psychological, which may seriously damage the health of Indonesian society and make more likely a drift toward an authoritarian political system. This is the fact that much of the elan that won success in the struggle for political independence has been lost or dissipated, or, at any rate, has not been harnessed to the present effort at social reconstruction. A number of Indonesian leaders, Soekarno in particular, are acutely aware of this and have striven to arouse the country to the dangers of the situation. However, many members of the Indonesian elite have not set the examples they should. Corruption among public officials, though serious, is as yet not nearly so widespread as in most southeast Asian countries. But sheer laziness and irresponsibility have become a serious problem among many public servants.

Among the civilian population, it was the tiny, largely bureaucratic Indonesian middle class, along with whitecollar workers and non-agrarian labor, which made the greatest sacrifices in the struggle for independence. It is perhaps not unnatural that, after years of great sacrifice and strain, there should now be a tendency

<sup>3)</sup> When it is recalled that only 240 Indonesians graduated from high school in 1940 and that the pitifully small existing educational system was disrupted during the long period of Japanese occupation and war for independence, the seriousness of this problem is apparent. See Lawrence S. Finkelstein, "Education in Indonesia", Far Eastern Survey, August 22, 1951.



among many of them to relax for a while and enjoy the good things of life. Among many of those who formerly served the old revolutionary Republic and who now serve the present government this tendency is undoubtedly accentuated by the example set by the soon-to-be-retired Dutch and Eurasian civil servants. In addition, their morale is impaired by seeing some relatively high positions occupied by fair-weather nationalists who, when the struggle was acute, chose the path of safety and collaboration with the Dutch. Such persons, because of their education and experience, must often be given positions outranking those who have a good revolutionary record but few other qualifications.

At present almost anyone with six years of education can get a fairly good job with no trouble at all. Those possessing a high school education can get any one of a dozen good jobs. This lack of competition frequently breeds a laziness and complacency which the new state can ill afford. Equally dangerous, it reinforces the lack of enterprise and initiative among older civil servants which they have inherited from their conditioning under the old colonial regime. The only remedy for this, of course, is more educational facilities.

#### Unused Potential of Young People.

Many Indonesian youths cut short their education to join the Republic's armed forces, of which they formed the most dynamic and effective element. Having made this sacrifice for the revolution, they now find themselves unqualified to assume positions in civil life at all commensurate with the leading roles which they played in the revolutionary struggle<sup>4</sup>). Hence they become bitter and frustrated, especially when they note the lack of zeal prevailing among many civil servants and the selfseeking struggle for power among many politicians.

One of the gravest failures of the new government has been its inability to provide adequate outlets for the energies of this important group. Only a small proportion of them can be absorbed as officers into the rationalised and reorganised army, and the

<sup>4</sup>) A similar though less considerable disadvantage is experienced by young men whose education is uncompleted and who went into government service at the beginning of the revolution. They have gained experience which equips them for important work but they feel at an unfair disadvantage as against the older generation which was fortunate enough to complete its schooling before the revolution.

school facilities open to them are woefully inadequate. Many of them have not been geared into the socially constructive work (either attending school or at jobs) to which by nature they are inclined.

If and when these young people can be equipped educationally to fill the upper and middle rank civil service positions, for which on the basis of sheer intelligence they are admirably suited, they will bring to the civil service an infusion of social responsibility, enterprise, and initiative. By action and example they should do much to restore the level of probity and devotion to the public welfare which characterised most of the civil service of the revolutionary Republic.

#### Liaison of Elite and Masses.

Another basic problem, which may be crucial in determining the political evolution of Indonesia, is that of effectively joining together the Western-educated Indonesian elite and the Indonesian masses in a mutually responsive relationship. The revolution has done much to develop contact between the elite and the masses, and to arouse the masses to a new peak of political consciousness. In wide areas of Java and Sumatra the ingrained but long suppressed habits of village democracy received new vigor and were guided by the Western-educated elite into channels even broader than had existed in previous times.

This process is now being extended throughout the archipelago. On the village level, where dwells that 70 or 75 percent of the population which is engaged in agriculture, the practice of democratic government is or is fast becoming a reality. However, between these villages and the national government the lines of contact are still all too tenuous.

There is, to be sure, a strong rapport between most villagers and the President of the Republic. But this is largely the chance result of Soekarno's remarkable personality and his understanding of peasant psychology. It could easily die with Soekarno.

In the long run, democracy above the village level must depend upon an effective, mutually energized relationship between the village and the national Parliament. Thus far the development of such a relationship has been only minimal. To the extent that the village is aware of a relationship with Parliament and with the national political parties, this is largely based upon religion,



the personality of the party leader, or the party's opposition to the government. Rarely is the actual program of the party known.

Efforts are being made by certain political parties — notably the Masjumi, the Indonesian Socialist Party, and the Communist parties — to educate the village population about their programs, but so far only a start has been made. It is expected that the holding of national elections will do much to aid in this process, but even so it is probable that for some time to come the political tie between the village and Parliament will remain tenuous.

There is danger, moreover, that the Western-educated elite may become dangerously isolated from the village and the laboring population. This can be prevented only by establishing lines of upward social mobility so that the present tiny elite may be enlarged by drawing from the masses. Since education is the principal basis of the elite's position, it must be the principal ladder of upward mobility. However, it will be more than half a generation before the now expanding educational system can be expected to educate such persons even through the high school level. Furthermore, the disruption of education from 1943<sup>5)</sup> to 1949 means that it will be another four or five years before the number of high school and college graduates can significantly exceed the extremely low level of the colonial period.

Thus for some time to come the Western-educated elite which governs Indonesia is likely to be deprived of the politically healthy and stimulating competition of a large-scale influx of able and dynamic competitors. It will likewise be some time before a large group can be educated to the sub-elite level, which should play such a vital role not only as a bridge between the elite and the masses, but as massrooted, enlightened critics of the elite's administration.

### **Danger of Authoritarian Trend.**

One of the greatest dangers inherent in Indonesian society is that of authoritarian political methods above the village level. The authoritarian tradition and the related habit of dependence upon orders from above, both stemming from the long period

<sup>5)</sup> Though most Indonesian secondary students continued their schooling during the first year of the Japanese occupation, thereafter there began a progressive decrease in their attendance resulting from their mounting hostility to the Japanese regime.

of colonial rule, are still strongly evident, although somewhat weakened by the impact of revolutionary experience, and opposed by most of the Indonesian elite. For the most part Indonesians still expect their leaders to solve their problems for them. Thus not only is there a wide gap between most of the elite and the masses, but the people in general feel little disposition to give positive directives to the elite — the essence of democracy.

With the introduction of general elections this situation will probably be partially rectified, but only partially. Even this will depend upon the election procedures which are adopted. (There is danger that some system of indirect election may be introduced which will serve to maintain the most rootless of the existing political parties, rather than to give maximum expression to the popular will). \*)

Moreover, this authoritarian legacy is at present strongly manifest within the political parties as well as within the governmental structure itself. The tendency has been, and probably will be for a number of years, for party leaders to organize mass support among the population rather than for the population itself to take the initiative in organizing its own political representation. Even with elections, the personality of the party leader will undoubtedly remain extremely important, as will the tendency of the rank and file to think of the party in terms of its leaders rather than of its political and social program. Given the need for strong government to solve the country's pressing social and economic problems, the existence of the authoritarian tradition obviously creates dangerous possibilities.

### **Irresponsibility in Politics.**

One result of the hiatus between the Indonesian elite and the masses has been to reinforce the tendency toward social irresponsibility among the leaders of some political parties, and their obsession with the struggle for personal power for its own sake. This trend will no doubt be considerably modified once general elections are held and such leaders are made directly accountable to the electorate. (However, this is less likely to occur if the

\*) The law on the general elections was passed by Parliament on April 1, 1953. This law provides for a direct and secret election of members of the Constituent Assembly and of Parliament. *Ed.*



election laws allow central party organizations to make up their own lists of candidates). Irresponsibility and the stress on personal power to a considerable extent result from the fact that the competition for leadership is generally not exacting enough. So long as very few people possess the prestige and capacity conferred by Western education, this condition is likely to persist.

There is also an ingrained psychological reason for the dangerous social irresponsibility shown by a number of Indonesian political leaders, and particularly in the behavior of certain political parties in Parliament. This arises in part from their long conditioning to the politics of opposition. They were against colonial rule, against the colonial government's policy in the Volksraad, against negotiations with the Dutch. During most of their careers they have been an opposition without responsibility and with little or no opportunity to participate in the positive development of policy.

This was undoubtedly a necessary and important function during the struggle for national independence. However, their continued tendency to stress negative attacks on those steering the course of government is now very much out of place. As members of Parliament they as well as the government owe a responsibility to the Indonesian people. Justified criticism of the government's policy and administration is vitally necessary, but its emphasis should be constructive.

Thus far this has not been the case. Those in opposition (of whom the Communists have often been only a minority) have for the most part sought to discredit the government and advance their own personal political fortunes. As a result they have already weakened and diminished the effectiveness of the government. Insofar as they continue to do so they will make more probable the development of authoritarian and totalitarian political forms. A proper system of elections will probably do much to remedy this situation and it is vitally important that they be no longer deferred.

Elections, however, will be unlikely to reduce the abuse below the danger point. It is probable that a multi-party system will continue after they are held and that both governments and oppositions will be coalitions of two more parties. The probability is strong that, as in the case of Republican France, divergently oriented opposition parties may unite for overthrowing the existing government but prove unable to unite thereafter for the

purpose of forming a government themselves. Given the presence in Indonesia of some of the factors mentioned above, such a situation might arise much more frequently and be more serious in its consequences than has been the case in France.

Hence it would seem wise for the Constituent Assembly, which is due to meet following the general elections, to modify the existing Provisional Constitution so as to obviate this danger. It might well take as its point of departure the excellent suggestion of Charles Wolf, Jr.: namely, a provision whereby "if a government were defeated on a particular measure (by groups together commanding a parliamentary majority), it would not be expected to resign unless the groups that had opposed that measure were able to submit, within a specified time, the names of a substitute cabinet which the said groups would support",<sup>6)</sup> and which, of course, could command a parliamentary majority.

However, despite these numerous liabilities, post-revolutionary Indonesian society appears to possess enough assets to warrant substantial hope that it will develop a government of a basically democratic character shaped to its needs and conditions and possessing only mildly authoritarian overtones. Perhaps the strongest of its assets are the sincere and deep-seated desire among the large majority of its elite to achieve this goal, their widespread agreement as to a social and economic program, the vitality of the resurgent and expanding village democracy, and the still only partially tapped and largely unchanneled, but potentially powerful, patriotic energy possessed by so large a portion of Indonesian youth.

<sup>6)</sup> Charles Wolf, Jr., "Problems of Indonesian Constitutionalism", Pacific Affairs, September 1950, p. 317.



## PARTIES AND PARLIAMENT.

By Roeslan Abdulgani.

We reprint below the most important part of an address delivered by the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Information Roeslan Abdulgani, at the opening of the second staff training course of the Ministry of Information on the 1st November, 1952.

This address was given at a time when the so-called "17th October Affair", the events around the demonstration for dissolution of parliament, was fresh in the minds of the hearers. It was intended to provide a historical and analytical basis in the light of which this "affair" might be more clearly understood.

The complicated "17th October Affair" reflects the crisis in the functioning of democratic institutions which has caused concern among Indonesian leaders for some time. This crisis has been characterized by the intensity of struggle between political parties and the group within them and by a lack of respect for the authority of parliament.

Democracy in Indonesia is still in a process of growth, seeking a shape which accords with the personality of Indonesia. I would like to stress the words the **personality of Indonesia**.

What do I mean by a democracy which accords with the personality of Indonesia? I mean a system of government in which there exists a right and a duty of the people to express and to canalize their desires and aspirations as regards the structure of the state and society, a system which must be aided in its growth by having elements which are specifically Indonesian, that is elements arising from Indonesia's social history and traditions, elements of Indonesian thinking as it has developed, and elements of Indonesian ideals.

By putting forward these three elements I want to show that the Indonesian personality is not static. The Indonesian personality is dynamic, and it is this dynamism of it which we are threading into democratic social institutions and into those institutions which have stood the test of time throughout the history of our society.

This dynamism brings with it also the possibility that the Indonesian personality may be enriched by elements of democracy

from centres of civilization outside Indonesia. One of those centres of civilization is that of Western Europe, which in fact is one development from its source, the Greek and Roman civilizations of antiquity, which knew the ideas of democracy very early.

In further development, especially during the time when Western European society underwent the transition from an agrarian into an industrial society, which caused the involvement of more labour in the industrial process, democracy began to have the character of mass-democracy. This mass-democracy looked for channels of expression in new social institutions, "parliament" and "political parties".

Parliament and political parties, both proved to be stages of the canalization of the people's desire to have influence on the course of government.

The principle "government of the people, by the people and for the people" cannot be realized fully or in any absolute way. Not every member of the population and not every citizen has the time or the ability to join in conferences and discussions. To surmount this difficulty the principle of representation is established as a further stage in the development of a democratically-governed society. And this principle of representation is expressed in two stages, parties and parliament.

A party is the embodiment of the desire to create power, and parliament — from the French word *parler*, which means to speak — is the embodiment of the right to discuss, and to propose whatever is the desire of the people.

This in short is the history of the birth of parliament and parties.

When Indonesia began to become conscious of its personality, that is at the beginning of the twentieth century, she could already see round about her the development of mass-democracy with the parliamentary and the political party system.

### The Meaning of Party and Party System:

Let us now analyse the further development of parliament and the party system in Indonesia. Indonesia came to know the party system at the beginning of the twentieth century, whereas parliament as a democratic institution has only been known since the Proclamation of Independence.

Since Indonesia has known the party system the development of this party system has been in the direction of a multi-party structure. This was caused perhaps by two psychological factors,



the urge to imitate and the urge to put oneself forward as being different. The former grew from our acquaintance with political life in the Netherlands, the latter is part of a human nature in general and rather strongly accentuated among Indonesian leaders.

The political parties in Indonesia in general can be classified according to their "Weltanschauung" or basic philosophy. This is of three kinds, firstly nationalism, secondly religion, thirdly marxism.

### The Period of the Dutch East Indies.

The history of the development of political parties in Indonesia shows three stages, which all differ from one another.

The first stage can be said to have covered the period between 1908 until 1942, in which period political parties were democratic Indonesian bodies and developed into modern tools in the struggle for Indonesian independence.

The second stage covered the period between 1942 and 1945 when political parties were bound together to become an instrument of the Japanese military government.

The third stage began with the Proclamation of Independence in 1945.

If we compare this last stage with the first and the second stages the difference in relation to parliamentarism becomes very clear. The third stage knows political party life together with democratic parliamentary institutions, while the first and second stages knew no parliament. Between the first and the second stages there is also a difference. The first stage showed a multi-party system developing, while the second stage showed a one-party system in operation.

### 1908 — 1926.

Let us now examine more thoroughly political party life in the first stage.

We see that as "resistive reaction of oppressed elements" (I am quoting this phrase from Herbert Spencer — Bung Karno also often does) the Islamic world outlook or Weltanschauung gave birth to the political party called Sarikat Islam (Islamic Association). This party subsequently underwent a number of changes, coming to be known as the Partai Serikat Islam and finally as the Partai Serikat Islam Indonesia.

About the time of the birth of Sarikat Islam, the nationalist world outlook, although at that time still in embryonic form, gave birth to the Indische Partij (Indies Party). This later on had great influence on the formation of youth and student movements, such as Jong Java (Young Java), Jong Sumatranen Bond (League of Young Sumatrans), Sekar Rukun (The Flower of Unity), Jong Ambon (Young Ambon), and the Perhimpunan Indonesia (Indonesian Association) in the Netherlands.

A couple of years later the Marxist world outlook came in to enrich Indonesian party life, with the formation of a Marxist party. In the beginning this party was called the Indische Sociaal-Democratische Vereniging (Indies Social Democratic Organization). Later in 1920, influenced by the victories of the Soviet system in Russia in 1917, it called itself the Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party).

Although each of these types of world outlook used its own tactics and strategy, in fact all three shared the same political platform, that is of opposition to colonialism.

The rise of the party system in Indonesia under the leadership of the late H. O. S. Tjokroaminoto and H. A. Salim <sup>1)</sup>, of the triumvirate Soewardi Surjaningrat — Douwes Dekker — Tjipto Mangunkusumo <sup>2)</sup>, and under Semaun, Alimin, and Tan Malakka <sup>3)</sup>, was part of the general awakening of nations bridled by colonialism and furthermore part of the "resistive reaction" of those oppressed by the capitalist system of production.

It was because these developments were of the nature of an awakening that the Dutch colonial government, as the protector of the interests of capital and as itself interested in the continuance of the system of capitalistic production, in 1926 beat down this resistance to it in all its aspects, without taking into account the nature of the world outlook which was the source of strength of the resisters. <sup>4)</sup> Thousands of politicians, big and little, were imprisoned, banished, killed or hung by the Dutch government. An announcement made by the Dutch themselves said that over the whole of Indonesia 13,000 adults were arrested on November

<sup>1)</sup> The two most prominent leaders of Sarikat Islam.

<sup>2)</sup> The three main leaders with a nationalist philosophy, only the first-named being still alive.

<sup>3)</sup> The three of Marxist Weltanschauung, all but the third being still alive.

<sup>4)</sup> 1926 was the year of the Communist-led revolts in parts of Java and Sumatra. They were the pretext for the repression of the nationalist movement which followed.





*The accused and Counsel of defence in the famous "Soekarno Case" in August, 1930, the climax of Dutch efforts to drive the PNI (Indonesian Nationalist Party) out of existence. From left to right: Maskun, Gatot Mangkupradja, Soekarno, Sastromuljono, Sartono, Sujudi and Supriadinata.*

16, 1926. A part of them were exiled to Tanah Merah and Tanah Tinggi in Boven Digoel <sup>5)</sup>).

According to the statement of the Government of the Dutch East Indies to the Volksraad (People's Council) in May 1929 the number of politically active persons who had been banished to Boven Digoel was as follows: 1124 men, 450 women and 52 children. The group of these called the "irreconcilables" were placed 35 kilometres further in the interior.

Let us recall as we see this picture the role of the political parties in the struggle to gain the freedom we now possess. The political parties were a democratic weapon, not an armed force, and they faced the colonial government with its military power and its police.

#### 1926 — 1933.

The blows which the Dutch Government struck in 1926 were not able to kill the political party system. Political parties as democratic weapons continued to be rooted in society.

Immediately after this date a new group of leaders arose from

<sup>5)</sup> Boven Digoel or Upper Digoel is a swampy region of West Irian.

the midst of the ruins of that party system, establishing a new order of struggle to continue resistance against the oppression of colonialism. This new leadership emerged from the circles of the national-revolutionaries.

Its forerunner was Bung Karno with his P.N.I. (Indonesian Nationalist Party) strong until 1930. Soon after the formation of the P.N.I. the new leadership was strengthened by the return of Bung Hatta to Indonesia. These two leaders formed the vanguard of the political parties. Following these two leaders parties of the three types of world outlook which I have named developed further to become militant democratic weapons, again endangering the position of the colonial government. It is because of this that attacks were made again in 1930 and 1933 when hundreds more of the leaders and members of the political parties, including Soekarno, Hatta, Sjahrir and Iwa Kusumasumantri, were banished.

#### 1933 — 1942.

As a result of these measures a part of the militant leadership had disappeared. What was left of the national-revolutionary group and the Marxist group could be seen in the Gerakan Rakjat Indonesia (Gerindo, Indonesian People's Movement), led by Amir, Gani and Wikana. But this party was no longer able to hold the whole front of the arena, so that a part of this was filled by political parties of moderate nationalist direction, built around the personalities of Dr Soetomo, Thamrin, Surjaningrat, Ratulangi and Latuharhary.

These were the ups and downs of the developments of the political parties as they stood facing oppression. Looking at the course of that development we always see what is an important sociological phenomenon, that is a tendency among the political parties to come into association with one another at the important times.

We see this tendency towards association first in the Radicale Concentratie (Radical Concentration) of 1922. According to Mr. A. K. Pringgogidgo in his book "Sedjarah Pergerakan Rakjat Indonesia" (History of the Indonesian People's Movement) this organization was "a body for co-operation of groups which were clearly radical: Communists, Socialists, Indies Nationalists, Indonesian Nationalists".



In the period between 1926 and 1933, specifically on December 17, 1927, we see again tendencies towards association in the P.P.P.K.I. (Permufakatan Perhimpunan Politik Kebangsaan Indonesia, Consultative Council of Indonesian Nationalist Political Organizations). This was formed on December 17, 1927 and consisted of the P.N.I. (Indonesian Nationalist Party), the P.S.I.I. (Partai Serikat Islam Indonesia, Islamic Association Party of Indonesia), Budi Oetomo (High Endeavour), Pasundan (Sundanese League), Kaum Betawi (Batavia Group) and I.S.C. (Indonesische Studie Club, Indonesian Study Club). It was under the leadership of **Ir Soekarno, Dr Soekiman, Dr Samsi, Mr Sartono, Mr Iskak, Sjahbudin Latief, Kusumo Utojo, Thamrin, Soendjoto and others.**

We see the tendency towards association a third time in the G.A.P.I. (Gabungan Politik Indonesia, Indonesian Political Federation), formed in 1938. The working secretariat of this body was headed by **Abikoeno Tjokrosoejoso** from the P.S.I.I. (Partai Serikat Islam Indonesia, Islamic Association Party), **Thamrin** from the Parindra (Partai Indonesia Raja, Greater Indonesia Party) and **Amir Sjarifuddin** from the Gerindo (Gerakan Rakjat Indonesia, Indonesian People's Movement).

Apart from these combinations of parties which were based on nationalism, there were also combinations based on religion, in particular on Islam.

In 1922 the first All-Islam Congress was held at the suggestion of the Cheribon P.S.I.I. This had as its purpose "endeavouring to achieve unity between various currents of thought, and co-operation between all Moslems, in facing the pressing problems as regards Islam". In 1926 the All-Islam Congress continued in the tendency towards association on an international level by participating in the World Islamic Congress at Mecca, which was pan-Islamic in character. From that time on the All-Islam Congress called itself the "World Islamic Congress, East Indies Section", or M.A.I.H.S. (Muktamar al-Alam al-Islam far'al Hindasj-Sjar-yah). This pan-Islam association experienced its ups and downs, as also did the All-Islam Congress in 1937. In that year however the Madjelis Islam Luhur (High Council of Islam) or M.I.A.I. Madjelis Islam A'la Indonesia) was established.

These then are the tendencies towards association which we see in the course of the history of the Indonesian party system.

Let us now look at these combinations of parties in relation to the colonial regime.

All these combinations had one aim, that is to create national political power within the world of colonialism as a weapon for the achievement of national independence.

The Volksraad (People's Council), created by the Dutch in 1918 to be an instrument to canalize the national aspirations of the Indonesian people, proved not to bring the response expected by the colonial government. This was due to the structure and character of the Volksraad which could not possibly reflect the desires of the people or become a forum of the struggle for national aspirations, as is the case with a real parliament in a free and sovereign state <sup>6)</sup>. Seen against the background of this situation it is understandable that the political parties of that time had two types of tactics of struggle. One group of the parties used the tactics of co-operation by agreeing to be represented in the Volksraad, while another group, the vanguard of the national aspirations, used the strategy of non-cooperation. The non-cooperators, who got a great deal of support from public opinion, worked for strength through the formation of a people's forum embodying the combinations of parties mentioned above. At this point it is necessary for us to see what was the meaning of these combinations.

In fact the non-cooperating political parties, which stayed outside the unrepresentative Volksraad, planted the seeds of a real parliament by their establishment of the Radicale Concentratie in 1922, the P.P.P.K.I. in 1927 and the G.A.P.I. in 1938. These three kinds of combination strove, one after the other, for a people's forum of a broader nature.

Finally in 1941 the combination of parties based on nationalism, that is the G.A.P.I., and the combination based on Islam, the M.I.A.I., joined together in a wider people's forum called the Kongres Rakjat Indonesia (Indonesian People's Congress).

<sup>6)</sup> Three factors made the Volksraad an unrepresentative body, the fact that it was elected indirectly and according to the restricted franchise of the town and regency councils, the fact that membership of voters' corps was on a racial basis, Europeans and "foreign orientals" being given voting strength quite out of proportion to their numbers, and the final fact that during the whole time of its existence a large part of its membership consisted of non-elected persons, nominees of the Governor General. In addition it was never more than an advisory body.



The Kongres Rakjat Indonesia was subsequently broadened. After the P.V.P.N. (Persatuan Vak Pegawai Negeri, Trade Union of Civil Servants) under the leadership of R. Pandji Soeroso and other labour organizations came into it, the Kongres Rakjat Indonesia became the Madjelis Rakjat Indonesia (Indonesian People's Council).

The development of combinations of parties was clearly a real attempt by the political parties to lay down the bases of parliamentarism in Indonesia, that is to create a party-made parliament. This attempt was being made at the time when the political tendency expressed in the slogan "A Parliament for Indonesia", which was a combination of the Soetardjo petition move, was holding sway.

#### The Japanese Period.

1941 was nearing its end. In the political atmosphere certain signs of the time were evident, firstly, a tendency for revolutionary nationalism to become more moderate, secondly, a concentration of the strengths of the political parties, thirdly, the aspiration for a parliament.

It was when the climate of opinion was like this that the period of confusion of the Dutch colonial authority set in in the shadow of Japanese aggression.

We may, I think, deal with the Japanese occupation period in brief, because the Japanese system of military government made it impossible for political parties to continue their activities. The leaders of the political parties of the time soon worked out a new method of struggle in accord with the existing possibilities.

This new method of struggle led to the formation of new groupings. One group of political leaders continued their activities in the open but in a new form. Another group continued the struggle underground.

For those who continued the struggle in the open the Japanese Government provided a kind of political party, called the Poetera (Poesat Tenaga Rakjat, Centre of the Working Strength of the People), later changed into the "Hokokai" (Centre of People's Service).

In fact it is difficult to give the name political party to these two organizations, because the prerequisite of the presence of certain aspirations concerning the state and society was not satisfied. Furthermore membership was compulsory for every

resident. It would even be wrong to regard the Poetera or the Hokokai as occupying the same position as a state party such as is commonly found in a fascist state.

Although parties could no longer be employed as political weapons during the Japanese period, nevertheless the strength of the Indonesian people in continuing their struggle for freedom remained cared for in the military training and the opportunities of leadership in government administration provided by the Japanese. We used these opportunities to gain for ourselves two stores of strength which were of great importance in making it possible for us to begin the armed revolution to gain freedom.

#### The First Period of the Republic.

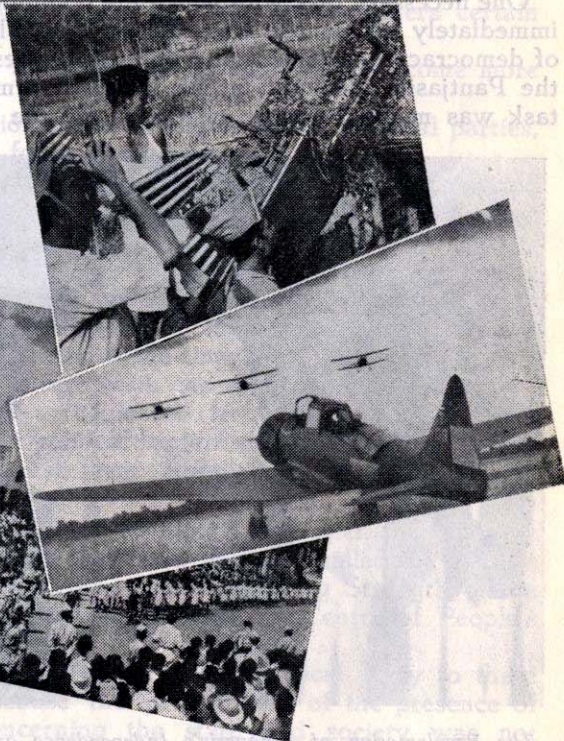
Let us now deal with the days of the month of August 1945.

One necessary task with which the revolutionary leadership was immediately confronted was that of reestablishing the two arms of democracy, parliament and political parties, in conformity with the Pantjasila ideology in the midst of armed turbulence. This task was made the more necessary by the spirit of this period



The Proclamation of Indonesia's Independence on August 17, 1945 by President Soekarno.





*This is the Revolution. Young and old, men as well as women, stood up to fight the return of colonialism. They made use of any weapon available, from bamboo spears to armoured cars and biplanes.*

after the Second World War, that is the democracy which had to clean the Indonesian mind of fascist influences.

Our constitution, made public on August 18th, one day after the Proclamation of Independence, acknowledged the essentials of parliamentary democracy as our system of Government. This was clear from Section 1 Article 2 which said that "sovereignty is in the hands of the people and is exercised in full by the Madjelis Permusjawaratan Rakjat (People's Consultative Council)".

According to Section 2 Article 1 this People's Consultative Council was to "consist of members of the Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat (Parliament) as well as representatives from the various parts of the country and from various groups, according to regulations laid down by law".

In these sections the principles of parliamentary democracy which are of such high value were clearly acknowledged. But those highly-valued principles could bear fruit only if they were accompanied by the ability to put them into practice. The guide to the carrying out of these principles is to be found in the transitional supplementary regulations, which in fact opened a channel for the stream of the revolution to continue to flow in ways in conformity with the spirit of our constitution.

For example Section 1 of the transitional regulation reads, "The Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (Preparatory Commission for the Independence of Indonesia) regulates and executes the transfer of authority to the Indonesian Government". Section 3 gave this Commission the right to elect the President and Vice-President.

As we know the Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia, consisting of 18 representatives from the whole area of Indonesia, was the original apparatus of the revolution.

Why?

It was this Preparatory Commission which laid down the Constitution of August 18, 1945.

It was this Preparatory Commission which elected the first President and Vice-President, also on August 18, 1945.

And finally it was this Preparatory Commission which on August 22, 1945 called for the establishment of the Komite Nasional Pusat (Central National Committee), the seed of the Indonesian parliament, the Partai Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian Nationalist Party), the seed of the party system in Indonesia, and the Badan Keamanan Rakjat (People's Security Board), the seed



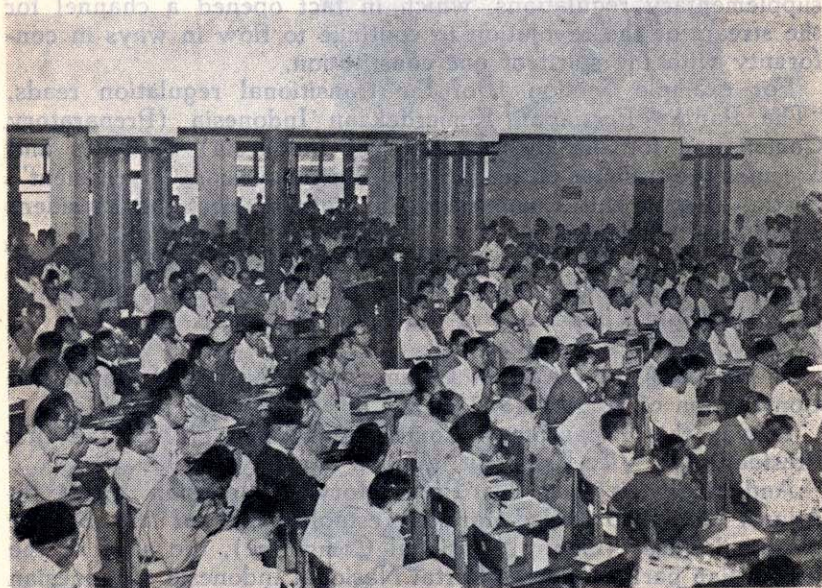
of the Tentara Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Army).

What was the meaning of this call?

As well as being intended to give a military weapon to the executive authority, that is to the President and his Ministers — which authority was completely formed only by September 4 — this call in fact also laid down bases for the establishment of the democratic institutions of parliament and the party system. The parliament, the party system and our army were clearly, according to the history of their birth, three twin children, their father the Preparatory Commission for the Independence of Indonesia and their mother the Indonesian people.

Although the first acts of this Preparatory Commission for Independence were firm and quick, in keeping with the revolutionary stream, it seems that there was a basic division in its thinking when it came to its task of establishing parliament and parties. Torn between two ideas!

It may be that the cause of the division in its thinking was due to the fact it was as yet impossible to work out with certainty



The historical session of the KNIP at Malang, East Java, to determine Indonesia's attitude towards the Linggadjati agreement.

whether the revolutionary struggle would be further carried on by the use of a state instrument, that is of parliament, or with the old weapons, the parties. The position of the Japanese army was still strong, and therefore there were doubts as to whether our independence would immediately get international recognition. It seemed that parties as fighting instruments would be made into reserve instruments for the eventuality of our having to struggle on without a state instrument. In that case it seemed that a "one party system" would have been preferred, that is a "unity party", its name also already laid down, the P.N.I.

But later it was clear that the doubt had disappeared. Then on August 31, 1945 a Government Announcement was issued to the effect that "the movement and the preparation of the P.N.I. is temporarily postponed and all activities must be in support of the Komite Nasional (National Committee)".

In fact this Government Announcement was a revocation of the call of the Preparatory Commission for Independence. Thus the aim of this announcement was to place special emphasis on parliament as a state instrument of struggle over and above the party as an instrument of struggle.

How did these two fighting instruments develop subsequently?

Let us begin by looking at the development of parliament, the governmental fighting instrument.

The Komite Nasional Pusat Indonesia was sworn in on August 29, 1945 and the formation of the Presidential Cabinet completed on September 4, 1945. At its first plenary meeting on October 16, 1945 the K.N.P. proposed to the President that its powers should be made more complete with the addition of "legislative power and power to take part in formulating the broad outlines of government policy". Furthermore it proposed that its daily business should be carried on by a Badan Pekeraja (Working Committee). These two proposals were accepted as law by the Vice-President with his Announcement No. 10, also of October 16. In its further development the Badan Pekeraja rapidly came to be a parliament.

With a total membership of 46 this Working Committee was not too cumbersome and was able to keep up with the dynamism of the revolution.

When consideration is taken of the way in which this first parliament was born in its form as the Badan Pekeraja or Working Committee of the K.N.I.P. (Central National Committee



of Indonesia), it becomes clear that it did not constitute a body in which the relative strengths of currents of thought which were to be found in the Indonesian society could be measured. Therefore in that Working Committee itself a proposal was made to the Government that the widest possible opportunity be given to the people to form political parties, so that in those political parties persons with certain conceptions concerning the state and society might come together. This proposal of the Working Committee was accepted by the Government with its Announcement of November 3, 1945, in which it elucidated its standpoint that it "favours the establishment of political parties, because with the existence of political parties all currents of thinking which are to be found in society are able to be canalized into a regulated course".

However the Government confined the functions of those political parties by stipulating the conditions of preparedness "to strengthen our struggle to defend our independence and to preserve the security of society".

These conditions were in conformity with the proposals of the Working Committee itself.



*Chairman Assaat reading a report during the Malang session of the KNIP.*

The standpoint of the Government in its Announcement of November 3, 1945 was in fact aimed at using the parties to give

the Working Committee as parliament roots in all layers of society.

In free Indonesia as distinct from other countries it was not the birth of parties which preceded the formation of a parliament, but on the contrary it was parliament which wanted to take root through parties. Here we see the reverse of what happened in the Dutch period. Here are "parliament-made parties".

From that time on there has existed competition between parliamentarism and the party system in Indonesia in their development.

Our parliament in the shape of the K.N.I.P. and its Working Committee was in its first months considered not to reflect all the desires of the people. Many times this Working Committee was improved with additions of deputies registered as representing labour, peasants, socialists, youth, the national-democratic current, the Christian groups and so on, and there were further additions of persons living in the very midst of the people. It is certainly true that the criteria by which these currents of opinion could be represented, and particularly the qualifications of the persons living among the people, are a confusion if judged by the standards of to-day. But in the revolutionary atmosphere of that time these criteria and qualifications were not felt to be in conflict with what was commonly called "the will of the people".

Before the third plenary meeting of the K.N.I.P. in Solo (Central Java) and its fourth plenary meeting in Malang (East Java), in 1946 and 1947 respectively, the President added to the number of its members till it came to 413. The second addition, made at the time that the meeting in Malang wanted to discuss the course of the Linggadjati policy <sup>7)</sup>, was made according to the Presidential Decree No. 6. This decree produced a big upset in the political life of that time.

As will probably be remembered, this Presidential Decree No. 6 was taken on the basis of the prerogative right of the President. The decree was opposed by the Working Committee. But, because the appointments had already been carried out, the meeting of the K.N.P. in Malang was opened in a meeting hall filled half with "old members" and half with "pending members".

<sup>7)</sup> The policy of the first agreement with the Dutch (15-11-1946) in which the Republic's de facto authority over Java and Sumatra was recognized.



It was only after the Working Committee had retracted its attitude, because of the challenge of the President and Vice-President that the plenary K.N.P. would have to elect another President and Vice-President if the old parliament did not agree to the addition of new members, that those "pending members" were allowed to participate in the conference.

The last K.N.P. meeting was held on December 14, 1949 to discuss the political course of the Round Table Conference <sup>8)</sup>. When the votes were cast it appeared that 319 members had voted, 226 members agreeing with the R.T.C. agreement, 62 members disagreeing and 31 members voting blank. Compared with the number in 1947, the number of Members of Parliament at that meeting was about 100 less. The reasons for this are still not fully known.

## VI. The Second Republican Period.

The further development of our Parliament at the time of the federal state R.U.S.I. (Republic of the United States of Indonesia) was according to the federal form.

The Legislature was organized in bicameral system, that is the R.U.S.I. Parliament was made up of representatives from the Republican and B.F.O. territories <sup>9)</sup>, while the R.U.S.I. Senate consisted of representatives of the member states. The parliament of the R.U.S.I. period was in fact built on the principle of selection of members rising out of the revolution and addition of new members who were not sons of the revolution. Indeed this form of organization can be regarded as reflecting the compromise policy followed by the Republic of Indonesia at that time. Compromise can also be interpreted as a kind of synthesis. If someone following a political line of conduct called synthetical, wanted to see the unity of the whole of Indonesia realised, then his efforts towards this unity had to be at the expense of the watering down of the parliament of the revolution.

<sup>8)</sup> This conference, held at the Hague in the months of September, October and November, 1949, decided the basis of the eventual Dutch recognition of Indonesia's sovereignty.

<sup>9)</sup> Bijeenkomst voor Federaal Overleg, Federal Consultative Council was the body established to coordinate the activities of the states sponsored by the Dutch outside Republican territory in the years 1947 to 1949.

## VII. The Period of the Present Third Republic.

This watering down continued when the Unitary State had been established <sup>10)</sup>. The most that may be said is that in the unitary state parliamentarism got back some of its strength through several revolutionary elements. The reason is that the Parliament of this present unitary state was built of the following.

- the working Committee of the Central National Committee (K.N.P.) centred at Jogja;
- the Supreme Advisory Council of the Republic of Indonesia (Jogja);
- the Parliament of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia;
- the Senate of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia.



*The late Supeno, one time Minister for Reconstruction and Youth, was a staunch defender of the Presidential Decree no. 6.*

<sup>10)</sup> The Unitary Republic of Indonesia was established on the 15th August, 1950, after all the member states of the federal Republic of the United States of Indonesia, established on the 27th December, 1949, had agreed to dissolve themselves.



If we follow the history of the development of the present Parliament, it becomes clear that the composition of Parliament is the result of just putting these four state institutions together.

The history of the growth of our Parliament indicates further that the process of its formation was in fact accomplished in many stages.

One group of appointed members was added to another group; these appointees chose their own representatives; these representatives came together in one body with those elected by appointees in the B.F.O. territory. For this reason we may call the process of formation a "multi-stage" one. This multi-stage formation has still further lessened its representative character.

What is the measure by which to gauge the representative character of a Parliament? The generally adopted measure is a general election. If this is the case, then the most important periods for the parties to play their roles are those during general elections. Before general elections there is bargaining and praising of one's wares just like on a market day. The political parties function as a link between the mass of the population and Parliament as regards everything that lives in the mass of the people in the field of ideals for the state and society. The will of the people crystallizes itself around the political parties; on the other hand the political parties actively try to have the will of the people become crystallized in themselves.

Political science sees in the growth of parliamentary democracy this reality, that in this 20th century the political parties as links between the mass of the people and Parliament have reached such a stage of development that they are, in the words of **Prof. H. J. Laski**, "brokers of ideas". Continuing in this train of thought, we may regard Parliament as "the stock exchange of political ideas" which can determine the "rate" of cabinet stability.

Further, those admitted to the exchange are nominated by the Boards of Executives of the respective parties. They are frequently the "inner cores" and "elites" of the political parties.

What now is the relation between Parliament, the parties, and the mass of the people in Indonesia?

To answer this question of course requires a profound analysis. Allow me here to restrict myself to discussion of the development of the political parties during the revolution.

The history of their growth during the Dutch colonial period and during the Japanese occupation, when a Parliament did not exist beside the political parties, has been outlined earlier.

## VIII. The Further Development of Political Parties.

An important moment in the history of the development of political parties, existing in free Indonesia side by side with Parliament, was the issuance of the Government Political Manifesto of November 3rd, 1945. This Political Manifesto was like a trumpet and trombone heralding a general mobilisation of democracy. Responding to that call, we saw the rise of democratic groups in the form of political parties, which soon grouped themselves around the three world-outlooks living within the Indonesian community.

First, on November 7th, 1945 we saw the coming up of the party **Masjumi** (**Madjlis Sjuro Muslimin Indonesia**, Consultative Council of Indonesian Moslems) as the continuation of the embodiment of the religious world outlook, in this case the Islamic one.

Second, on the seventeenth of December 1945, we saw the establishment of the "**Partai Sosialis**" as a fusion of the **P.A.R.A.S.** (**Partai Rakjat Sosialis**, People's Socialist Party) led by **Sjahrir** and the **PARSI** (**Partai Rakjat Sosialis Indonesia**, People's Socialist Party of Indonesia) led by **Amir Sjarifuddin**, as a crystallization of the Marxist world outlook.

Third, we saw a fusion of **Gerindo** (**Gerakan Rakjat Indonesia**, Indonesian People's Movement), led by **Mangunsarkoro**, **Partai Kedaulatan Rakjat** (People's Sovereignty Party), led by **Soejono Hadinoto**, the **P.N.I.** (**Partai Nasional Indonesia**, Indonesian Nationalist Party) of Palembang and the one of Sulawesi, led by **Manai Sophiaan**, as well as several local parties, into the **Partai Nasional Indonesia** (Indonesian Nationalist Party) on the 29th of January 1946 at Kediri (East Java). This new party was the unification on one platform of the nationalist world outlook.

Thus within the three-month period from November to January, these three world outlooks had given birth to three political parties.

Let us further examine the development of these political parties. In the **Masjumi** party we see an internal organization worthy of special note. As well as individual members, this party also has organizations as extra-ordinary members. Although there is a



division of function between the extra-ordinary members and the Masjumi party itself, we can't help but feel that this party is more than a federation but less than a homogeneously fused party.



*A meeting of the Party Council of the PNI.*

We must not in this discussion forget the role of the P.S.I.I. (Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia, Islamic Association Party of Indonesia) of colonial times, which, although showing no signs of life in the Japanese period and the early days of the revolution nevertheless evidently continued to live under the ruins of Dutch colonialism and Japanese occupation. When the late **Amir Sjarifuddin** in July 1947, formed a cabinet based on the three platforms of nationalism, marxism, and religion, and failed to come to an agreement with the Masjumi, he gave the seats reserved for a religiously based party to the P.S.I.I.

It is clear however that those who occupied these seats reserved for parties with a religious program were the offshoots of only a part of the roots of the old pre-war P.S.I.I., for other offshoots remained hidden, continuing in their old ideals which had been put forward first at the Surabaja conference of 1938.

These old ideals were those of the "Hidjrah" or Holy Flight <sup>11)</sup>, which, according to its creator Kartosoewirjo, is

<sup>11)</sup> The word Hidjrah is the one used for the Prophet Mohamed's flight from Mecca to Medina.

characterized not only by negative non-cooperation but also by positive effort to build up strength for the creation of the Darul Islam or Islamic State <sup>12)</sup>.

In the marxist world outlook we see both forces working for unity and forces working for heterogeneity, associative and dissociative forces. As mentioned above, P.A.R.A.S. and P.A.R.S.I. were fused into the Partai Sosialis. This party afterwards took the leadership in the Sajap Kiri (Left Wing). This Sajap Kiri was made up of the P.K.I. (Partai Komunis Indonesia, Communist Party of Indonesia), Pesindo (Pemuda Sosialis Indonesia, Indonesian Socialist Youth), Partai Buruh Indonesia (Indonesian Labour Party), B.T.I. (Barisan Tani Indonesia, Indonesian Peasant Force) and S.O.B.S.I. (Sentral Organisasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia, Central Organization of Workers of all Indonesia). In this combination of parties conflicting forces soon came to be operative when the P.K.I. tried to take over the leadership of the group from the Partai Sosialis. As a reaction to this, the Partai Sosialis withdrew. This withdrawal resulted in a split within the Partai Sosialis itself. One segment continued in its existence outside the combination of parties and became the P.S.I. (Partai Sosialis Indonesia, Indonesian Socialist Party), while the other part remained in the combination of parties which afterwards was dissolved by the Central Committee of the P.K.I., and fused into the P.K.I. This was also the case with the P.B.I. (Indonesian Labour Party). Thus the structure of the left-wing group became fairly simple.

Coming to the third world outlook we see that the P.N.I. although it was the mainstay of the nationalistic world outlook, could not establish itself among all the proponents of this outlook. Thus many other parties also based on nationalism grew up outside the P.N.I.

These included the P.I.R. (Persatuan Indonesia Raya, Union for a Greater Indonesia), Parindra (Partai Indonesia Raya, Party for a Greater Indonesia), P.R.I. (Partai Rakjat Indonesia, Indonesian People's Party) P.D.R. (Partai Demokrasi Rakjat, People's Democracy Party), Parki (Partai Kebangsaan Indonesia, National

<sup>12)</sup> The Darul Islam conception has become the basis of the proclamation of "Negara Islam Indonesia" (Islamic State of Indonesia), which is based on theocratic principles and now constitutes something of a "state within a state" in part of West Java. See "The Problem of Security" Indonesian Affairs Vol II No. 3.





*Members of Parliament make inquiries into reported congestion in Djakarta's harbour of Tandjung Priok.*

Party of Indonesia), P.K.R. (Partai Kedaulatan Rakjat, People's Sovereignty Party), S.K.I. (Serikat Kerakjatan Indonesia, Indonesian People's Union), I.N.I. (Ikatan Nasional Indonesia, Indonesian National Association), P.R.D., (Partai Rakjat Djelata, Common People's Party), and several others.

Apart from that, it is worth noting that the establishment of the P.R.N. (Partai Rakjat Nasional, National People's Party) was a result of a split within the P.N.I. itself.

No less worth noting is the rise of political parties outside Republican territory, these being generally based on nationalist principles. Not a few of these were Republican in outlook. Simultaneous with the combination of political parties in Republican territory, there occurred similar combinations outside. A well-known example is the combination in the area of East Indonesia called G.A.P.K.I. (Gabungan Perjuangan Kemerdekaan Indonesia, Federation of Struggle for Indonesian Independence) under the leadership of **Arnold Mononutu**.

Compared with marxism, which was the basis for six parties and religion on the basis of which there were five, nationalism was the basis which lent itself most readily to schism. There were fourteen parties or organizations with this as their basis.

What is the reason for this?

If we make a comparative investigation of these three bases, focusing our attention on comparing concepts of what is called a

political party, it becomes clear that the concept of nationalism itself does not contain in itself anything certain or precise as regards ideals for the state and society. It is for this reason that the idea of "nationalism", especially in its initial stages, when it is usually accompanied by heroism and romanticism, contains within itself the possibility of wide differentiations as regards social goals.

The question frequently arises in the community whether a nationalist party still has a basis for existence in an already independent sovereign state. For Indonesia, still in a transition process, with the unconscious residues of the experience of oppression under Dutch colonialism and the Japanese military occupation, nationalism is a factor whose role in the "decision-making process" should not be discounted.

That, in short, is the main outline of the development of political parties on the three bases of religion, nationalism and marxism.

These political parties form a social force in themselves. In parliament they try to consolidate their strength. There the synthesis expressed in terms of their respective strengths becomes the state power. This is the legislative power. In a more closely united form it becomes executive state power. This executive power is in the hands of the cabinet. Thus it is clear that it is parties and parliament which, if they fulfil their proper functions, are the formers of cabinets.

However, this united concentration of power in cabinet can be a success only when party power is supported by all three world outlooks.

It seems that it was this view which prompted **Mr. Mohamad Yamin** to propose, in the Plenary session of the Central National Committee at Solo in 1946, the formation of a cabinet which he called an "all-embracing, programmatic coalition". The word "all-embracing" refers to the desire for a cabinet including in itself currents from all the three world outlooks. The word "programmatic" refers to the desire to create a political program as a basis for the desired cooperation of the parties. The word "coalition" refers to the attempt to form a cabinet supported by a majority of parliament.

If we examine the cabinets we have had to date, we notice that they have always been formed in line with this view.





*Mr. Mohammad Natsir, General Chairman of the Masjumi, delivering a speech during a Congress of that party in 1952.*

## IX. Extra-Parliamentary Actions to Seize Power.

At certain times combinations of political parties were formed as a reaction against a parliament which was thought not sufficiently representative. Such combinations tried to compete with parliament and at times attempted to seize the power of the government extra-parliamentarily. As an example, we can mention the *Persatuan Perdjoangan* (Unity of Struggle), formed early in 1946. According to its own statement, the *Persatuan Perdjoangan* consisted of 143 parties and organizations. One of its leaders, **Ibnu Parna**, in a plenary session of the K.N.P. at Solo, even went so far as to demand that the *Persatuan Perdjoangan* should be regarded as parliament, to replace the plenary K.N.P. of that time.

Because this claim was rejected extra-parliamentary activities were intensified in a way which led to a sharpening of antagonisms. This finally culminated in the kidnapping of Prime Minister **Sjahrir** on the 27th of June 1946, and in the "July 3rd Affair"<sup>13)</sup>.

Further we have not yet forgotten the activities outside par-

<sup>13)</sup> "July 3rd Affair" is the name given to the attempt of a number of the leaders of "*Persatuan Perdjoangan*" to persuade the President to sign a document appointing a cabinet of "*Persatuan Perdjoangan*" supporters. This attempt failed.

liament in 1948, the time when our state was facing the fact of the Renville agreement<sup>14)</sup>.

These activities were organized by the "Front Demokrasi Rakjat" (People's Democratic Front) composed of the *Partai Sosialis* (Socialist Party), P.B.I. (*Partai Buruh Indonesia*, Indonesian Labour Party) and *Pesindo* (*Pemuda Sosialis Indonesia*, Indonesian Socialist Youth). This group (F.D.R.) was composed of militant forces which had been in power at the time when the Left Wing was pursuing the Linggadjati policy.

They sharpened their attitude towards the Hatta government in such a way that civil war finally broke out, just as sentiment does when it can no longer be held in check. Thus there came about the imitation of the tragedy of the French revolution which "swallowed its own sons".

These are the two examples, in the history of the development of parties and parliamentarism in Indonesia, of attempts at seizure of power by force and extra-parliamentarily by political parties. Both of these actions clearly failed, showing that parliamentary democracy in Indonesia could stand the test.

What lessons can we draw from this historical development of our parties and parliamentarism?

## X. Conclusions about Parties.

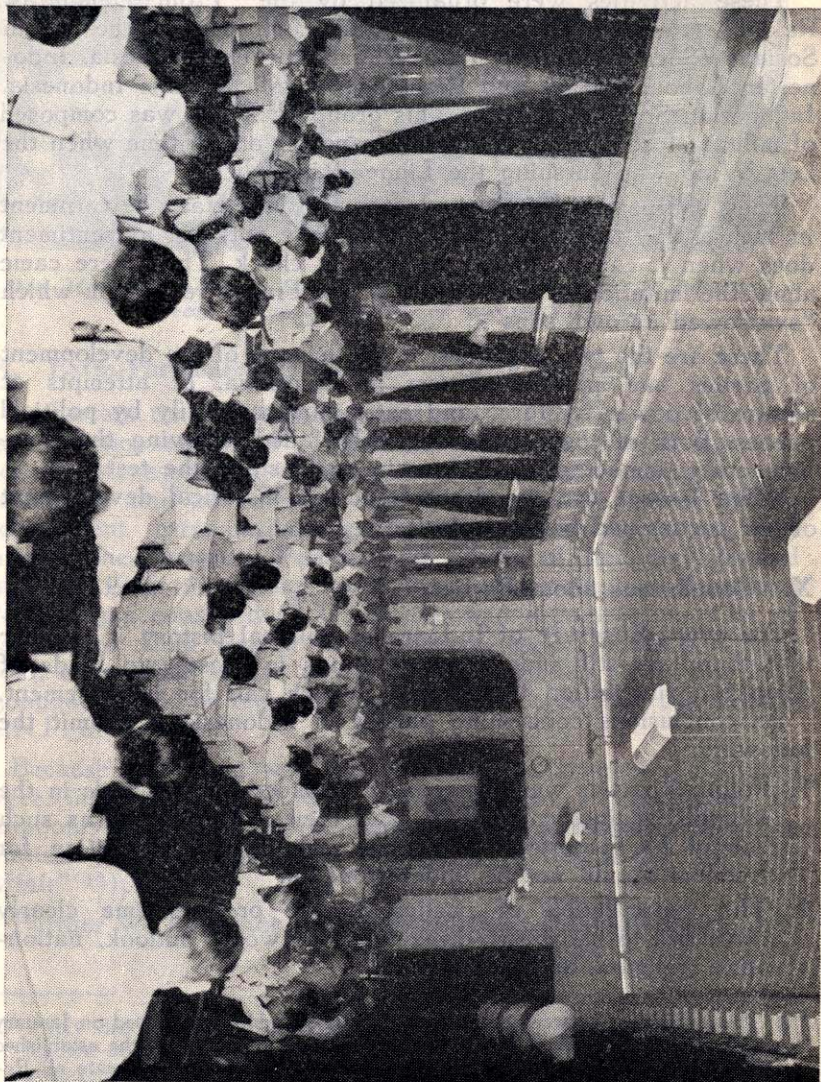
For every observer of Indonesian political history it is clear that there are still indeed many things in these two kinds of democratic institution in Indonesia which call for improvement.

As conclusions concerning parties in Indonesia, I submit the following:

1. Political parties were weapons of democracy and tools in the struggle against colonialism, and their achievements as such cannot be forgotten. Also, their role in the revolution for freedom should not be underestimated.
2. The constellation of parties at the present time clearly continues to show the three types of world outlook, nationalism, religion, and marxism.

<sup>14)</sup> This agreement between the Dutch and the Republic was signed on January 17th, 1948. Under it, the Republic had to agree to recognize the established "Van Mook line" of the Dutch Army and to promise to evacuate all Republican troops fighting behind this line.





3. The political parties of the present time are centred more in the personalities of their leaders than in ideologies.
4. In the attitude they take towards the national government our political parties are still often guided by an oppositional attitude, a remnant of ways of thinking in dealing with the colonial regime.
5. The organisation of political parties at the present time particularly with regard to the registration of members, needs to be improved further in order to become a measure of their size.
6. The efforts of political parties at this time seem to be centred mainly in struggles in parliament and cabinet. They still pay too little attention to their activities among the people themselves.
7. The number of party leaders who because of their earlier activities in the struggle now occupy leading positions in the apparatus of government has led to a sort of bloodletting of the leadership of the people's movement, the effect being that their places in the leadership of the movement are filled by a new group of men who lack experience and often try to get prestige only by showing the boldness with which they oppose authority.

These then are some conclusions about the party system at the present time.

#### **XI. Conclusions about Parliament.**

What conclusions can we draw about parliamentarism at the present time?

1. The democratic parliamentary system of Western Europe is already mature in its development and based upon general elections. Still it can be seen to have several imperfections. It lacks expertness and the ability to control discussion so as to keep it focussed on the essentials of problems where these have many aspects. It makes decisions on the basis only of the tactical political situations of the party fractions, which are in turn not free but tied to the executive committees of their respective parties. Its decisions being based on the simple absolute majority, it is able in a situation of equal division, to give decisional power to the votes of only one or two people.

These same imperfections are also inherent in the Indonesian parliament.



2. Apart from these imperfections inherent in the democratic parliamentary system in general the Indonesian parliament has several other shortcomings as a logical consequence of its own historical development.

3. Its representativeness, which in any case cannot be complete, is less because of the process of many stages by which parliament was formed, the stages of

- a. the Preparatory Commission for Indonesian Independence,
- b. the Central National Committee,
- c. the Working Committee of the Central National Committee,
- d. those elected by the parliaments of the member states (in the federal period), and
- e. various appointees.

4. The further development of our political parties has caused disharmony between the desires that live in the community and the desires given official recognition in parliament. Thus we see that the representational relation between parliament and the political parties centers around the following factors:

- a. political parties try to persuade non-party members of parliament to join them;
- b. non-party members of parliament look for backing by becoming involved in the support of policies which they like;
- c. non-party members of parliament form fractions <sup>15)</sup> which are not based on any party, these being like the loose fractions in the former Volksraad. Otherwise they become themselves a motivating force for the formation of new parties.

This may be illustrated as follows.

Nominally the total number of members of the parliament of the unitary state was at the beginning 241. However, there were only 208 members who attended the first sessions. Of this number 32 did not join any fraction or party. At the present time the number of these independent members is only 16. At the beginning of the unitary state, there were only four fractions, i.e. the

<sup>15)</sup> In Indonesian usage the term "fraksi", here translated "fraction", means a group of parliamentary representatives, either of one party or of several parties and often including non-party members, who unitedly determine their parliamentary policy.

Masjumi fraction, the P.N.I. one, the Democrat one, and the Islam bloc. There were on the other hand, 32 political parties who had representatives in parliament.

Now our parliament has 16 fractions formed by political parties and two non-party fractions, the Democrat and the Progressive ones.

From these figures one can see the shift that I have mentioned above.

Although it has simplified party representation in parliament, this shift has at the same time not done away with the disharmony between the relative strength of parties among the people and of political directions in parliament.

Even with this shift the prestige of members of parliament is low when considered in relation to the actual amount of political activity in the community.

These then are our conclusions about the development of parliament and parties in Indonesia.

However great the shortcomings in the two democratic institutions "parliament" and "party" as they are functioning in Indonesia, it may be said that as long as we continue to stand on the principles of the Pantja Sila, and adhere to a system of parliamentary democracy, these two democratic institutions will be essentials of our government and society.

Although their manner of working may at times be annoying, we may not take a destructive attitude towards them. Instead we must take a positive and constructive attitude and help to push along developments making for their improvement. Any deviant development must be turned in the right direction without hindering development itself. For, whatever one may say about the present development of parliament and parties in Indonesia, similar development is being experienced by other instruments of the state and other social institutions formed only after the proclamation of independence. There is a certain interwovenness and inseparability about all these; each of them influences all the others.

Thus, as I have said above, there exists a very close bond especially between parliament, political parties and the army. They are all in a sense children of the same parents, their father the Preparatory Commission for Indonesian Independence and



their mother the Indonesian people. They were born during the revolution and nurtured in the period of compromise. They must then cooperate very closely.

At times, in its impatience, the revolution has swallowed its own sons. Don't at this period let compromise reach the stage where the sons swallow each other.

The key to the improvement of the situation lies in the hands of the community itself.

## ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN INDONESIA AND OUR WAY OUT.

By Dr. Sumitro Djojohadikusumo \*)

### I. The Overall Picture.

This is an effort to appraise the present situation, subsequently to project it into a perspective of the future. I will refrain from a mere statistical treatise on the different aspects of today's economy. Rather, it is an interpretation with due account to prevailing facts and figures. In view of the diverse complexities of problems and conflicting reports pertaining to present-day Indonesia, I feel that there is need for a realistic appraisal in which we see trends and figures in their true proportions.

There are those who, looking exclusively from the point of view of the balance of payments, are inclined to hold that the economy of this country is well on its way towards advancement. Referring to the balance of payments at the end of 1950, the improvement is indeed striking.

It should be recalled that only nine months ago we did not know how to get the wherewithal to meet our obligations, yet we entered the new year with a slight surplus in our balance of payments. From the short-term point of view, there is no indication that this increase will soon vanish in the near future. Where the countries of Western Europe are still suffering from inherent dollar-shortages, the dollar-sphere can be named as the best of our currency areas. For various reasons the guilder-area is the weakest point in our currency position. On the other hand, the increase of our export values is such that our proceeds of non-guilder currencies enable us to sufficiently cover our guilder deficits. No difficulty was experienced in selling our primary produce.

An opposite view is being held by those who base their judgement almost exclusively on existing huge budget-deficits, fearsome amount of money in circulation, inflationary dangers with domestic

\*) This article was written by Dr Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, the former Minister of Finance for "India Quarterly" and appeared in the October-December 1952 issue of the magazine.



prices skyrocketing, decreasing productivity with labour strikes as the order of the day; there are numerous non-economic factors in addition, such as grave deterioration of internal security, lack of moral and material authority of the central Government, traces of anti-foreign feelings, inefficiency of the Government machinery, corruption and inexperience.

This latter category of people is completely discouraged. It embraces both foreigners as well as Indonesians. Whatever hope they had, they have lost it. Whatever concept of the future or whatever sense of imagination they may have had, they see no perspective any more.

They see Indonesia moving along a downward spiral of which the end is not in sight, under circumstances where time is rapidly running out. Neither one of the two pictures given above presents of course the complete truth.

Those who contend that Indonesia's progress is an established fact are optimistic without adequate justification. It is equally true, however, that the dark and sombre views of the pessimists cannot be considered as well-founded.

Let us try then to approach our problems in a realistic manner, giving due credit to all factors involved.

The present situation is neither unequivocally good nor is it hopeless. Difficulties there are many, some of them of a grave nature. But I venture to say that they are not insuperable. I sincerely believe that we will manage to overcome them, that we will be able to pull through. Judging from mere figures, our balance of payments is far from unfavourable. At least, we will be able to meet our obligations in terms of debt-services and invisibles. By the same token, we may theoretically be able to supply our people with a reasonable flow of needed goods; we are able to allocate the required amount of foreign exchange pertinent to a reasonable quantity of imports.

However, looking more closely at the actual world situation in which we find ourselves today, such would be a hasty and erroneous conclusion. It is well to realize that the high level of world market prices for basic commodities (still the main basis of our economy) is being accompanied by an equally sustained high price-level of manufactured goods. Moreover, it is subject to doubt whether we can get in adequate quantities the goods required for the rehabilitation and the upkeep of our domestic economy. Already difficulties in maintaining a sufficient flow of goods have



*People work hard to increase salt production in Indonesia.*



caused an upward trend in domestic prices. Furthermore, how long will these profitable prices for raw materials continue?

A country such as ours, with an economy still dependent on a relatively small number of export-goods, is highly sensitive to the fluctuations of world markets. We owe the improvement of our balance of payments for a great deal to factors beyond our own control. What if sooner or later the tide turns? Shall we be able to keep up a good fight for our markets? It would be a dangerous thing if in our efforts to safeguard, let alone improve, the standard of living, we are at the mercy of our export-markets.

Foremost in our minds, therefore, is the question of production and its organization. All these are matters to be considered when we want to use the balance of payments as an indicator for the state of our economy. In making a prognosis on the basis of present and anticipated figures of our balance of payments, it is well to proceed cautiously.

On the other hand, we refuse to accept the defeatism prevalent among a number of people, who see no way out of their day-to-day troubles. Throwing up their hands in despair, they let themselves drift and allow a dangerous mood to take the upper hand. I exclude the minority, which derives a certain kind of joy from the bad aspects of present conditions; in these circles, with a hardly controlled and morbid sense of satisfaction, word is privately being passed 'I told you so'.

Certainly, the picture as presented by budget-deficits, great amount of money in circulation, low productivity, frequency of labour-strikes, growing insecurity, is not an encouraging one.

Let us face it squarely. Even a cursory glance makes one fully realize that the job to be done is a most difficult one. Far be it from me to give a rosy interpretation of the hard facts and figures that we have before us. I could myself name numerous other factors which would darken the picture even more. I am a daily witness to the sad reality of a lack of "managerial skill", both within the administration as well as among private Indonesian business. I am painfully aware of the slackness and slowness of the government machinery; in addition to the usual kind of bureaucracy that one finds everywhere in government, there are only a small number of administrators able to combine experience with bold imagination and decisive action, badly required by the present situation. Worse even is the lack of follow-up people in the middle ranks.

I am also conscious of the ever-present danger of corruption,

mainly due to enduring hardships which the ordinary civil servants have to face. They can hardly meet the minimum requirements of daily life. Nor do I wish to conceal that the masses in the rural areas are getting restive. Outside the cities dissatisfaction prevails. They were, in the past, brought under the impression that freedom would bring them the moon — now they ask for the moon.

They do not comprehend why things have remained as they are.

The youth find it difficult to adjust themselves. Quite a few have become disappointed and pose the question: 'What did we fight for?' Having been used to handling a rifle, they resort to it too easily when they do not get what they want soon enough.

Too many don't realize that years of Japanese occupation, internal strife, two military actions, disruption of productive output, disintegration of authority, social dislocations and all that these things entail, cannot fail to mark their effects for years and years to come.

I am not blind to all such things; at times they are quite disheartening. But by the same token I have come to the conclusion that there definitely are bridgeheads — from which we can meet the challenge of the situation with more than a fair chance of success. The past seven months after the inception of the Unitary State have been a tedious period, both as to economic problems as well as other issues. In spite of difficulties and disappointments, we could observe a dogged determination among many groups in all sections, not only to prevent disintegration, but to make and do things with fervour and zeal.

There is a continuous process of destruction as well as of growth. To the superficial onlooker the constructive forces have hitherto been overshadowed by the elements of disruption. They have not come sufficiently to the fore to catch the imaginative eye. But they are there just the same.

Close observation and analysis of the experience of the past half year seems to warrant the conclusion that the Government was on the right track when in September of last year in its Statement before Parliament, the main accent of its economic policy was stressed on organizing the economic strength of the small producers. It boils down to giving highest priority to stimulating and organizing the productive activities in rural areas. This equally and simultaneously refers to the agricultural as well as the industrial field. The majority, by far, of our population comprise small



producers, foodcrop-peasants, growers of rubber, copra, etc., as well as people engaged in small-scale industries.

The key to the manifold problems of Indonesia lies in the extent to which we will succeed in what we may call our "community approach in rural development". The plight of the small producers is indeed something to think about. Even with booming prices for our basic commodities, the producers only receive a small fraction of the total proceeds. The bulk goes to commercial houses in the big cities or to middlemen, collecting the produce. In small-scale industries aspects of organization are even more important than the mere technical process of production.

Improvement of transportation and communications, engineering works, specific projects such as those submitted to the Eximbank, modernizing industrial equipment of large-scale units, are necessary conditions; but they should be regarded as supporting elements to productive activities connected with rural development. They should be planned and implemented within the framework of increasing the economic strength of small producers.

Should we lose sight of this fundamental principle, there would be the danger that too much attention would be focussed on setting up large-scale units and big factories as projects in themselves. While giving urban centres a modern industrial outlook, it would leave the plight of the small producer in the same state, if not worse. Ultimately, it would bring about inevitable social dislocations and unrest which in turn would turn loose forces disruptive to the economy of the country as a whole.

With this fundamental concept in mind we have gone ahead this past half year with our programme for economic development of the rural areas. This stage was primarily an experimental one. We continuously had to keep in mind that failures of some importance would create disappointments with more than ordinary consequences. Reorganization of extension services was implemented with a view to rendering State credit facilities for village cooperatives as well as for cooperatives on a higher level. Credits were actually granted in various areas covering both farmer's as well as industrial cooperatives. The farmer's cooperatives considered eligible included rice-growers as well as other producers. Activities in the field as growers of tobacco, sugar, kapok, copra and of rural industries have been intensified. Industrial centres for finishing processes have been established with Government's help, both technical as well as financial.

The transition of former village credit banks into village credit cooperatives has been implemented in certain parts of Indonesia, e.g. in West Java, Central Java and in some areas of the other islands. The channels and methods of rendering credit and other aid to cooperative associations are getting organized. For the purpose of credit aid, a central credit foundation is already at work. It is the ultimate aim that after a certain number of years this central credit foundation, now still under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Commerce & Industry, will be transformed into an autonomous central cooperative credit bank, servicing the village and other cooperative associations, for which the spade work is now being done.

In the meantime, we have worked on our short-term economic plan<sup>\*)</sup>. This plan covers a period of two years. It includes a programme for intensified development of cooperatives, sponsoring and strengthening organizations and associations of small and middle-class business enterprises, and also our industrial programme. In the industrial programme emphasis is laid on the development of small-scale industries. It will be the foundation for the future long-term industrialization and economic development of Indonesia.

Apart from strengthening the bargaining power of the producers in the small-scale industries there is the very important consideration that sound small-scale industries as a source of steady



*Mechanised farming is being introduced in Indonesia to help increase food production.*

<sup>\*)</sup> See below, "The Industrialization of Indonesia".



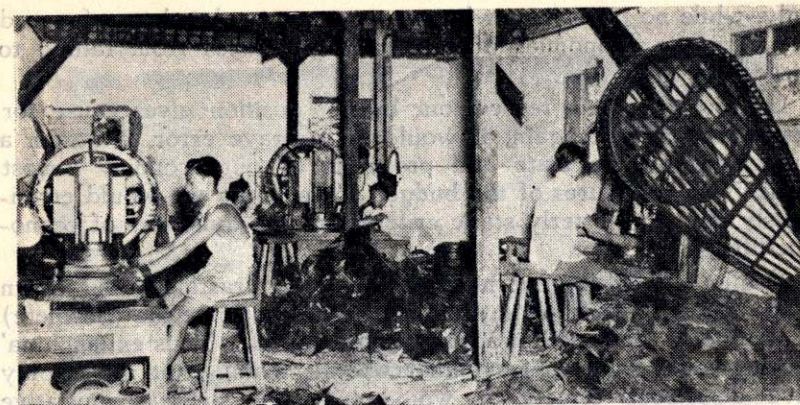
employment and income will to a considerable extent alleviate the burden of 'disguised unemployment', which is rampant especially in the agricultural areas in Java. It can furthermore mean a source which would attract former guerrillas and demobilized men who, for lack of constructive work, up till now have very often disrupted law and order by roaming about the country. In this industrial programme are also included a number of large-scale industries.

But, as I stressed before, the idea is that the large-scale industries function as a supporting element to facilitate and strengthen the development of domestic rural industries. We have included in the short-term programme those large industries which can be started and made ready for operation within a period of two years. In the meantime we will continue with projects of other industries, which for technical reasons can only be set up in large units and which require a much longer period as to implementation and putting into operational stage. Some of them will require four to five years, or even more, before they will reach the stage of completion.

I mention the above as a concretization of the underlying principles which guide us in our economic policy. To my mind, the implementation of those principles forms the only solution for the economic impasse, which our country now faces in more than one respect.

I should however like to draw attention to one striking feature. We fully realize that we have drawn up our short-term plan for economic reconstruction in a rather unorthodox way. Usually, a government or a country starts to draw up a plan for a rather long term, covering a period of five years, for instance, or even for several five-year periods. However, in view of the particular situation we decided under the circumstances that this would not get us one step further.

On the basis of 'first things first', considerations of expediency had to be given priority. From an overall point of view, we decided to start immediately with drafting a programme the implementation of which will enable us to prevent further disintegration, and subsequently to achieve a satisfactory degree of stability. Only then can we have a foundation upon which to build our long-term plans for further economic development. It is in this light that the short-term economic programme should be regarded. Allowance must be given for some flexibility in the programme itself. It needs polishing, alterations and, if necessary, deviations must be possible



More and more national industries are coming up. This is the enamel factory in Djakarta.

as we go along and gain experience during the actual implementation.

The problem of obtaining goods for domestic economy is a matter of concern. We are for the greater part dependent on imports from abroad, both in the consumptive sector as well as for raw materials for our domestic industries. It is realized that, in view of the international situation, more difficulties will have to be faced in this respect. The possibility to get goods is one of the determinants to soften inflationary trends caused by money in circulation in the domestic sphere. This aspect of our economy is the principal consideration which guides us in our policy on foreign trade.

It is all very well to speak of untenably high prices of raw materials in the world markets, but it only gives one side of the picture. I would like to stress that the benefits assertedly gained by producers of primary produce are only of relative importance. The producers are highly dependent for the supply of their daily requirements on manufactured goods of the industrial countries. This certainly is true in the case of Indonesia. The price-trends of manufactured goods for which the proceeds of our commodities are being spent have shown a similar increase at the same rate.

In addition, manufactured goods have become more and more difficult to obtain as a result of various kinds of restrictions. It does not seem quite fair, therefore, to demand the establishment of controls on production, exports and prices of raw materials



only, while no provisions whatever are contemplated to safeguard the domestic economies of producers' countries from falling to pieces.

In more than one respect our budget position gives cause for apprehension. But again, it would be a grave error to attach a judgement on the state and prospects of our economy almost exclusively to figures of the budget. In so doing we would erroneously apply an utterly static criterion to the dynamics of economic life.

While it is of urgent necessity that we drastically cut down many unjustifiable expenditures, we should not give the (obsolete) concept of a 'balanced budget' the meaning of a 'deus ex machina' which would save us from all economic evils. That might only give disastrous effects. It would inevitably decrease initiative (now more needed than ever), eliminate perspective and banish all hope by sacrificing economic possibilities for the sake of balancing static figures. It would not help us in getting over the many 'humps' that we have now before us. Looking at the objective possibilities and potentialities, a policy of budget deficits during the next number of years is justified, as long as everything is being done to enable economic life in general and productive activity in particular to gain momentum again.

A word about labour-problems and the wave of strikes that has been going on until recently. It is a matter of life and death to keep production going in Indonesia. It implies that, in the overall interest of the country, it is our first duty to maintain and safeguard the productive sources now available to our community. For this purpose, the organization of production should be adjusted to make equitable distribution possible.

But it stands to reason that before we can even start the process of distribution, we must at least have something that can be distributed at all. In other words it is a matter of **produce or perish**. Actually, the two desiderata — production and equitable distribution of the national income — are not inconsistent with each other; they are two aspects of the same problem and objective. It would, therefore, be disastrous to allow available productive sources to be hampered and disrupted just for the sake of agitation, slogans and false popularity. It may seem brave to scream at 'foreign interests' and to demand their confiscation or even destruction. Should we be tempted to give in to such tendencies, where would the interests of the common people come into the picture?



A water reservoir under construction; when completed, this reservoir can irrigate at least 20,000 hectares of land.

There would hardly be anything left to meet their basic material needs. After these years of hardships, it would mean to them an additional burden; their suffering would be beyond imagination. No responsible Government would ever allow such a thing to happen. I would like to submit that in many instances the demand for wage-increases have real economic justification, as a result of the increased costs of living. But the problem will not be solved by resorting to increased money wages as such. If not followed up or accompanied by an increase in productive output, the community would be even worse off; soon enough will we find ourselves in the maelstrom of a vicious circle of inflationary trends, because of the greater flow of money amongst the social groups.



Furthermore, we are faced with the hard fact that the national output of the country is still considerably less than before the war. Accordingly, it is unavoidable that for a number of years we have to go through a process during which the community as a whole has to be content with less than would be possible under normal conditions. Up till now, it has been the group of peasants and small producers who suffered most from decreased productive output.

Last but not least, it became increasingly clear that a certain pattern was discernible in the frequency and methods of numerous strikes. It was obvious that to a large extent strikes were called, not in the interest of the workers concerned, but as a political weapon of certain groups; not with the objective to improve actual conditions for the common people, but to make it difficult for the Government, any government for that matter. A strategy is being carried out to disrupt production and thereby the economic basis of the country.

According to well prepared plans, political capital is being made out of bad economic and social conditions, not with the interests of the Indonesians at heart, but solely for reasons alien to Indonesia and its people.

It is a mere truism to say that our ability and possibility to pursue an independent policy in foreign affairs (because of our conviction that such will be to the best interests of Indonesia) bears a direct relation to our ability to get things internally under control. In other words, with our ability to ensure production and, consequently, achieve economic as well as political stability.

Lack of 'managerial skill' applies equally to the administration as to private business. Even the dyed-in-the-wool chauvinist must have realized by now that more important than potential wealth of a country is the power to create wealth and transform the potentialities into realities. Our best plans will remain paperwork, unless we have people to carry them out.

It is here that the various technical assistance programmes as envisaged by agencies of the United Nations, the United States and by the Colombo Plan can prove of invaluable aid to implement the programmes that we projected for our economic reconstruction. It is necessary, however, that a great deal more coordination be achieved amongst afore-mentioned agencies themselves. Because of the various and diverse proposals, suggestions, overlapping, crosswiring by those agencies, such lack of

coordination tends to create a dangerous kind of confusion amongst our own people that should not be underestimated in its consequences. Secondly, the kind of aid — both material as well as in terms of technical experts — should be completely geared to the plans and programmes as formulated by the Government of the areas involved.

As far as Indonesia is concerned, it boils down to strengthening and improving the extension services, setting up training-centres, teaching the people in the field how to do the job. It means aid to put the deplorable state of our laboratories on their feet again, to set up and implement pilot-projects in the agricultural as well as in the industrial sectors. On the whole, the dominant issue in Indonesia is the problem of training and educating the people for the purpose of obtaining the required managerial skill — training in the fields of administration, commerce, finance, economic field work, engineering, and an endless number of other sections.

On our part, we have gone ahead with our work in getting trained people. Some months ago, we have formally opened our Graduate School of Business Administration where theoretical study is being combined with actual practice. The courses are given during the evening hours, as almost all students work during the daytime either in private business or in government-agencies.

Before long, courses will be opened for civil servants, engaged in industrial extension services. They are meant to improve the quality of consultants to small industries in the rural areas. As to our extension services for development of co-operatives, we are ready to open a similar course. Moreover, we are sending out young people to get training abroad during a period of approximately two years. A beginning has been made with the first group. They will be stationed with our missions in various countries. They will be trained under the supervision of qualified Trade Commissioners, chiefs of economic sections of embassies, technical experts working in our missions and so on. It will also be necessary to send more groups abroad to get them placed in foreign banks, commercial houses, economic organizations, so they can get a thorough practical training in the day-to-day work of the organizations and learn their business right from the start.

It is in this way, added with technical assistance that we hope will be provided, that we try to solve the problem of trained people. It would be foolish to assume, as is being actually done in certain



quarters, that we can do without technical experts from abroad. We have to bring them in, either through the technical assistance programmes, or at our own initiative, or both. The success of our economic plans is greatly dependent on the degree in which we can increase within the shortest possible time both the quality and the number of the people that must do the job.

We will encounter numerous disappointments and discouragements, but we will face them with our eyes wide open.

The job ahead is more than tough — but it can be done: it is a matter of 'never say die'.

In addition to the above-mentioned factors, there is unequal distribution of the population among the various regions of Indonesia. We have the unproportional density of population in Java, and on the other hand the shortage of manpower in areas outside Java, with the consequence that the economic potentialities cannot be fully utilized.

Another factor is that of lack of 'managerial skill' which I have already mentioned above. By pointing out these basic defects inherent in our economic structure, it has become clear in which



Rice is the staple diet of the Indonesian people. It is therefore the main concern of the Government to increase rice production.

direction we should go in order to extricate ourselves out of the present economic morass.

Whether we like it or not, the following problems should be tackled forthwith if we want to change our economic structure.

1. (a) Balanced economy and the broadening of the foundation of the economic structure.
- (b) An increase of production and of national income and purchasing power of the majority of the people.
- (c) Mitigation of the burden of 'disguised unemployment'.
2. Migration. This in the first place to lessen the population pressure of Java. The scheme of migration should form an integral part of the plans of industrialization and others.
3. To fill up the lack of 'managerial skill' which directly affects the nature of the aims of education.
4. The coordination of the economic activities of the people, especially as mentioned in the overall picture, and the development of rural areas.

## II. The Food Problem.

### A. Food.

In the field of food, production has already reached the pre-war level. The average annual output of rice between 1935 and 1939 was 6,400,000 tons. In 1950 the rice production in Indonesia amounted to 6,300,000 tons while the 1951 index has already surpassed somewhat the pre-war level of production. However we should take into account the increase of population from 66.7 millions before the war to about 76-77 millions at present. The available quantity of rice per capita is thus less at present compared to pre-war. Before the war the available quantity of rice per head was 90 kilograms per year, while the average need per person was 82 kilograms per year. Similarly the quantity of fish available per head was 7.1 kilograms, while after the war it amounts only to 3 kilograms.

The problem is thus: the increase of production to obtain an equilibrium while taking into account the increase of population. Besides attention should be paid to the substance of the diet which should contain items of importance for the health and energy of the people. At present the composition of the diet is not satisfactory and it is very necessary that attention should be paid to this question.



The regional situation is as follows:—

Sumatra has several areas which have a rice deficit, amounting to 272,000 tons annually. On the other hand there are also several surplus areas in Sumatra, which have a surplus output of rice amounting to 42,000 tons. As such Sumatra on the whole has a rice deficit of 230,000 tons. The arable lands in Sumatra can easily be expanded by another 250,000 hectares for the cultivation of rice.

Kalimantan (Borneo) has a rice deficit of 70,000 tons per year. There are all possibilities of meeting this shortage, but it may take more than 5 years before this objective can be achieved. It is estimated that within ten years Kalimantan can be made self-supporting in food production, if the efforts of land reclamation are started forthwith and the work intensified. Within the period of 5 years, the above deficit can be brought down to 35,000 tons.

In Sulawesi (Celebes), the Moluccas and the Lesser Sunda Isles, the surplus areas are South Sulawesi and Bali which have a surplus of 65,000 tons of rice. On the other hand these regions also contain deficit areas like North Sulawesi and the Moluccas with a deficit of 60,000 tons annually. So, in fact these regions comprising Sulawesi (Celebes), the Moluccas and the Lesser Sunda Isles are just self-sufficient.

Apart from this, South Sulawesi still offers possibilities for increasing production. The surplus in this area can still be increased to about 60,000 to 100,000 tons. This additional surplus should then be directed to the minus areas of Kalimantan (Borneo) and Sumatra.

On the condition that the process of production in Java be intensified and the work carried out in an efficient manner, it will be safe to say that the rice deficit for the whole of Indonesia will not be more than 265,000 tons annually. Taking into consideration the abovementioned figures and keeping also in mind the pressing conditions in Java, it is estimated that for the whole of Indonesia an annual import of rice amounting to 200,000—300,000 tons is considered a necessity.

At present there are several schemes to tackle the problems in the fields of production and consumption of food. These schemes are:—

a. the Special Welfare Scheme of 1949,

b. the Kasimo Plan,

c. The Gunung Iskandar Plan.

The implementation of these agricultural schemes should be carried out with more vigour than what is visible on the surface at present in order to surmount the difficulties we are in now. The question is also closely related to the question of fisheries.

#### B. Fisheries.

A regrettable factor is the decrease in the consumption of fish, the present consumption being not more than 50 per cent of pre-war days. The present annual consumption is about 3 kilograms per person. This is very little. The average annual consumption of fish in Britain for instance amounts to 25 kilograms per person, besides the consumption of a significant quantity of meat. In Japan the figure of fish consumption amounts to 50 kilograms per person per year.



In the catch of fish, Indonesia also makes use of these modern "mayang" boats. Built in Japan, these boats are 9 tons net and 15 tons gross with a speed of 6 to 7 knots.



Problems in this field are:

1. Better fish breeding in conjunction with rice cultivation, in the lakes and swamps of Kalimantan (Borneo).
  2. Better fish conservation in order to encourage the growth of fish markets near the big lakes and swamps in Sulawesi (Celebes) and Kalimantan (Borneo).
  3. The expansion and intensification of pond fishery.
  4. Import of fishery equipment and implements.
- C. *Cattle Breeding (Cattle Husbandry).*

Cattle breeding in Indonesia is primarily directed to meeting the requirements of draught animals. The production of meat is very insignificant. On the other hand skin processing is also important for export as well as for the leather industry at home. The consumption of food in the form of meat, chickens (fowl) etc. does not amount to more than 3 kilograms per person annually. During the Japanese occupation and several years after the Japanese surrender, conditions had led to the slaughter and destruction of cattle and other animals on a mass scale. It is estimated that the rehabilitation work in this field will take 5 to 6 years.

### III. Primary Production.

#### *Agricultural Products.*

The composition of the agricultural products for home as well as for export trade can be put into two categories: those which are produced by the people themselves and those which are products of foreign-owned plantations.

#### 1. Agricultural Products of the People.

After world war II, the production is very low and has not yet reached the pre-war level. Yet the agricultural productive capacity of the people records more progress compared to the production in foreign-owned plantations. With regard to the plantations owned by the people, only the production of the so-called people's rubber has already surpassed the pre-war level. Taking into consideration the present situation, the development and progress of the agricultural production of the people depends largely on the following factors:

- a. the improvement of transport facilities, including the network of roads, especially for the transport of agricultural products;

- b. the provision to the peasants in those producing areas of implements and equipment and stock of consumer goods (regularly).

Only in this way will producers feel encouraged and inspired to produce more.

The availability of agricultural equipment and implements (like spades, ploughs, sickles etc.) is certainly very important to increase the level of production.

The producers should be assured that they themselves will receive the greater part of the proceeds of their produce. Organization is, therefore, very important: efforts aimed at making the organizations of these producers more perfect and strong should certainly be encouraged, whether by cooperatives or other forms.

*Production of quinine has already reached its pre-war level.*



#### 2. Estates (Plantations).

The produce of the estates as well as its export volume are much lower than pre-war. Here capital investment plays a more important role. The estates' production up to now has always to face various difficulties such as insecurity and labour problems. Considering that export of these agricultural products still constitutes an important source of foreign exchange, needed to finance some economic reconstruction at home, we shall keep in mind that the sources of income in the estates' production will still play a role which cannot be ignored. At least the produce and the sale



of the Government owned estates' enterprises should always be protected and given full attention to.

### Forestry.

Forestry constitutes a problem of a very important nature. So far insufficient attention has been paid to this question either by the public or by official circles. What forestry means to our economy can better be explained by the following:

1. The preservation of the forests is important for the climatic conditions and the preservation of the soil. Also with regard to the preservation of the water supply.

2. Timber is a good export product and is also needed for the construction-projects at home, to meet the requirements of the connected industries.

3. Forestry also constitutes a source of forest products which are valuable as a means of obtaining foreign exchange. These forest products are meant for export, while part of them is utilized to meet the requirements at home. In Java every hectare of forest land and its contents are registered. But other regions are still neglected. In those regions even registration has not been started.



The production of tin, Indonesia's second-most important export product, is also increasing.

The exploitation of these forests outside Java has been and is at present for the greater part still in private hands, mostly foreign. In Borneo, Sumatra and Celebes many forest products constitute export goods of importance, like rattan, damar, forest rubber, mangrove timber, fruits, eucalyptus, various forest seeds, timber etc.

Especially in Java very great damage has been caused to the teak forests. The damage had mainly been caused by the activities of the Japanese occupation forces, the consequences of the revolution and disorders and also because of the irresponsible activities on the part of the people who are not aware of the significance of forestry with regard to the economy of the country as a whole. The real productive capacity of the teak wood is very small at present.

The most important things to be done in the field of forestry are:

1. reafforestation;
2. the rehabilitation and the improvement of the means and implements of production;
3. registration of forest lands especially those outside Java. These efforts will take about ten years. A handicap is the shortage of foresters. At present there are only one or two Indonesian experts who have received sufficient education and training. The question of training in this field constitutes an important problem.

### Mining.

Important sources which can be efficiently utilized for the prosperity of Indonesia are the riches which are lying dormant in the earth. The important products of the mining industries are: tin, bauxite, petrol and coal.

At present the rehabilitation of the means of production has been carried out and the productive capacity of the tin industry has already reached the pre-war level. The level of production of the oil industry has already surpassed the pre-war level. The rehabilitation of this oil industry after the war has been carried out by the oil companies themselves. These enterprises are still operating under a contract with the Indonesian Government under the so-called 'let alone agreement'. According to this agreement these foreign-owned oil industries are not under the control of the



Indonesian Foreign Exchange Institute with regard to import and export of the products and sale. This agreement was entered into by the former Netherlands East Indies Government with oil companies like the Royal Dutch Shell (B.P.M.), Stanvac and Caltex before the transfer of sovereignty. This agreement is still valid up to the end of 1952/1953. The question of this so-called 'let alone agreement' and the whole question connected with the mining industries need due attention.

#### IV. Industry, Transport and Power.

##### Industry.

Industry has not yet played a significant role in the economic life of the country. Before the war, the number of people who earned their livelihood in the industrial field was about 3 million; out of this number 350,000 were engaged in the factories and industries, which produced manufactured goods.

The position of the industry before the war can be judged from the value of industrial production, which is as follows:—

Handicraft Industry .....	110	m rupiahs
Small-scale Industry .....	32	m rupiahs
Small-scale Industry on retail basis .....	19.8	m rupiahs
Manufactured goods Industry .....	20.6	m rupiahs
Fabrics .....	58	m rupiahs
Totalling all together about .....	240	m rupiahs

We can see that out of this total amount the greater part is contributed by the handicraft industry.

After world war II, the industrial apparatus in Indonesia has suffered severe damage, caused by the Japanese occupation and by military actions after the Japanese surrender. After the transfer of sovereignty, the consequences of those actions and the steps taken in the monetary fields are certainly not factors beneficial for the development and progress of the industry <sup>1)</sup>.

At present, the level of production has not yet reached 60% of the pre-war level of production. To Indonesia, the development of industry is of prime importance.

At present, the Government has in fact a scheme for industrialization ready on hand, which forms a part of the Economic Emer-

<sup>1)</sup> In 1946, the level of production is estimated to be between 20 and 30% of the pre-war production; in 1947 about 40% and in 1949 about 50%.

gency Scheme. This Emergency Scheme constitutes an attempt to lay the foundation for the development of industry, and this scheme will cover a period of two years. This scheme can be viewed from the angle of short-term objective to be achieved as well as from the standpoint of necessity for our community. This necessity is a means to prevent the process of disintegration, which is now discernible in some groups of the community. This scheme for industrialization has not yet been implemented satisfactorily within the time limit. The above-mentioned scheme is aimed at the development of industry in Indonesia in all its aspects: the cottage, small-scale, medium-sized and the large-scale industries. Proper attention should be paid to the efforts to develop the small-scale and medium-sized industries. However, several projects for large-scale industries have been planned alongside the abovementioned scheme; but which because of technical reasons can only be realized in big units. These big industrial projects have been planned in such a way that the various units can perform the role as a promoting force for the intensification of industrial activities, aimed at the development of the various regions. It has also been planned to increase the economic potentialities by introducing the small-scale producer into the field. Viewed from the angle of capital investment and its influence, the industrial aspect can be grouped into four categories:

1. Vital industries and strategically important — these industries ought to be in the hands of the Government, or at least the Government should exercise paramount control over them.

2. Small-scale and medium-sized industries which should be left to the people.

3. Industry, which is considered as not being of strategic and vital importance but which is considered as being important because it exercises a direct influence on the development of industry in the country or in some other fields. Indonesian interests should participate in this industry, whether it is from official side or from private sector, and Indonesian interests should be predominant over foreign interests.

4. The remaining industries, which may still provide significant opportunities, can be left over to the initiative of private capital. Another guiding line, which is also still to be taken into account is the utilization of raw materials, used in the industry in Indonesia.

The industries which we want to develop in Indonesia should be such as for the greater part could utilize raw materials which



are already to be found in Indonesia and those which are already produced in the land. This policy has got many advantages, for they can economize the requirements of foreign exchange, and also in a state of emergency these industries do not depend on imported raw materials. Not only in time of war but also at other times when it is difficult or impossible to obtain them, the industries can still continue to function.

An equilibrium should be found between three guiding factors, referred to above, in our efforts, aimed at the industrialization of our country in the future. These three guiding factors are as follows:

- a. the industrial aspect of the small-scale, medium-sized and large-scale industries;
- b. the aspect of capital investment and its influence;
- c. the aspect of the utilization of raw materials in the industry.

#### *Transport and Communication — Conditions of Roads.*

We need not explain at length the importance of conditions of transport and communications to such a country as Indonesia. Both from the strategic and from the economic points of view, for an archipelago, sea transport is of course of vital importance. Economically transport should be at the service of economic progress. The capacity of transport should be enough for the movements of the minimum goods and people without taking any risk and without heavy cost. Secondly it should also be useful for opening new areas or for the increase of possibilities for development in new economic fields.

Much work has still to be done in respect of every form of transport in Indonesia, from bicycles, bullock-carts to civil aviation. According to the schemes now available in official circles, it would take five to ten years to keep up to the present needs and for those in the future. Much attention should be given to the importance of this problem and it should not be looked at only from the point of view of technical reconstruction. Too much of foreign exchange has been used for cars for personal use, whereas the country needs more trucks and buses, so that even today the most productive areas are still badly in need of means of transport. Transport by road deserves certainly more attention than rail transport. The maintenance and reconstruction of the roads are of vital importance for progress of our present economy. The following figures will give an idea of the conditions.



*Building roads in Sumatra.*

Of the 33 thousand road miles, 7,700 or 25% are in need of very heavy reconstruction. So far the maintenance of the roads has not yet received due attention from the Government, and if the government is not able to do that, it should be left to private organizations. Private business people could be invited to repair the roads on a contract basis on conditions laid down by the Government. If we should wait until we could produce our technicians, we have then to wait for another 25 years. Employing foreigners will have the advantage of immediacy as there are many private companies who are established with all tools and equipment and are in fact specialized for such work. The same could be said for the reconstruction of the harbours.

#### *Irrigation.*

Nobody knows for the moment what should be done or could be done in the field of irrigation. This regrettable circumstance



is more painful as everybody is aware of the fact that irrigation and agriculture are still the most vital points in the economy of Indonesia. Thousands of acres even in Java could be more productive with better irrigation; 332,000 hectares are still open for irrigation, out of which 288,000 hectares are for irrigation during the dry season. Similarly in Sumatra 125,000 hectares, in Kalimantan 209,000 hectares, in East Indonesia 102,000 hectares, or a total of 768,000 hectares await irrigation.

#### *Electric Power.*

This is, will be and will remain in the future, a very important factor in the economy of Indonesia. It is necessary for the future economic development of the country. The available power is now insufficient for the present needs. The demand for power is far more than what could be supplied, and it is well over 50%, and in the industrial areas even a hundred percent. The need for more electric power is felt everywhere, but of course first of all in the industrial field. The industrial capacity is more or less limited with the shortage of the electric power; in fact there is a waste of industrial capacity in the country because of the lack of electric power. Electric power will determine the industrial progress, and in fact further the economic development of the country. Any plan for economic development will be determined by the availability of electric power. In fact the limit has been reached and no further progress can actually now be achieved. A strange situation has already occurred. It is only here in Indonesia that the consumption of electric power for household use exceeds that for industrial purposes. It is in fact 65% to 35%. The possibilities for the increase of electric power outside of Java should also be considered such as in Sumatra, Kalimantan, East Indonesia and other areas.

### **V. International Economic Relations.**

#### *a. The Balance of Trade.*

The developments in foreign trade show that since the end of the war up to 1949, we have suffered from a negative balance of trade and it was only in 1950 that a surplus balance has been achieved, mainly because of the rise in prices of raw materials and agricultural products since the Korean war. But it shows only the rise in prices and not in volume of the exported goods. The

export value in 1950 is not the same as that of 1949, whereas the volumes differ only by 7%. Trade with the outside world is still fluent. Of all the foreign exchange earned, not less than 65 to 70% come from the sale of rubber and tin. The picture shows no difference in the pattern of export and import as compared



*The number of cooperatives also grow steadily. This is the office of "Bank Kooperasi Wanita" Women's Cooperative Bank in Manado, North Celebes.*

to pre-war conditions. Netherlands interests are controlling the market to a great extent. Holland and Singapore are important sectors for Indonesia's foreign trade. Another important factor is that the import of consumer goods far exceeds that of raw materials or semi-finished products or capital goods needed for industrial development. In any plan for development, the import of raw materials, semi-finished products and capital goods should be given a priority.

#### *b. Balance of Payments.*

The balance of payments shows another surplus in 1950, and without counting foreign aid, not less than 500 million Indonesian rupiahs, with foreign exchange value. This surplus was even



bigger in 1951. From the point of view of balance of payments, the Indonesian foreign exchange is satisfactory, but it does not give an indication of the situation and of the state of economic development in Indonesia. As it is we have a big surplus of foreign exchange, but it is feared that it cannot be used for the economic development of the country. It has become more and more difficult to import goods from industrial countries, goods which are necessary for the maintenance of the present economic conditions. Industrial goods are becoming scarce.

#### VI. The Organization of Internal Economic Forces.

The organization of the economic forces within the country is needed not only for the increase of production, or the expansion of production, but also for the distribution of the wealth produced. Furthermore, manpower could also be a subject for active more than for passive use in the economic process. One of the forms for organization of these forces is the cooperative way. Although in pre-war days, cooperative movements had been started, a definite government policy towards this problem has never been followed—at least certainly not as integral parts in the economic set-up of the country. The attention given by the colonial government to this aspect had been very little. It is understandable, as the economic organization and the views of economic justice were based on the colonial interests. There were in pre-war days, 540 cooperative societies including credit, consumption, production and other cooperatives, and also cooperatives for the abolishment of debts, all in all with a membership of 42,000 and a capital of 1,182,783 Netherlands Indies guilders. At the end of 1951, the number has increased to 818. Besides that there are more than 3,000 others which have not yet been recognized officially by the department for cooperatives. They can be regarded as future cooperative societies. All the cooperative societies have now a total capital of 20,057,347 Indonesian rupiahs. The co-operative movements have suffered during the war. Many have been destroyed during the war and others during the struggle against the Dutch. There were some cooperative societies before the war which were set up with the aim of helping the small producer who suffered the small mortgage systems of their land and their fruit gardens. This has now become again a very important factor, as reports coming from East, Middle and West Java show that this system of small mortgages, is ruining again the small producers.

The number of members of cooperative societies has since the end of the war been growing considerably and is now fifteen times the number in pre-war days. During 1951 the Government had supplied a loan of six million rupiahs, and the credit given by the village banks amounted to seven million. The plan was to provide the association with a loan of 86 million as an urgency programme. Several reasons can be given for the failure of the implementation of this plan. Firstly, the programme was submitted to the Natsir government, which soon after the adoption of this programme resigned. Secondly, the department of cooperatives has not been well organized. Thirdly, there is still a lack of understanding in the use of credits given by the government on the part of the people in charge of the cooperative associations. Cadres for the cooperative movement should be formed immediately, and more should be given to people already in charge now of big associations with heavy responsibilities. The big centres are in West Java where sound development can be expected.

One fact should be noted here, which struck the writer; that is, the choice of the people beginning the establishment of a cooperative society, is always for the most difficult form of cooperative society, and that is for consumption. In fact the people forget that once they start these cooperative societies, they have entered the field of trade and there is a danger that such cooperatives will soon be transformed into a purely trade organization which will only think of competition and which will not be able to compete in technique and knowledge of the private traders, and it is, therefore, advisable to start with easier forms of cooperatives, such as credit or production cooperatives or village cooperatives, and to start with consumption cooperatives only when all the others have been established. Another feature in the development is that many societies have too many members so that discipline, which is so necessary for the growth of the organization, will always lack. The urgent economic plan of the government which was adopted by the Natsir cabinet, provides for other forms also in which native forces will play a prominent part. The implementation of this plan, however, has not been satisfactory.

#### VII. National Income.

It is obvious that a decrease in production and consumption and the decrease also in the economic strength of the people as





Inside an Indonesian textile factory.

described above will be reflected in the national income of Indonesia.

The following tables will give a fair idea of the national income of Indonesia in 1938, with some adjustments made by the author of this article, based on the calculation done by the Government of the Netherlands East Indies in 1938:

	1921	1926	1930	1934	1938	1948
I. Income of Indonesians .....	3.94	3.84	2.13	1.56	2.01	1.64
II. Income of non-Indonesians .....	0.64	0.88	1.02	0.52	0.68	0.52
III. Other incomes .....	0.34	0.47	0.06	0.08	0.15	0.14
IV. National income (in billion rupiahs) .....	4.92	5.19	3.21	2.16	2.84	2.30
V. Index, 100, 1938 .....	1.75	1.84	1.61	7.1	100	82

The figures given above are based on the 1938 index of 100. It therefore gives a picture of the economic development during these 25 years. So the real income in 1948 was only 82% of that of 1938, and I think that for 1950, considering the progress made since 1948, could not be more than 90% of the figures of 1938 which is 2.54 billion rupiahs (1938 rupiahs). A further estimate could be given for the income per capita with some adjustments, that is allowing for the increase of population from 67.5 million in 1938, to 75/77 million in 1950.

These figures as given in Table II below are certainly rough figures, as, although based on the 1938 figures, they give no

indication as to the difference in wages and salaries received by workers and other employees, nor do they indicate the big difference between the payments for experts and for unskilled labour.

#### Average per capita income

##### 1938 rupiah value

1938	41.85	rupiah (total population 1938 about 67 million).
1948	30.58	„ (total population 75 million).
1950	33.77	„ (total population 75 million).

#### Average income per capita per day

##### 1938 cent value

1938	11	cents
1948	8	cents
1950	9	cents

From these figures it is clear that the income is very low although the figures given are probably higher than it is. It gives an idea also of the difference in wages or salaries between a higher technical expert and the unskilled labourer. Some economic experts have tried to give figures based on the rupiah value of the post-war years.

1948	10.5	billion rupiahs
1948/49	12	billion rupiahs
1949/50	13	billion rupiahs

The national income as national product.

As a check to the calculation above, we should count the goods and services as produced in the year and expressed in rupiahs. The following are the estimates:

Table III.

Goods produced .....	Rupiahs	16,661,160
Services .....	„	868,309
Gross national product in Indonesia .....	„	17,529,469
Receipts from foreign countries .....	„	190,000
15% for Natura .....	„	2,600,920
Gross national product 1950 .....	„	19,940,389



Subtracting now depreciation cost and indirect taxes, we then come to the following Table IV.



Production of "sarongs" — straight wrapped skirts — is also encouraged.

#### National income 1950

The gross national product .....	Rupiah	19,940,389,000
Minus depreciation cost .....	"	1,495,529,000
Net national product .....	"	18,444,860,000
Minus indirect taxes .....	"	10,751,900,000
National income 1950 .....	"	7,692,960,000

Comparing now the net national product of 1950 with the other figures given, we come to Table V: (in billions of rupiahs).

	1948	1948/49	1949/50	1950
National income .....	10.5	12	13	17.7

This means that the income per capita in 1950 is rupiahs 223, and per day 61 cents. The figures given for 1950 are rough estimates. There is no such 'average' in Indonesia, as the differences between the wages or salaries of the several classes are extremely great. As we have seen in Table II, as compared to 1938, the average income per capita per day in 1950 will be only 9 cents, which is equal to 61 cents of the 1950 rupiah. According

to our own calculation the average income of a family, among the masses of the people in 1950 would be not more than 35/40 cents of the 1950 rupiah which comes to about 5 to 6 cents in 1938 rupiahs.

### VIII. Production, National Income and Process of Investment.

A decrease of the economic activity in the production level is due to the lack of new investments since the end of world war two. New investments have always been a very important factor in the process of the economic activities, the process of production all leading to a higher national income. In fact we are now in a process which is going the other way round, which means dis-investment. It is the consumption of the wealth we have already gathered. This process of dis-investment is one of the biggest dangers in our economy of today. It is the main reason for the decrease in all economic activities with distressing effects for the masses of the people. The distribution of national income will show a greater injustice than before, and this problem, therefore, is of vital importance for the whole nation. It is also for these reasons considering the objective possibilities and the atmosphere prevailing now, that the first push towards progress should come from the quarters for new investments. First of all for domestic investments. It should be directed to most important fields, so as to open the possibilities for the development in other fields too, which consequently will strengthen the production power of the society. The direct investment by the state for instance, could now be considered also as a pioneer in the process of investments by private owners. The process of investments in earlier years was not satisfactory, and this is probably the cause of the unsatisfactory situation of today.

### IX. Government Finance and Monetary System.

The financial budget which has been published and submitted to parliament in fact did not give a good impression of the Government's handling in the financial field. It did not give a picture of the receipts and revenues of the states. The items of the government's spending mentioned too many unimplemented projects, so that government spending will not be as it has been announced. The unsatisfactory element in this matter is that government officials are not sure of the figures given for receipts and spendings.



We should, therefore, also consider the picture as given by the Java Bank, \*) the only bank of circulation and the only bank for the government. Since the transfer of power, all government spendings have been acted through this bank, only in small cases has the government been acting without the help of the bank. It is for this reason that the amount of notes circulating has not been changed very much as compared to two years ago. Therefore, the financial situation or financial position of the government could be easily described from the debts to this bank. All figures of the transactions between the state and the Java Bank are published officially in the balance-sheet of the Java Bank. From these figures it can be concluded that during 1951, the debt of the state to the bank has been considerably cut by 1.5 to 1.9 thousand million rupiahs. This has been only possible of course when receipts exceed the spendings. On the basis of these figures we can say that at the end of 1951, the budget shows a surplus of about 1 billion rupiahs. The orthodox circles in the Ministry of Finance of the government and of the bank are of the opinion that for the achievement of a sound financial policy, a well-balanced budget should be maintained. If possible a surplus budget. For them I believe the surplus budget at the end of 1951 must have been pleasing, but we know that the facts justify the contrary. The budget surplus is a source of sorrow as it means in the present structure of our society the exploitation of the masses by the government. It is nothing less, and nothing more. The surplus means that the receipts by the government from the people are considerably more than what has been given to the people. It is more distressing, as what has been spent by the government is more in the form of consumption, such as salaries, wages, the financing of delegations abroad and so forth. There is hardly any form of productive spending. Therefore, it should be stressed that the finances of the government and the financial policy of the government should be viewed not from the narrow angle of finance only but it should be regarded as one of a combination of all other activities in the society. The financial policy of the government should be reflected in the budget and should form the basis of all efforts for the achievement of a balanced economy.

\*) Now called "Bank Indonesia". Ed.

We should aim at a situation where all economic activities should have the active cooperation of the major part of the productive capacity in the country, both the human part as well as the material part, that is, the natural resources and the capital goods — and the balanced economy should give possibilities for the enhancement of the standard of living of the masses of people. The financial field also, in giving credit, should aim at a monetary balance which should be part of a balance of economy, that is, a situation where effective demands of goods and services are equally worth the concurrent production. There is a close relation between the monetary field on the one hand and production activity and national income on the other hand. Monetary policy should form a part of the economic policy, and it should be used by the government as such, and it certainly should not be left to a private bank of circulation. The government should be for the well-being of the society and not for the bank. This shows a close relation between the bank of circulation and the government. To our view the ownership and the implementation of the policy of the bank of circulation should be fully controlled by the government. The bank of circulation should only implement what has been thrashed out by the government. It is necessary certainly in a society with an economic set-up as in Indonesia. We cannot achieve economic progress if the monetary policy is not in the hands of the government. In the future we hope that the bank of circulation will be placed organizationally and integrally in the framework of the Indonesian society, based on the economic interest of the people. The bank of circulation as the pioneer in banking should be the supporter of all the national banking institutions in Indonesia. It should actively support and help in the organization and the regulation of the credit system in Indonesia for the interest of the economic activities of the people. The bank of circulation should actively control and actively regulate the credit system in Indonesia, for the interest of the economic activities of the people. The bank of circulation should actively control and actively regulate the credit system for farmers, for middle class people, and for trade, which should be all in the interest of the Indonesian people. It certainly should cease to function in the interest of foreigners or foreigners who are not rooted in Indonesian society.

occasion of the 7th anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia, on August 17th, 1952.



A summary and conclusions can be added to this as follows: —

- a. The set-up of the economy and the organization of the society.
  1. The government should lead the economic process in the country, and it should directly invest in all basic and vital economic activities. The government or the State should be the producer of all vital and strategical material or products.
  2. All forces of the people should be organized. Cooperative movements should be developed all over the country as one of the ways to achieve a greater strength of the people.
  3. Support and create initiative among the people for the strengthening of the economic basis of the Indonesian society.
- b. Control by the government.
- c. The government should be invested with all powers in matters of basic importance, economically, strategically, and so forth.
- d. The implementation of policies be executed with the cooperation of private organizations on terms determined by the government.

## THE NATIONAL PRESS AND ITS SOCIAL FUNCTION.

*By Roeslan Abdulgani \*).*

### Before and After August 17th, 1952.

It would be difficult to have a clear understanding of the developments of the national press in Indonesia during the past 7 years, if we don't take into account its history and its growth during the period previous to the Proclamation of Independence in 1945.

The time before the 1945 Proclamation covers two periods: firstly that of Dutch colonization and secondly, that of Japanese occupation.

Generally speaking the press appears as an enterprise which has both a socio-economic and a political aspect. The development of its socio-economic aspect follows the fluctuations of the material wealth of the enterprise. In its political aspect the press tries to become the barometer of the public opinion which prevails at any one time in society.

### Its Position under the Dutch Regime.

For the Dutch press during the colonial period the accent was laid on the socio-economic aspect. This means, that the Dutch colonial government and, in general, the foreign capital invested in this country used the Dutch press to broadcast their views and to defend their interests against the society over which they had power. Because of this function it can be understood that both the colonial government and foreign capital gave their support to such an extent that the Dutch press had a strong position socio-economically.

It was a very different case with the position of the national press at that time. The national press was allowed to exist only so as to give the label "democracy" to the government of the

\*) The Secretary General of the Ministry of Information, Mr Roeslan Abdulgani, wrote this article first for "Mimbar Indonesia", a Jakarta weekly, on the occasion of the 7th anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia, on August 17th, 1952.





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Dutch Indies which, being a colonial government, naturally could not exercise a really democratic administration. This fact was proved by the severe limitations imposed on the national press in both its socio-economic and its political aspects. This was exercised through a discriminative way in granting facilities to the Dutch press and the national press, with the obvious aim of strengthening the position of the former as a political instrument.

With conditions like these, the national press was very much harried in its development. As a business, the national press had to live from the subscriptions of the people which were very limited; the cause of the limitation was the small number of literates among the population, and the low purchasing-power of the Indonesian community. Apart from that, there was no national capital strong enough to foster the existence of the national press.

This situation was reflected in the fact that the Indonesian middleclass was as yet unable to supply the national press with a sufficient source of revenue through advertising. The national press at the time had a very weak position socio-economically. Moreover it was greatly handicapped in its growth, since politically it was tied hand and foot by such regulations as the Dutch East Indies Penal Code and the Press Restriction Ordinance. It was this Press Restriction Ordinance in particular, which, as a combined legislative and executive instrument in the hands of the Governor General, had a strongly arbitrary character. This instrument of power could be played in such a way that there were no longer any objective criteria. Under these conditions, the gagging of the press had an effect not only in the political field — it also had a socio-economic effect upon the enterprise. One of the national papers thus silenced must also close down its business, causing the unemployment of even the least of its workers.

This clearly shows that the Dutch colonial administration used the Press Restriction Ordinance as a stick to beat its political opponents.

For indeed, the ideals of the nationalist struggle were behind the national press. It was due to these ideals that, although weak in its socio-economic position, the national press, as bearer of the ideals of the nationalist struggle, could never be broken down. All this serves to reflect a characteristic of the national press: the national press of that time fell or rose with the ebb and flow of the nationalist struggle in Indonesia.

### Its Function during the Japanese Occupation.

During the period of the Japanese occupation, the system and policy of the occupation administration was aimed at strengthening its war effort by means of mobilizing public opinion through the use of the entire press in existence in Indonesia. Thus the national press was involved in all parts of the Japanese propaganda machine.

Through the Djawa Shinbun Kai (a semi-official body), the Hodohan (the civil administrative body) and the Kenetsu Han (the military administrative body), the whole national press was socio-economically "supported", while the trend of the news was controlled by the occupation administration. Consequently, the term "national press" was a misnomer. It would be better to



speak of "the Indonesian press" with reference to all activity of our people in the field of press and journalism during the Japanese period.

In those days it appeared as if the Indonesian press was making progress. But this was only apparently so. To use a figure: It was clad in new clothes, but its voice became harsh. This was the price which had to be paid by the Indonesian press for its apparent "progress".

This apparent progress was also stimulated by a certain situation which was favourable for the development of the Indonesian language; the use of the Dutch language was prohibited. The people were then still unable to command the Japanese language sufficiently. Thus the Indonesian language began to expand its function rapidly as the sole language for communication among the people of Indonesia.

We may thus conclude that material progress was the main characteristic of the Indonesian press during the Japanese occupation. As a means of conveying public opinion it went a considerable step back.

#### **Its Role 1945—1950.**

Whilst the people throughout the country even as far as the remotest places regarded the proclamation of Independence on August 17th, 1945, as a signal to take over authority in all fields, the Indonesian press did not lag behind. It was especially active in taking possession of the materials and equipment for printing. In spite of the fact that the Indonesian Press was still officially part of the Japanese propaganda machine and as such subject to its rigid regulations, it participated in making the signal for the national revolution widely known all over the country.

Thereby it resumed its original nature, the only nature fit for a national press.

In facing the Dutch invasion later on the national press was divided into two fronts. One front was formed by the papers which remained in the Dutch occupied areas filling the task of keeping alive the spirit of independence there. The other front was formed by those papers which followed the leaders of the central Republican Government to its new seat in Jogjakarta, Central Java.

In its development and the execution of its function the first mentioned front of our national press had to compete with the



*Since the Dutch recognition of Indonesia's sovereignty the newspapers in this country have steadily increased in number.*

press that had been called to life by the R.V.D., the Dutch Information Service, and also had to undergo restrictions imposed by the Dutch authorities. The second front proceeded along with the development of the Indonesian Republic; it went through the same kinds of shortages of materials while following the development of the various political tendencies. Lack of material manifested in the appearance of the newspapers. Whilst formerly using newsprint of good quality and size from old stocks, these papers were soon compelled to become papers of handkerchief size printed on inferior rice straw paper.

Though dressed in old rags, its spirit remained pure and its voice clear and firm.

The national press sacrificed its outward appearance to maintain its spirit and its voice.

It was the exact opposite of what we saw during the Japanese occupation.



At the beginning of 1948 signs of a downward trend began to show in the political situation of the Republic of Indonesia. This was also reflected in the national press. The controversy between the right wing and the extreme left came to a head. Moreover an attitude of intolerance was beginning to show among the new Indonesian military groups in their relations with the population.

In this period of disintegration — which reached its climax in the Madiun affair — the Republic of Indonesia issued its first restrictions on the press. Notable are the restrictions imposed on papers connected with the F.D.R. (the People's Democratic Front), such as the "Patriot", "Buruh", and "Suara Ibu Kota". On the other hand the People's Democratic Front, during the struggle for power in Madiun, imposed restrictions on the paper "Api Rakjat" to enable the "National Front" to make itself heard.

These were the restrictions connected with the Madiun affair. A restriction reflecting an attitude of intolerance among the neo-military groups, and their aversion of criticism by the national press was the banning for several weeks of the "Suara Rakjat" in Kediri, which resulted in the closing down of this newspaper.

While the Indonesian Republic was thus going through a period of disintegration, it received a fatal blow when the Dutch launched their 2nd military attack on 19 December 1948.

True to its nature the Indonesian press, which formed part and parcel of the national struggle for independence, disappeared together with the national government from the Dutch occupied areas, and put up its head again in the districts which were controlled by the guerrilla fighters.

### **Its Development since the Recognition of Sovereignty.**

The return of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta (Central Java) and the recognition of sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia at the end of 1949, opened a new chapter in the history of the national press. That chapter showed the meeting again of the first and second fronts of the national press whilst the Indonesian people held political power.

From that moment endeavours were made to find the most proper relationship between the Government and National Press, both with regard to legislation and to the Government's policy in meeting the needs of the national press in its socio-economic as well as in its political aspect.

Legislation as a matter of fact is based upon article 19 of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which recognizes: "freedom of opinion for all". This provision is a constitutional one, and as such it is valid throughout the whole area under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Indonesia. Based upon this provision the first organic regulations were drawn up in Jogjakarta in a summary way. They were contained in the State Defence Commission's Ordinance No. 11, 1946, and were meant to control the printing and publishing and to regulate the altering of articles in the East Indies Penal Code, along the lines mentioned in Act No. 1, 1946, of the Republic of Indonesia. These organic regulations were only effective in the area then controlled by the Republic of Indonesia.

But for the regions outside the Republican area the old ordinances were still in force, including the Printing Press Regulation No. 74, 1856, the Press Restriction Ordinance No. 394, 1931, the articles in the East Indies Penal Code dealing with criminal acts exercised through the press, insults, infringements, public behaviour, instigations, false information, etc., all of which had in fact a source other than the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

This other source was the "Dutch Indies State Regulation" Article 164 <sup>1)</sup> which in turn sprang from Article 7 <sup>2)</sup> of the Dutch Constitution, and so from the constitution of our late colonizer. Here then lay the anomaly in the ordinances regulating the press in Indonesia.

The Government endeavoured to get rid of this anomaly. The Press Commission <sup>3)</sup> established since March 17, 1950, faced a problem with very wide aspects, since the problem of the press touches all facets of the community and Government. In spite of

#### <sup>1)</sup> Article 164:

1. Government supervision of printed publications is regulated by ordinance in accordance with the principle that no restriction may be placed on the expression of views or feelings through the medium of the printing press and on the importation of printed matter from countries other than the Netherlands, except for the purpose of ensuring public order.
2. Printed matter from the Netherlands may be imported without restriction, subject to one's responsibility to the regulations prescribed by law.

#### <sup>2)</sup> Article 7:

"Subject to his responsibility to the law, no one need obtain previous permission to express his views or feelings through the medium of the printing press".



this it was considered necessary to draw up new organic regulations with a view to:

- a. provide a substitute for the old colonial organic regulations with a view to:
- b. strengthen the economic condition of the national press;
- c. raise the standard of journalism in Indonesia;
- d. regulate the legal and social position of Indonesian journalists.

All this was felt to be a problem, which should be considered in its relation with a foreign press which was still firmly rooted in Indonesia. The basic wishes were first formulated in a resolution <sup>4)</sup> adopted during the last K.N.P. (Provisional Parliament) plenary session in December 1949. This resolution desired more attention and support from the Government to the national press and the press agency "Antara".

Later these desires were more concretely expressed at the conference of the S.P.S.-P.W.I. (S.P.S.: Association of Newspaper Businesses. P.W.I.: Association of Indonesian Journalists) at Sala-

<sup>3)</sup> The Press Commission Board of Management:

Chairman : Sjamsuddin Sutan Makmur, M.P.  
Vice Chairman : Súska, Ministry of Information.  
Secretary : Suyud Ranusudirdjo, Ministry of Information.  
Ordinary members : Amelz, M.P.  
Adinegoro, Director of P.I.-Aneta newsagency.  
B. M. Diah, Chief Editor, Djakarta daily "Merdeka".  
Djawoto, Vice Director, Indonesian newsagency "Antara".  
Yunan Nasution, M.P.  
Sunario, now Minister for Foreign Affairs.  
Sumanang, M.P.  
Suwandi, Notary.  
Tabrani, Journalist.  
M. P. G. Kappeyne v. d. Copello.

<sup>4)</sup> This resolution reads:

"A. The Republic of Indonesia, as the outcome of Indonesia's struggle for independence, shall strive for the realisation of the freedom of the press through the drawing up of special acts concerning the press which, among other things, shall give protection to the national press and make available all facilities needed by a newspaper business; and shall also consult the press in all these endeavours;

"B. The Republic of Indonesia, as the outcome of the national struggle, shall recognise the newsagency "Antara" as a national newsagency worthy of receiving sufficient facilities and protection".

tiga (Central Java) in June of this year (1952) <sup>5)</sup>. This conference discussed among other things the problem of whether or not a foreign press was still needed in Indonesia.

The basic idea underlying these desires sprang forth from a hope, now generally felt in Indonesia, that social and economic improvements may arise from the circumstance that political power is now in Indonesian hands.

Among other things there is the hope that a rehabilitation may be expected of all Indonesian enterprises which have a weak position socially and economically, by imposing limitations on the potency of foreign enterprises, which very often failed to observe their social tasks.

In the field of press-enterprises in particular limitations should be imposed on journalistic activities of foreigners — The limitations should be based on the principle that the policy of freedom of the press does not allow room for interference by foreign newspapers in internal affairs, nor for the spreading of foreign ideologies detrimental to our system of government.

It is true that art. 19 of our constitution grants freedom of speech to every person (not to every citizen only), but a wide interpretation of this article will in the last analysis reduce the basic rights which every country reserves for its own citizens only.

The decision as to what may be qualified as national press lies with the government. The capital invested in the enterprise, the composition of the management and editorial staff, the number of Indonesian subscribers are important points for consideration.

<sup>5)</sup> S.P.S./P.W.I. Conference decisions included:

1. To set up a committee to draft a labour agreement for journalists.
2. To set up a committee to study the possibility of imposing a ban on the publication of foreign newspapers in Indonesia and then to urge for implementation of the ban by the Government.
3. To select certain people from amongst the members of the Indonesian Journalists' Association, P.W.I., in connection with the following decision.
4. To improve the procedure of sending journalists abroad, who have been selected as in the previous decision by paying proper attention to journalists outside the capital. Further, to appeal to every member of the P.W.I. to notify the P.W.I. Executive when going abroad for journalistic purposes.
5. In cooperation with the S.P.S. (Association of Newspaper Businesses) to organize an inter-regional exchange of journalists who are members of the P.W.I.
6. To set up an Honorary Board to deal with problems relating to the code of journalism.







They mean that the improvement of the national press in its socio-economic aspect in 1951, was lost again through its political aspect in this current year of 1952 owing to a greater differentiation of political trends. Considering that according to a rough estimate a newspaper requires a circulation of at least 10,000 copies to be able to keep running independently with only the additional revenue of advertisements from the Indonesian community as a source of income, the conclusion is that these figures are by no means encouraging.

Generally speaking it cannot be denied that there is indeed some progress, but at the same time a sharpening of tone and a growing sarcasm are also manifest.

Side by side with the editorials which are generally written in a worthy and dignified style, there is "corner-notes journalism" of an acid noisiness.

These "corner-notes" were a device to criticize existing conditions in a way which does not require submitting concrete evidence and which more or less relieves the writer of direct responsibility.



Corner notes, sometimes of "an acid noisiness".

The stings in the "corner-notes" are usually directed against a new élite in the Indonesian community which forms as yet a small group.

The "corner-notes" are a cause of either enjoyment in the misfortunes of others, or sleepless nights for the unlucky members of that élite group concerned.

For the general reader, however, they give rise to a growing feeling of resentment against existing conditions.

In spite of all this, their humorous note may rank very high, although they may hurt if humour turns into sarcasm, for humour wants to heal, whereas sarcasm to hurt.

"C'est le ton qui fait la musique".

Let us return to the problem of the quality of our national press. In general to improve the quality of journalism means to improve the quality of the articles. This can be realized when the journalists are in a position to make themselves thoroughly familiar with the subject they are going to write about and to obtain sufficient knowledge of various subjects of arts and science, such as political science, sociology, economy, psychology, history and public administration.

During the successive periods of Dutch administration, Japanese occupation and Dutch-Indonesian armed conflict it was hardly possible for journalists to do so.

Since the recognition of sovereignty, however, some steps could be made in that direction.

Opportunities granted to Indonesian journalists to visit various districts throughout Indonesia, and greater possibilities for visiting countries abroad open a wider scope for journalists to make themselves better acquainted with the real facts and situations.

The program of the "The National Press Foundation" <sup>6)</sup> — a body which was established on May 20, 1952 — was also aimed at raising the standard of journalism in Indonesia.

- <sup>6)</sup> Board of Management of the Indonesian National Press Foundation:
- |               |   |
|---------------|---|
| Chairman      | : S. Tjokrosisworo, Secretary General, Association of Newspaper Businesses, S.P.S.                        |
| Vice Chairman | : Asa Bafagih, Chief Editor, Djakarta daily "Pemandangan".  |
| Secretary     | : Suska, Ministry of Information.   |
| Treasurer     | : A. K. Lubis, Editor, Djakarta daily "Pedoman".  |
| Members       | : Sumanang, M.P.<br>Pengulu Lubis, Journalist.<br>Djawoto, Vice Director, Indonesian newsagency "Antara". |



Another attempt in this direction was the establishment of the Press Institute (Institute of the Press and Public Opinion) which primarily had the objective of giving more opportunity to Indonesian journalists and those interested in journalism to equip themselves with the necessary knowledge they require. The chair of journalism already begun in the Gadjah Mada University in Jogjakarta, needs to be nurtured and extended to other universities.

All these endeavours have the objective of giving a new character to Indonesian journalism in concord with our present Independence. During the period of Dutch colonial administration, which was predominated by a spirit of antagonism and the period of Japanese occupation, in which obedience to "His Master's Voice" was the main characteristic there was a spirit of antithesis. Now that the people's struggle has produced the Republic of Indonesia, full of shortcomings though it may be, it is only natural that the spirit of antithesis makes place for one of synthesis.

Briefly, this is the development of the national press in Indonesia.

#### Future Prospects.

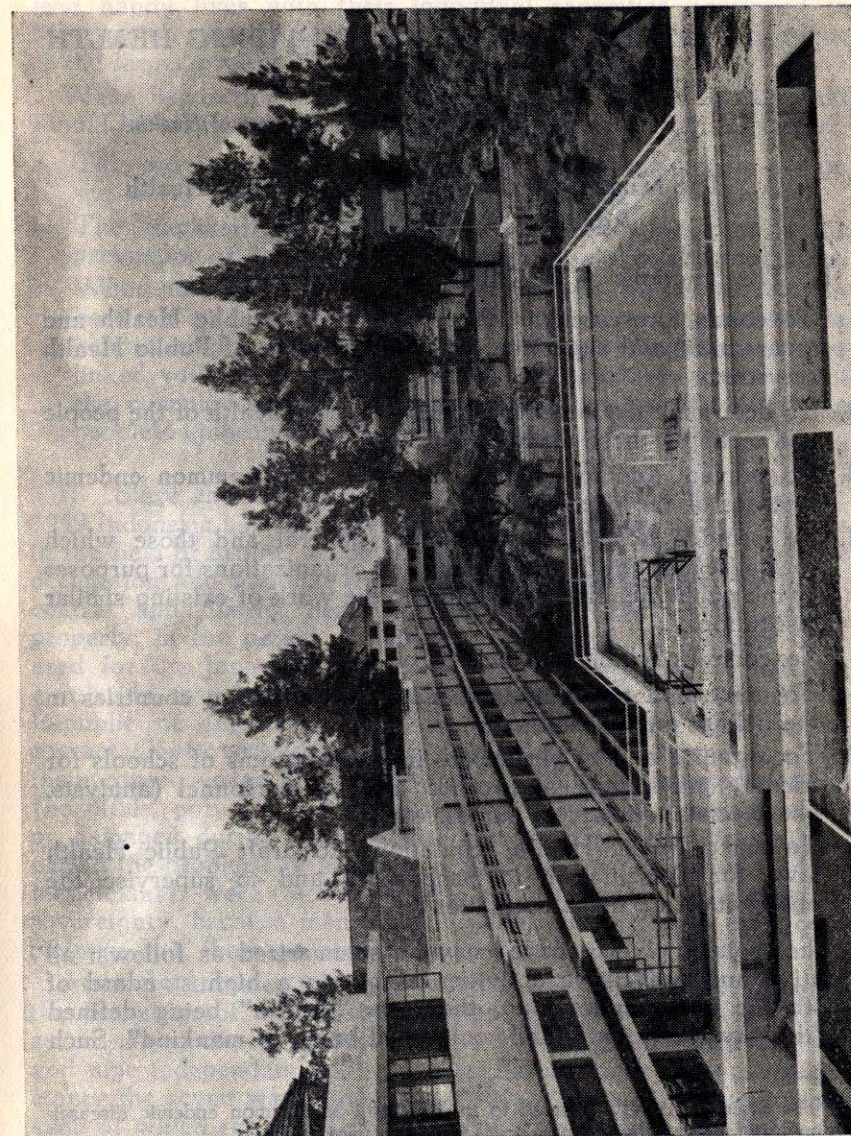
For the days to come the national press must not neglect its part in the continuation of our efforts to bring our national independence to greater perfection.

It is the definite wish of our people that the transitional period that we are now facing shall be directed towards the creation of a new social-economic order as the outcome of the political independence that we have achieved.

If the national press fails to realize this general desire of the people, it may unwittingly help establish the conception now held by certain groups regarding Indonesian independence.

These groups recognize our right to political independence as long as the present social-economic order is maintained.

This is definitely in contradiction with our people's ideals.



Looking over some buildings of the Central Public Hospital at Surabaya, East Java.



## THE UPBUILDING OF PUBLIC HEALTH IN INDONESIA.

*By Dr Leimena, former Minister of Health.*

### A. The Most Important Problems of Public Health Administration in Indonesia.

#### I. The functions of the Ministry of Health are:

1. To conduct research on the conditions of Public Health and to organize and supervise the administration of Public Health services.
2. To determine the methods of improving the health of the people and to apply those methods.
3. To prevent and to combat contagious and common endemic diseases of the people \*).
4. To provide hospitals, polyclinics (general and those which specialise), scientific institutions and organizations for purposes of the public health and to support the work of existing similar institutions.
5. To compile health statistics.
6. To make and to maintain contacts with foreign countries in the field of public health.
7. To organize and to participate in the programs of schools for training physicians and other medical personnel (analysts, pharmacists, midwives, nurses, etc.).
8. To make Public Health regulations, to draft Public Health laws for presentation to parliament, and to supervise the observation of these regulations.

The points given above may be summarized as follows: all curative and preventive activities to obtain a high standard of health for every Indonesian, the term "Health" being defined as "the physical, mental and social well being of mankind". Such

\*) The diseases usually referred to in Indonesia as common endemic diseases are: malaria, tuberculosis, yaws, trachoma, hookworm, etc.

a standard of health is necessary if the people as a whole are to lead happy lives with their individual capacities developed to benefit both the community and themselves. This project is a part of the larger project to reconstruct the whole nation.

When organizing health projects, modern trends in this field should be kept in mind, and these cover several important factors:

- a. The provision by the Government of as complete a health service as possible, which reaches all levels of society.
- b. The emphasis put on the preventive medicine, that is the prevention of disease and the improvement of health conditions.
- c. When interpreting "health and disease", the close relation between man and social and physical environment must be kept in mind. In other words, the problems of health are always linked with the problems of social and economic conditions of the community, such as housing, nutrition, poverty and the people's ignorance of the basic principles of hygiene.

II. Since the transfer of sovereignty of the 27th December 1949 Indonesia has encountered numerous problems and difficulties in the field of health, which are a result of eight years of Japanese occupation and national revolution. During those eight years the central and district health organizations were not functioning properly; in the period of Japanese occupation all energies were used for the Japanese war effort and in the period of national revolution two health organizations, one Dutch and one of the Republic of Indonesia, were functioning without any mutual contact. Controversies in politics resulted also in controversies and their consequences in health work. In addition, many buildings (hospitals, polyclinics and research institutions) were neglected or damaged during those eight years. Furthermore, during that period the problems of shortage of personnel (doctors and medical technicians) were already quite serious; after the transfer of sovereignty, because many Dutch doctors returned to their own country, this shortage became even more acute.

After the transfer of sovereignty a federal state was formed, the Republic of the United States of Indonesia, composed of seven states, one of which was the 1945 Republic of Indonesia, and nine independent political units. Before the transfer of sovereignty the seven states had their own governmental organizations each of which ran a health service of its own. The medical work



in the nine independent political units had been conducted by the Central Dutch Government. At the founding of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia there was established a central health organization, covering all existing health services, which in general showed signs of lack of coordination and of lack of efficiency.

III. On 17th August, 1950, a unitary state was founded: the Republic of Indonesia. It may be clear from the facts mentioned above that the new Republic of Indonesia was confronted by many obstacles on the field of Health. One health organization which could cover all health services had to be established. The process of unification was not a simple matter because of the difficulties in personnel management which were connected with the political tensions in the community.

This unification intended to achieve coordination between the Ministry of Health and the local health services (autonomous areas). The first step thereto was to obtain a register of the working personnel and an inventory of the equipment, etc. This survey showed an extreme shortage of both.

# 1. Buildings, Equipment, etc.

As mentioned above, many buildings used in the health services were damaged during the period of occupation and national struggle. So the equipment of hospitals, polyclinics, leprosaria and other health institutions becomes either insufficient or needs replacement. In hospitals the greater part of the equipment had disappeared.

In Indonesia there are two categories of hospitals, those which deal with general complaints and those which specialise (tuberculosis sanatoria, leprosaria, mental hospital and ophthalmic hospitals), which together have a total of 60,000 beds. On the estimate that Indonesia has a population of approximately 70 to 75 millions, this means that only eight beds are available for every 10,000 head of population (0,8 per thousand \*). Of the total 60,000 beds available the Government owns 22,000 and 38,000 are privately owned. In the special hospitals 12,900 beds are available, a number which is too small for the numerous sufferers from the diseases these hospitals cater for. (See table below).

\*) Enclosure 1 shows some statistical data.

	Morbidity	Total Institutions	Total beds.
Tuberculosis	..... *)	Sanatoria	14 1097
Leprosy	± 1 per thousand	Leprosaria	44 3600
Mental diseases	± 1 per thousand	Mental hospitals	19 7600
Eye diseases	± 2 per thousand	Ophthalmic hospitals	6 650

\*) Mortality 189 : 100,000.

# 2. Means of Communication.

Indonesia consists of 13,000 large and small islands, of which 3000 are inhabited, many of them situated quite far apart. In the larger islands such as Sumatra, Borneo and Celebes many small towns are very isolated and are located at a long distance from the capital of the island. It is easily understood that the administration of health in these places is greatly hindered also on account of the shortage of means of communication (motor vehicles, telephones, radio, boats, etc.) which for the greater part must be imported from abroad.

# 3. Personnel.

The great shortage of doctors, dentists, midwives, nurses etc. makes it very difficult to arrange their distribution to the best advantage. The total personnel consists of:

	Total	Approx. Ratio per head of population.
doctors	1200	1 : 60,000
dentists	150	
pharmacists	80	
asst. pharmacists	650	
midwives	1446	1 : 50,000
nurses	3500	1 : 20,000
analysts (bacteriologists)	30	

(Ratio calculated upon an estimated total population of about 72.5 million).



When comparing these with those from other countries in Asia, Indonesia will be seen at this time to have a terrible shortage of doctors, pharmacists, midwives and nurses. The comparison with international standards reveals the position even more clearly. This shortage is more acutely felt than even these figures show, because the majority of doctors and midwives live and work in the big cities, and many of them work only as private practitioners.

From the data mentioned above, it will become clear that the training of medical personnel requires special attention. The education of university graduate personnel (doctors, dentists, chemists, bacteriologists) is a more complicated problem than the education of non-university personnel (midwives, nurses and others). Indonesia at the present time has only three medical colleges and within the next ten years these colleges will produce only 50 to 200 doctors per year. This means that during the next ten years Indonesia will still need the services of at least 300 doctors brought in from other countries.

**IV.** While the work in the curative field cannot be completely successful because of the shortage of personnel and material equipment, etc. preventive work suffers from the same difficulties. Preventive medicine in Indonesia at present lays far behind compared with the curative medicine. The following preventive work must be carried out:

#### **1. Combatting Contagious Diseases.**

##### **a. Typhus, Cholera and Dysentery. <sup>1)</sup>**

Due to the fact that typhus and dysentery cases still occur, although not epidemically, regular vaccination must be carried out.

##### **b. Smallpox.**

As a result of intensive vaccination and re-vaccination smallpox was not a menace in Indonesia in the years before the outbreak of World War II. It broke out in March 1947 in Sumatra (imported from Malacca), was carried on to Java and is now still spreading in Borneo and Celebes.

##### **c. Plague.**

Until now plague remains endemic in Java, as there are several sources which cannot be completely exterminated.

<sup>1)</sup> The last cholera case occurred in 1927.

#### **2. Combatting the Endemic Diseases Common among the People** such as malaria, tuberculosis, leprosy, trachoma and others. Campaigns to combat these diseases have not been executed properly during the last eight years.

##### **Malaria.**

Among the common diseases, malaria is still classed as enemy number one, because there are vast malaria-regions spread over the whole country, and because this disease has a high morbidity and mortality rate <sup>2)</sup>.

##### **Tuberculosis.**

Reliable statistics on tuberculosis are still being compiled, but the general impression, based upon numbers of TB admissions in the hospitals, numbers of sick leaves granted to government employees because of tuberculosis, and a mortality index of 189 per 100,000, indicates that the morbidity rate at present is higher than that of the period prior to World War II.

##### **Framboesia.**

Framboesia, according to estimates, effects 15% of the whole population; 6% of the cases are infectious and 75% of the infectious cases are children of less than 18 years of age.

##### **Leprosy.**

It is estimated that there are 70,000 lepers spread over the whole of Indonesia.

##### **Trachoma.**

Trachoma still rages in the coastal areas (such as on Java), and is found in those places where the standard of hygiene is still low.

##### **Venereal diseases.**

Reliable statistics of venereal diseases are not available yet, but information received from polyclinics in the seaports (Djakarta and Surabaya), numbers of V.D. patients in the city hospitals,

<sup>2)</sup> In East Java, for instance, a survey showed that 50% of the population have one attack each year. Mortality rate of a chronically endemic region is 40 per thousand.



and in addition to that the researches of 1937 — 1941 <sup>3)</sup> and 1950 <sup>4)</sup>, show that the rate of incidence of venereal diseases is very high especially in the large cities. It is most probable that during the eight years of Japanese occupation and national revolution this rate has increased and is now much higher than before the war.

### 3. Maternal and Child Welfare.

Realizing the high rate of infant mortality ( $\pm$  115 to 300 per thousand) and maternity death (12 to 16 per thousand) there is much to be done yet in the field of Maternal and Child Welfare.

### 4. Health and Hygiene Education.

The education of the people in health and hygiene and the training of personnel for this work has not been carried out sufficiently during the last eight years. In the time of the Japanese occupation the work came to a complete standstill, and during the national revolution a great part of the necessary material and equipment for this work got lost or damaged. This work is very closely connected with hygiene work in rural and urban areas.

5. Food and Nutrition Problems are still waiting a solution. Research has shown that the high infant and child mortality rate is due to malnutrition. Dietary habits, ignorance and prejudice play a great role in this.

The daily food of the Indonesian people contains less than normal calory and protein value (2050 calories, 43 gr. protein). In order to increase the working capacity of the people, the food value of the people's diet must be improved quantitatively as well as qualitatively.

6. Internal Migration problems also require attention because the island of Java has already a population of about 50 million (average population per square mile in Java: 818), and is increasing at about 10 to 15 per thousand yearly <sup>5)</sup>. Therefore a part

<sup>3)</sup> Loe Ping Kian "Syphilis and Pregnancy", Djakarta, 1941.  
Tio Biau Sing, "Syphilis in the Bandung Regency", Bandung 1941.

<sup>4)</sup> Warrouw, S.J., The Social Aspects of Medicine, 1950.

Soetopo, R., Research in Surabaya, not yet published.

<sup>5)</sup> Indonesia: Crude deathrate 10 to 15 per thousand.  
Crude birthrate 20 to 30 per thousand.

of the population of Java must migrate to other islands (Sumatra, Borneo). Before moving these people, their new locations must first be made malaria-free.

### 7. Social Medicine.

In Indonesia, as is also the case in other countries where social medicine is making progress, the questions of:

Social Insurance

Industrial Hygiene and

Consultation Bureaux

should also be considered.

V. Just as in other countries, especially those which are newly independent as a result of national revolution, health work in Indonesia, apart from the availability of personnel and material, depends chiefly on

1. the financial condition of the country.
2. social well-being of the people as shown by the standard of living.
3. security in the country.
4. standard of education.

An excerpt from a radio speech made by the Vice President, Dr. Mohammad Hatta, on 12 July, 1951 gives a summary of the position regarding points 1, 2, and 3. In the course of this address, Dr. Hatta said the following:

"We in Indonesia are confronted by extreme lack of prosperity, which in part stems from past history. At the time when sovereignty over Indonesia was transferred to our people, we got our country back in a state of chaos, crime, and also nearly bankrupt."

Three matters which are negative need to be mentioned here.

Firstly, we found Indonesia in a state of devastation as the result of war, conflict and the scorched earth policy. Many heirlooms and capital goods had been destroyed; law and order had been disturbed by groups of criminals and lawless bands which arose in the past, together with old and new guerrillas who thought that any changes and desires should be achieved by means of revolt.

Secondly, an empty treasury. Not only empty, but the national budget shows a continuous deficit for the past five years. The deficit for 1950 has been estimated at 1500 million rupiahs.



Thirdly, the people were poor, so that it is difficult to obtain capital from them to pay for reconstruction. This is a consequence of colonialism which subjugated our people and made of them "a people of coolies and a coolie among the peoples". According to the 1949 findings of the "Statistical Office of the United Nations Department of Economic Affairs", which investigated the national incomes of 70 countries of the world, the national income of our people is about 2000 million dollars per year, or an average of 25 dollars per head per annum. The people of Indonesia are amongst the poorest people on earth. If a comparison is made with the national income of the United States of America which totals nearly 217,000 million dollars or 1,453 dollars per head per annum, the difference is very glaring. Even though a comparison is made with a country which is not rich, for instance the Netherlands, we still find that the national income is 5000 million dollars or 500 dollars per head per annum. The income of a Dutch national per annum is twenty times as great as that of an Indonesian. How badly off are our people seen to be, especially when we remember that our country is one of the richest in the world. Our people live in poverty in the midst of flowing wealth.

With regard to point 4 it should be pointed out that it is estimated that about 60% of the population of Indonesia is illiterate. The different strata of society show great disparity in education, and also in customs and habits which often are contrary to modern principles of hygiene.

All factors mentioned above prove that work in the field of health can only be of value if also progress is made in the fields of economy, social security and education.

Beside those four factors, there are several other problems which are directly related to the Public Health Administration at the present time. These are:

#### a. Laws.

Every national government rising out of former colonial suppression, must bring the legislation used in the colonial period into line with the spirit of national freedom and into line with the requirements of the new regime. This means that a number of old laws must be discarded, changed, or that they be substituted by new laws.

#### b. Allocation of Duties between the Central Government and Regional Administration.

(Areas of autonomous jurisdiction such as the provinces, the regencies and the municipalities).

It is important for a unitary state that this problem be solved in order to secure coordination and efficiency. Coordination and efficiency are necessary with regard to the overall expenditure of health programs. Due to many factors, the greater part of expenses for both curative and preventive health work is borne by the Central Government. Gradually the regions with autonomy must be able to afford a great part of their own expenses on both the curative and preventive programs.<sup>6)</sup>

#### c. The work of private organizations in the field of health.

In the year 1916 the Dutch Government had already decided that the Government's health work should chiefly be focused on hygiene prophylaxis. Therefore, the greater part of curative work (hospitals and clinics) before the transfer of sovereignty was delegated in Indonesia to private organizations such as the Protestant and Roman Catholic Church Missions, the Salvation Army, foreign enterprises, Islamic organizations and other private bodies.

In East Sumatra the foreign enterprises also worked in the field of preventive medicine with the purpose of rising the health standard of their workers and so increasing their working capacity.

At the present time, the Indonesian Government is of the opinion that although the Government cannot neglect its curative task because of the many losses and needs in that field, primary attention must still be turned toward preventive work.

Therefore private initiative from all levels of society, without regard for religion or creed, is encouraged in the curative field. This also means that some government regulation is needed for the treatment of indigents by private institutions (subsidy regulations).

#### d. Statistics.

It is correct to say that vital statistics form the foundation of all planned health work. As preventive and curative work

<sup>6)</sup> The Central Government at the present time spends Rp. 416.5 millions a year for the health programs of all Indonesia, or 5.2% of the total national budget! Before the transfer of sovereignty the Dutch Government spent F. 14 million or 2.7% of the total budget (Dutch F. 1.— = Rp. 3.—; U.S. \$ 1.— = Rp. 10.8).



must ultimately be organized on the basis of accurate knowledge of the diseases and disabilities in an area, the importance of collecting the accurate vital statistics cannot be over-emphasized. 7).

Although the question of statistics receives a great deal of attention, several facts at present hinder statistical work, viz.:

1. The lack of a new census. The latest census was taken in 1930. Since then all figures used in statistics are estimates, assuming an increase of population of 1 to 1½% a year.
2. The absence of complete birth and death registration. Statements of birth and death have not been obtained properly because there is no civil registration service for the whole population. Some registration at least is being undertaken, viz.:
  - a. Registration offices in the large cities for the urban population.
  - b. Collection of data of birth and death by the Civil Officials of Villages in the rural areas.
  - c. The same collection of data in a few demonstration hygiene centres — in the regencies and in some big cities.
3. The lack of statistics on the causes of death and diseases. These too, cannot be made up correctly. The records of the statistics of the causes of death and diseases of prewar years got lost entirely during the time of occupation and struggle. From the data gathered by the hospitals (general and specialised), especially in big cities, new statistics of the causes of death and diseases will soon be compiled. The compilation of these statistics perhaps would be more complete if the international nomenclature could be used.
4. Shortage of Statisticians.

#### e. Research.

Medical work, preventive as well as curative, must always have stimulation from research centres. On the other hand, any research project requires capable personnel and peaceful undisturbed working conditions, because research can actually be done successfully only with patience and peace of mind.

7) Report Intergovernmental Conference on Rural Hygiene in Java (1937).

Since there is already a shortage of personnel in practical work, this fact is still more striking in the field of research. All medical work, either practical or research, requires planning for both short-term and long-term programs. However in this planning we must take into consideration the reality of the existing facts and circumstances both within the country and abroad. The success of this planning depends upon the placement of — as the adage says —, “the right man in the right place”, and the working spirit of the personnel which should have one sole purpose, that is to rehabilitate the country, especially in the field of health.

#### f. Medical Ethics.

In many countries, especially those which have just emerged from the turmoil of revolution after World War II, there are noticeable signs of deterioration of the ethical standard of medical workers (doctors, midwives, nurses). In Indonesia this problem also has to be solved in order to eradicate all medical malpractices.

VI. Indonesia, as a new state whose country still shows the scars of the Japanese occupation and national revolution, is in the process of first-stage reconstruction. Society in this new period of freedom still continues to develop socially and politically.

Indonesia like other nations aims at a health program of reconstruction which will give sufficient care to all the population, irrespective of the expense: a health program which aims at equipping society with medical supplies, of which the expense should be borne by the whole of the people. For this program Indonesia needs **manpower, materials and time.**

The Government's immediate working program is outlined in the following eleven articles:

- 1a. To combat systematically communicable diseases, such as smallpox, typhus, cholera and dysentery, according to the prewar system. The anti-plague campaign also receives the utmost attention combined with the relevant improvement of housing conditions; due to the nation's financial condition, the latter can only be attended to where it is most urgent.



1b. To combat the endemic diseases common among the people curatively as well as preventively, with scientific and systematic methods.

With the assistance of the UNICEF the campaign against yaws will be further expanded to other regions of Central and East Java. In addition, the campaign against this disease in other parts of Indonesia will be executed in an effective manner even if it is not always possible to make it systematic. The campaign against venereal diseases in Surabaya is in the preparatory stage.

To fight tuberculosis more effectively, the Government sent two tuberculosis experts abroad to refresh their knowledge. These experts have now returned to Indonesia and will soon give B.C.G. vaccinations in the Bandung region.

The campaign against leprosy is executed by modern methods, viz: not only by treating the lepers but also by giving them the necessary social care, and by educating the people, especially the patient's family, as to the nature, etc., of the disease. In this year a modern leprosarium of 500 beds is being constructed in Tangerang. The first stone was laid on July 28, 1951.

The Government is convinced that the most important common disease among Indonesians is malaria, and therefore the campaign against malaria always receives special attention. With the aid of the World Health Organization there will be launched a new campaign against this disease which will use modern methods.

2. The importance of public health and of hygiene education of the people also receives much attention from the Government.

3. In order to provide more care for the needs of sick people, plans have been drafted for expansion of old hospitals, and for the building of new hospitals and medical centres in both rural and urban areas. This year the construction is being started of hospitals in Kebajoran (600 beds), Bandung regency, Subang and Palembang, of a leprosarium in Tangerang and of a midwifery school in Jogjakarta. Plans have been drawn up for the extension of hospitals in Bandung (Rantjabadak Hospital); Bukittinggi (Central Sumatra), Surabaya and Semarang.

In addition, an experiment will be made with the use of auto ambulances as mobile clinics and of boats as marine polyclinics, to meet the needs of the people in the curative field throughout the whole country.

As far as the private hospitals are concerned the Government takes the stand that these hospitals should work in coordination within the framework of Government projects. It is the Government's opinion that the private hospitals should not compete, but that they should cooperate with the Government, and work hand-in hand to serve the needs of the people. The Government will submit a draftbill to Parliament which will regulate the subsidizing of private hospitals which admit indigent patients.

A special regulation governing the division of duties between the Army Medical Services and the Civil Medical Services for the care of both military and civil patients is also needed.

4. The latest registration shows that the shortage of doctors and other medical workers (pharmacists, asst. pharmacists, analysts, public health workers, midwives, nurses, hygiene workers and hygiene teachers) is still very great. Therefore, the education of those workers must be seriously promoted. The Government also expects to obtain more workers from abroad.

In connection with the shortage of medical personnel the Ministry also submitted three draft regulations, which have been approved already by Parliament:

- a. regulation for a rational distribution of physicians, dentists and midwives over the whole country.
- b. regulation for the postponement of the issue of licenses for private medical practice.
- c. regulation assigning the duties of private physicians during times of emergency.

5. The Ministry of Health has been purchasing from foreign countries as many supplies of drugs and medical instruments as possible. In Djakarta, plans are ready for the immediate building of a new drug depot and factory which will be large enough to centralize the whole stock of supplies. The Provinces are also provided with drug-depots in order to distribute supplies quickly to the subdistricts. Furthermore, regulations



have been drafted for the control of pharmacies and emergency drug stores. In addition to the existing Pharmacotherapeutic Commission, an "Inter-Departmental Commission" has been established which handles the purchase and manufacture of medicine from local materials.

6. Research in the scientific institutions will be continued and expanded with regard to the daily needs of the doctors in their work to the progress of scientific knowledge.

7. For social hygiene work, which covers the health care of workers and school pupils, several doctors were sent to foreign countries to study industrial and social hygiene, so that upon their return a Social Hygiene Service could be begun in conformity with the needs of this period.

8. It is realised that the rate of maternity and child mortality is exceedingly high in comparison with other modern countries<sup>8)</sup>, therefore a program for maternal and Child Health is being organized with the help of WHO and UNICEF. For this purpose quite a few doctors and social workers have been sent (or will be sent) abroad.

9. For the improvement of the rural health service, the Ministry will put the so-called "Bandung Plan" into operation where curative and preventive work will be carried out intensively under single management.

10. The Government considers the nutritional and dietary problems very urgent because of their influence on the health of the population.

An agreement has been signed by the Minister of Health and the representative of the F.A.O. whereby the F.A.O. will send nutritional experts to Indonesia to examine this important problem together with Indonesian experts. Sometime ago the Government approved the formation of a Food and Nutrition Board in Indonesia.

11. As time goes on, the Department of International Affairs of the Ministry of Health has had to be expanded because of the increasing amount of work connected with international organizations (World Health Organization, United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund and Economic Cooperation Administration).

8) See Enclosure I.

## B. Demonstrations or Experiments for Providing Units of Well-Organized Medical and Health Services for a Community or for Special Group of the Population in Rural Areas.

To obtain a good understanding of the present health work in rural areas in Indonesia, a historical survey of the preventive health work in this country seems necessary.

The Health Service of what was then known as the "United Netherlands East Indies Company" started its activities in the XVIIth century, on a very limited scale with only curative work. This situation remained the same till the beginning of the twentieth century, with the exception of a primitive vaccination system which was begun as early as in the second half of the nineteenth century.

As the task of the service was mainly curative the scheme of organization of the health service in that period was focused mainly on two objects, viz.:

- a. the establishment and exploitation of hospitals and polyclinics (dispensaries).
- b. the education of medical personnel, (graduate and undergraduate and lower personnel).

This principle influenced all government health measures and regulations of that time and also the work of private organizations in the field of health.

After that period however, in Indonesia, as also in other countries, a new conception of the task of a civil health service gained ground. This was caused by the important progress of the bacteriological and epidemiological sciences. The causes of infectious diseases such as typhus, cholera, dysentery etc. had become known, and further research had led to the discovery of the means of fighting these diseases. Similar information was obtained through the research of the endemic diseases of the people such as malaria, yaws, hookworm etc.

In Indonesia, Dr. Schucking Kool in 1884 succeeded in preparing a very good animal smallpox vaccine (from calves). Thereupon, in 1890, the Dutch Government established a "parc Vaccinogène" in Djakarta where smallpox vaccin was prepared on a large scale. With this vaccine a part of the population was



vaccinated in a more accurate way than previously, when other vaccine was used.

At the same time the Dutch plantation in the Eastcoast of Sumatra (at Deli) greatly stimulated health work by introducing a new system of fighting diseases in a scientific and systematic way.

It goes without saying that the said businessmen wanted to improve the health conditions of the labourers on their estates mainly in order to increase their working capacity, to obtain through that maximum production capacity.

These businessmen established curative health services (poly-clinics and hospitals) as well as preventive health services (campaigns against the infectious diseases and diseases prevalent there, both being executed in a most effective way. Reports on research on Rick ettsiosis, Salmo- nella infections, Spirochaetosis, Malaria, Amoebic dysentery, hookworm-anaemia are wellknown in Indonesian medical literature. In this way the big estates in Indonesia doubtlessly laid the foundations for Social hygiene in this country.

III. The Dutch government made use of the result of the work of the Deli enterprises when re-organizing the health service in Indonesia in that period. The evolution of this curative service into what was also a preventive service took place gradually. The following event may illustrate this process:

1. 1896 — 1917 continuation and extension of curative work. Build-up of the preventive health service;
  - 1902 foundation of a provisional Quarantine station in East Sumatra;
  - 1907 conversion of the provisional Quarantine station in East Sumatra into a permanent station (especially for quarantine of cholera cases);
  - 1910 Promulgation of the first government regulations for the prevention of cholera and plague;
  - 1911 Promulgation of a Quarantine ordinance for the whole of Indonesia;
  - 1916 Statement from the Government that in future the main task of the Health Service would be preventive health care;

2. 1917 — 1937 Extension of the government preventive health care. Transfer of a part of the curative task to non-governmental organizations (missions, Salvation Army, estates etc), with a subsidy from the government.

3. 1937 — Outbreak of World War II: Transfer of the curative health task of the central government to the the autonomous (sub-) areas, under control and coordination of the central health services. Gradual development of the preventive health care into social health care.

IV. From this historical survey it becomes evident that also in Indonesia the health authorities adapted themselves to the evolution in the conception of public health care.

At the same time also the doctors in this country became more and more convinced of the necessity of social health care for the improvement of the health status of the people. It was realised that preventive medicine, although it might not give any immediately noticeable result within a short time, in the long run would be more effective than curative health care, in other words that "prevention was better than cure."

In 1924 the Rockefeller foundation, under leadership of Dr. J. L. Hydrick, started its preventive medical work in Indonesia. Dr. Hydrick began with a hookworm campaign and after that extended his activities by giving medical and hygienic advice and information to the people in rural areas.

This information work was executed as follows: close contact was made with people in the rural areas (house visits). Propaganda was made for the use of mosquito netting and proper latrines and for the cooking of drinking water; expectant mothers and babies were medically controlled; general hygiene in schools was propagandized.

The following quotations from Dr. Hydrick's book \*) may point out the leading principles of his work.

#### Principles.

"The idea underlying the organization of this intensive hygiene work was the belief, that if health education could instill in the

\*) "Intensive rural hygienework in Indonesia", January 1937.



people an understanding of the fundamental rules of hygiene and a realization of the importance and necessity of healthful habits of life, many diseases and conditions might be brought under control and in time might be eradicated".

### **Purpose.**

The purpose of the work is to awaken in the people a permanent interest in hygiene and stimulate them to adopt habits and to carry out measures which will help them to secure health and to remain healthy.

### **Cooperation of the People.**

In order to secure the cooperation of the people health education work must propose practicable measures, so that the people will be able to give cooperation. Further it is of the greatest importance that not only the children be taught hygiene, but that also the adults be taught at the same time so that each group will support the other. This cooperation is very valuable.

### **The Spirit of the Approach.**

They should be led, not driven. They should be stimulated, and led to express a desire to live more hygienically. It is the task of the health worker to create this desire.

### **A Subject with which to Begin.**

... to begin with an attempt to bring about in the people an understanding of the fundamental facts involved in the cause of transmissions and prevention of a wide-spread chronic disease; ... if the people can be taught that they themselves can carry out certain simple measures which will help them to avoid one of the chronic diseases, they will learn to live more hygienically and thus build up their resistance to many other diseases.

### **Laying Foundations for General Hygiene Work.**

If these new sanitary habits become permanent, then there has been laid the foundation upon which general hygiene work can be built.

"... It was therefore not intended that the Division of Public Health Education should conduct only a campaign against soil and water pollution, but that it should thereby lay a foundation for a broad general campaign for hygiene by teaching the dangers of the pollution of soil and water".

V. In 1937 the Dutch Government took over the work of Dr. Hydrick and incorporated in the Public Health Service:

1. a section "Health Education Service."
2. a section "Hygiene Education and Hygiene Service."

This section supervised a Regency Demonstration Hygiene Centre at Purwokerto (Banjumas, Central Java) which included a training centre for hygiene nurses ("mantri" hygiene) and a postgraduate training course for doctors.

In the Banjumas Hygiene Demonstration Centre a sharp distinction was kept between curative and preventive work. The students who were trained there had to pass an examination in preventive medicine and after that were only used for preventive medical work and were not allowed to do any curative work.

Next to the Regency Demonstration Centre in Banjumas, a Hygiene Study Ward Centre was founded in Djakarta (West Java) in the year 1937. The work of this Hygiene Study Ward Centre may be illustrated by some quotations from a book of Dr. W. J. Tesch. \*).

"This city ward for Hygiene studies was to comprise a small section of the municipality and was to be a health service for a certain demarcated section ...

"It is necessary for such a study ward to start from a fairly limited area, for it is only therein that we shall be able to obtain and retain a survey of the population and hygiene circumstances, and be able moreover to register all data of interest for the study of health conditions and the prevalence of diseases. These data cannot be collected without intensive contact with the population ...

"Such research might make an important contribution to the enlargement of our knowledge of hygiene, and how, by incorporating this research into Medical University Education, the orientation of this education to hygiene would be advanced ...

\*) "The Hygiene Study Ward Centre at Batavia" (=Djakarta), 1948.



"It was the intension that this study should be incorporated into the hygiene centre of prospective physicians".

VI. From the above it may appear that before the outbreak of World War II the Dutch Government had already laid the emphasis of the work of the Public Health Service on the preventive side, which also becomes evident from the laws and regulations of that period, which were all made for the protection of the health of the people (compulsory smallpox, typhoid, cholera and plague vaccination, registration of death and births, notification of infections and mental diseases, control of drinking water, sewerage and refuse disposal, control of factories, food sellers and eating houses, control of housing etc. etc.).

It was a pity however that these regulations could not be effective everywhere in the whole archipelago. In general only the big cities could have the benefit of these new protection measures.

Also the improvement of health by way of educating the people in the fundamental rules of hygiene and practical hygiene measures, could only be brought into practice in a few places — in other words the whole work was still in its first stage.

The outbreak of World War II followed by years of enemy occupation and national revolution resulted in a complete disorganization of the work of the hygiene education of the people.

The abovementioned institution in Banjumas and Djakarta were completely destroyed. During the time of the national struggle of the Indonesian Republic, an effort was made to restore on a small scale this rural hygiene work, but then in Magelang and Jogjakarta.

VII. After the transfer of sovereignty to Indonesia (December 1949) the Ministry of Health of the United States of Indonesia (later: of the Republic of Indonesia) re-established:

- (1) a Health Education Service, and
- (2) a Service for Rural and Urban Hygiene.

The task of the **Health Education Service** is the education of the ways:

of educating the people,  
of choosing the materials which are necessary for this education,

of finding the personnel able to fulfil this task, which is a rather difficult one because special talent is required for this work.

The Health Education Service works in close connection with the **Rural and Urban Hygiene Service**.

The latter executes the hygiene work in those areas, for which the program and materials are already prepared by the Health Education Service. These are the so-called Hygiene experimental and training areas in the villages and cities.

Here the work is put into practice, and the personnel necessary for this task is trained.

VIII. When establishing the 2 abovementioned Hygiene Services, the Indonesian Government kept in mind some basic principles:

- a. in general the influence of medical treatment of the sick upon health in general is slight, because this treatment can never reach more than a very small fraction of the people who are sick; therefore emphasis must be put on prophylactic-hygiene work.
- b. the standard of living of the people must be raised. This means that it is necessary to improve not only the general education and economic standards, but also the medical hygiene education of the people.
- c. every health measure taken by the Government should in principle be borne by and given effect in **cooperation with the people**. It remains true that: "The main influence will continue to be exerted by the individual himself through the habits and customs of his daily life, affected as they are by his intelligence, education and environment" \*).
- d. Before the war, the centre of the curative and preventive health work mainly lay in the big cities. Although the health measures were also extended gradually to the rural areas, the main issue of the health service was the urban population. In other words during the prewar period, the public health service

\*) W. M. Frazer: "A History of English Public Health", 1950.



was a service which worked from the top downwards. The present Indonesian Government is convinced that the top organization should be preserved in its prewar form, but that on the other hand more attention should be paid to the most important and basic foundation of the whole community, the desa (village), considering the fact that more than 90% of the whole Indonesian population live in rural areas.

The desa from of old has been a political, social and economic unit, which means that the desa should be almost completely selfsupporting and independent.

The desa should take care of its own social, economic and financial position.

However, when acknowledging the principle that the desa should have a well functioning health service of its own, some other important factors should also be kept in mind:

1. Indonesia has about 28,000 desas.
2. Not every desa is economically strong enough and therefore some desas should either get help from the Central Health Service for the organization of their health service, or combine their health services with other desas into one bigger service-unit.
3. Thousands and thousands of personnel would be needed for the instruction and installation of these desa health services and the training of this personnel should be mainly in preventive health work.
4. The inhabitants of the desas should be approached not only with preventive health measures, but also with curative health care, because the people in the beginning only have appreciation for the direct and perceptible results of curative health care, as for instance penicillin and salvarsan against yaws and quinine for malaria campaigns.

IX. In accordance with the abovementioned points of view of the Indonesian Health Ministry, and also with its short-term and long (10 years) term programs, the following line of action is now being followed:

- A. the execution of the so-called "Bandung plan".
- B. special preventive work in Jogjakarta.
- C. special preventive work in Magelang.

D. re-establishment of the Hygiene Study Ward Centre in Djakarta.

E. preventive work in Banjumas.

#### ad. A. "Bandung Plan".

This is a combined working scheme of curative and preventive medical work, executed simultaneously and intensively under a combined central supervision.

##### The Curative Work comprises:

- the extension of the number of hospitals, and maternity and children's wards in the city and in the surrounding area.
- extension of the number of polyclinics outside the city.

This extension of the curative work is necessary because at this moment the possibilities of hospitalization, especially in the desa are still insufficient.

##### The Preventive Work comprises:

- the establishment of consultation-bureaux for expectant mothers and for babies.
- intensive health education of the people.

The Bandung plan is to be considered as an experiment and a test case; later on, when necessary experience has been obtained the same work can be started in other regions.

The choice fell on the Bandung regency because:

before World War II the Protestant Mission had already started a very well functioning curative health system in this area, consisting of one central in the capital city with several auxiliary hospitals in the districts (kawedanan) and polyclinics in the subdistricts (katjamatan). Due to the above-mentioned preparatory work of the Protestant Mission the inhabitants of the Bandung area are already healthwork-minded.

the Bandung area is an agricultural area with good economic conditions.

It goes without saying that the Central Government in the beginning will have to pay the main costs for the execution of this plan, but it can be expected that in future these costs can



be wholly or at least for the greater part, charged to the autonomous areas (regencies, districts, subdistricts and villages) \*).

For financial reasons and because of shortages of personnel in the beginning it will be necessary to combine the health services of some villages into one working unit. Therefore the **primary starting centre** and **working unit** for the time being will be the **subdistrict** (a combination of villages).

The aims of the Bandung plan (A<sub>1</sub> and A<sub>11</sub>) are the following:

### Curative Health Care.

A<sub>1</sub>. (see enclosure no. II).

**The procuring of curative help, as adequate as possible, for the population.**

The centre, the city of Bandung has big hospitals (Government and private). The private hospitals which get a subsidy from the Government admit also poor and other non-paying patients.

The work of these hospitals is controlled and coordinated by the Government and their activities are an integral part of the whole framework of the Government curative health care.

The staff of the central hospitals in Bandung consists of several medical specialists (for surgery, otolaryngology, eye diseases, x rays and laboratory work). All cases from the surrounding areas which need specialist help are sent to the central hospitals.

*) CENTRAL GOVERNMENT		
PROVINCE	PROVINCE	PROVINCE
etc.		etc.
Regency (Kabupaten)		
population 1 to 1,5 million		
District (Kawedanan)		
population 100,000 to 150,000		
Subdistrict (Katjamatan)		
population 20,000 to 25,000		
Village (desa)		
population 1000 to 1500		

In every district there is an auxiliary hospital with a capacity of 40—70 beds. The less serious cases are treated here. These auxiliary hospitals are needed for the prevention of overcrowding of the central hospitals, especially with chronic cases. These auxiliary hospitals are conducted by highly qualified nurses (male and female) under regular control of the doctors of the Central hospitals.

The subdistricts have polyclinics where outpatients are treated daily by nurses from the district-hospitals, again under control of the doctors of the central hospitals. In economically strong subdistricts even small auxiliary hospitals are to be found. Experience has shown that this system is cheap and efficient. However this system can only be effective on the following conditions:

1. sufficient coordination between the central hospitals, the auxiliary hospitals and the polyclinics.
2. a good team spirit among all the workers (doctors and others) of the central hospitals as well as of the other institutions.
3. a spirit of dedication.
4. good control from the centre.
5. sufficient means of communication.

The present situation in Bandung is as follows:

### Regency Bandung: population 1.8 million.

- a. **Bandung city** (pop. 536,000).  
Total number of hospital beds (Government and private) ..... 2,200 beds  
ratio: just over 4 per 1,000 head of population.
- b. **Surrounding area of Bandung city**, population 1.27 million. There are 9 districts, with a total of 4 auxiliary hospitals, with ..... 230 beds
- c. **The greater part of the 27 subdistricts** have polyclinics or auxiliary polyclinics.

During 1951 & 1952 the number of the beds in the central hospitals in Bandung will be increased by ... 200 beds and in the districts, the number of auxiliary hospitals will be increased by 7, with a total number of ..... 250 beds Towards the end of 1952 the total number of beds in the whole Bandung regency will be ..... 2,880 beds



According to the abovementioned "long term program", Indonesia should aim at a ratio of hospital beds of 2 per 1,000 inhabitants. This means that the Bandung regency towards the end of 1960 should have 3,600 hospital beds. Hence the number of beds in the period 1952—1960 should be increased by 720 beds, i.e. 90 beds a year. (partly in the hospitals and partly in the auxiliary hospitals).

Also a number of polyclinics should be increased, in order to have at least one polyclinic in every subdistrict.

This Bandung Plan A1, which has already been started and should be finished towards the end of 1952, will cost about 2.5 million Rupiahs (building costs & equipment).

The same plan will soon also be carried out in other regions, for instance in the Jogjakarta area (Central Java), in Sumatra and in other parts of Indonesia.

### Preventive Health Care.

A11. The establishment, next to a cheap and efficient curative service, of a system of preventive health care, founded on the auto-activity and autonomy of the people in the desas.

Because the desas — as is also the case with other autonomous regions — have their own administration and budget they can be considered as communities which are specially suited to organise public health service; in this way the whole buildup of the system of public health service will be rooted in the desa community.

One of the first conditions for the good functioning of a desa hygiene service, is to instill in the people the idea that this service is the communal interest and property of the desa. In this way the people will bear themselves the responsibilities for the good functioning of their hygiene service.

To this end the appointment of the head of the desa hygiene service, the desa hygiene-nurse (*djuru hygiene desa*), should be based on the sovereignty of the people of that desa. In other words the candidates for an appointment as desa hygiene-nurse should be chosen by the people. The candidate who is physically, mentally, as well as in knowledge and experience the most eligible, shall then be appointed as hygiene nurse in his own desa.

The desa hygiene-nurse is an official of the desa, and not of the central government. He therefore shall be paid by the desa, just as are other village officials.

Only in this way a close bond between the desa hygiene-nurse and the desa community can be expected.

The fundamental duties of the desa hygiene service are:

- a. intensive general hygiene education of the people through house to house visits; especially personal hygiene for young and old, hygiene in homes and premises, latrines, bathrooms, clothes etc., mental hygiene.
- b. collecting data regarding causes of infectious diseases, schools (also dental control), boarding houses etc.
- c. registration of births and deaths.
- d. collecting data regarding causes of infectious diseases, for instance, breeding-places of mosquitoes and flies; inspection of stables for domestic animals etc.
- e. special public health work if ordered by the authorities, for instance the catching of mosquitoes and larvae for laboratory inspection, or the reporting of cases of yaws or trachoma.

When one desa cannot bear the cost of its own hygiene service, then its hygiene service should be combined with that of another desa.

The hygiene-nurses for the desa are given 6 months' training by qualified hygiene nurses, who already have long experience in the field of hygiene work, with the help of qualified hygiene nurses of less experience.

These training courses are given in the capital of every subdistrict.

### Further Organization of the Preventive and Curative Health Service according to the Bandung Plan:

(see encl. III).

#### a. Preventive.

1. for every desa one hygiene nurse (see above).
2. for every desa or group of 2, 3 or 4 desas (depending upon the size of the desa) one hygiene centre. The initial task of these hygiene centres is the control of expectant mothers, and other mother-and-child health care, and the training of



unqualified midwives (the so-called "*dukun beranak*"), in the most fundamental principles of midwifery: cleanliness, sterilization of scissors etc. This institution of unqualified midwives for the time being cannot be abolished. The woman in the desa regularly ask the help of these dukuns as the number of properly qualified midwives in Indonesia is still very far from sufficient.

3. in the capital of every subdistrict a qualified hygiene "mantri" (qualified nurse) for

1. general hygiene work and
2. the training of the village hygiene nurses.

#### b. Curative.

1. for every desa or group of 2, 3 or 4 desas (depending on the size of the desa), i.e. in every place with a desa hygiene centre (see above) a **desa polyclinic**, attended by a village curative nurse (auxiliary nurse).
2. in the capital of every subdistrict a polyclinic, attended by qualified curative nurse, and
3. a curative midwife.

We thus find in the capital of the subdistricts a medical unit for both preventive and curative work. The combined service stands under the coordinating supervision of a **qualified public health nurse** or a qualified nurse with special experience in hygiene work. The task of this public health nurse is the coordination of the preventive and the curative work in the subdistrict. He also has the general supervision of the auxiliary polyclinics.

The complex of curative and preventive health work in the whole **regency** stands under the direction of the regency doctor (*dokter kabupaten*), who is the head of the regency health-service. Every worker in the health field (curative and preventive) in this regency is responsible to the regency doctor.

For the preventive work the regency doctor gets assistance from a **sanitary inspector** and several public health nurses.

#### ad B. Preventive Work in Jogjakarta (Central Java).

In the year 1948 preventive health work was started in the area outside Jogjakarta city, in every subdistrict a

hygiene nurse was stationed to train auxiliary hygiene nurses for service in the desa. At present there are already 7 subdistricts with organized desa health service with a qualified hygiene-nurse in the capital of the subdistricts and a village hygiene nurse in each desa.

The hygiene nurse is always present at the meetings which are often held by the inhabitants of the subdistrict. He then has the opportunity to give a survey of the health conditions in his region, to give instructions for the cleaning and controlling of houses, schools etc.

At this moment there are 3 midwives working at the hygiene centres in the Jogjakarta area.

They have consultation bureaux \*) for expectant mothers and for babies and also given lessons to nonqualified auxiliary midwives (*dukun beranak*). Next to that they go on house to house visits, together with the desa hygiene nurse and the qualified hygiene nurse of the subdistrict.

C. The same hygiene work as is done in the Jogjakarta area, is also done in Magelang (Central Java). There are 7 subdistricts each with a hygiene nurse in the capital and an auxiliary hygiene nurse in each desa.

There is also a training-school for hygiene nurses \*\*) in Magelang. The Magelang area therefore is also used as a training field for the pupils of this school. This training course (theory and practice) takes 1½ years, and is open for pupils with primary school education. They get lessons in general hygiene and also in hygiene education of the people. See also enclosure IV (curriculum).

D. In 1937, as has been mentioned above, a Hygiene Study Ward was started in Djakarta. It comprised a small demarcated section of the city where intensive study was made of health conditions and of the prevalence of diseases. Up till now the work has not been started anew, and statistical data and other particulars of the prewar period are no longer available.

Soon however, the study ward centre will be opened again — in about the same part of the city. This area will serve

\*) In total, there are 156 midwives in Indonesia who work at these consultation bureaux.

\*\*) At this moment there are 195 qualified hygiene nurses in Indonesia.



as a centre for research and experiments and also for the training of public health workers and medical students.

The working-program of the centre comprises:

1. registration of the inhabitants (according to sex, age, etc.) and of their means of subsistence, registration of houses, premises, latrines, rubbish dumps, water works, factories, schools.
2. registration of births and of deaths, the latter according to ages, diseases, etc.
3. medical control of expectant mothers and of babies, toddlers, school children and adults.
4. control of the daily food with regard to cleanliness and quality.
5. control of houses, premises, latrines, rubbish dumps, factories, school etc.
6. prevention and treatment of diseases (typhus, dysentery, hookworm, T.B., diphthery, etc.).

The living conditions in a big city are vastly different from those in a rural area (desa), and the organization of a city hygiene-service has to be adapted to these different conditions.

The students of the medical faculty in Djakarta can here be trained in the organization and development of a city health service.

**E.** It has already been mentioned above that in 1932 a demonstration centre for desa health work was founded in Banjumas (Purwokerto, Central Java). Before the war, very good work was done in this centre, and although its program was still rather limited, this centre could already be used as an experimental and training centre for doctors and other workers in the health field as well as for medical students.

This work has not yet been restarted.

It is the intention however to reopen the hygiene centre again, and it is expected that this will not meet many difficulties as the greater part of the prewar health workers in Banjumas still live in that vicinity; they are anxious to begin their work again, now adapted to the changed conditions in Indonesia.

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### C. The Importance of Adequate Training in Preventive and Public Health for Undergraduate Medical Students and the Provision of Public Health Field-Training Centres for Both Undergraduate and Post-Graduate Public Health Courses.

**I.** In part A of this document several public health administration problems in Indonesia have already been explained. It has also been pointed out there that it is now the standpoint of the Indonesian Government that the emphasis of public health work in Indonesia for the present and for the future should be put on the preventive side.

In part B a short survey has been given of the projects for intensive preventive health work in rural areas and in big cities, in the beginning mainly as demonstration and experimental centres for other areas in Indonesia.

It has also been stated that for the execution of an extensive preventive health plan in Indonesia a great number of trained personnel is needed.

This means, that the Government in the years to come should extend the training facilities in the field of preventive medicine.

This means also that

- 1) in the curriculum of the medical faculty a greater share should be given to lessons in preventive medicine, (it has already been pointed out in part B that up till now medical education is mainly curative).
- 2) those doctors who are expected to be appointed as heads of a regency health service, i.e. the service which supervises the complex of desa health services of that region, will have to follow a special post-graduate course in theoretical and practical preventive medicine. (Before World War II the Neth. Ind. Government appointed residency doctors as head of the residency \*) health services. Those doctors generally were quite well familiar with the preventive health work. At present however the work of the former residency doctors has to be done by the regency doctors who usually have more

\*) A residency was an administrative unit between the province and the regency. These residencies have now been liquidated, so that the administrative organisation of the government is now: central government — province — regency, etc.



experience in curative than in preventive health work. It is however the Government's intention — as has already been said before — to appoint in future years only doctors specially trained in public health as head of a province, regency or city health service).

- 3) as the regency doctors have the supervision of the preventive and the curative health work in their area, they should get assistance from a sanitary inspector, who is charged with preventive health work exclusively, and can — as such — temporarily fill the place of one of the government doctors, who at this moment are so very scarce. For certain reasons the training course for sanitary inspectors was discontinued before the outbreak of World War II but will soon be reestablished. The course takes 3 years and is only available to persons with secondary school training.
- 4) in future the possibilities for training as hygiene nurses should be extended; these hygiene nurses will in their turn train the auxiliary hygiene nurses in the rural areas.

II. Although a short survey of the general trends of the preventive medicine training program in Indonesia has already been given in part B, a more complete summary of the future training scheme will be given here.

For the abovementioned training courses in preventive medicine (chapter I, nos. 1—4) where theoretical and practical education is given, experimental and demonstration areas are needed (city and rural areas), where the students can learn preventive health work in cities and rural areas respectively.

The training program of a **City Experimental and Demonstration Centre** is as follows:

1. study of local conditions (geographical, economic etc.) of the area, and of the organization of its health service.
2. coordination and cooperation with the local health service.
3. Statistics:
  - registration of the inhabitants (general and according to nationality, race etc.).
  - registration of deaths and births
  - calculation and compilation of data regarding births, deaths, diseases etc.

4. Hygiene inspection and control of the whole area (houses, schools, factories, latrines, rubbish dumps, sewerage, water-works etc.).
5. personal hygiene:
  - medical control of pregnant women and of babies, toddlers, schoolchildren (also dental control), children in the puberal period and adults.
6. Food: control and improvement of the people's daily food.
7. Infectious diseases; examination of cases and immunization against infectious diseases, such as typhoid, dysentery bacillaris, diphtheria etc.
8. the demonstration centre gives training facilities to all medical students, doctors (post-graduate course), candidate sanitary inspectors and other health workers.

The training program of a **rural experimental and demonstration centre** is as follows:

1. primary inspection of the houses, premises, stables, latrines, sewerage, rubbish dumps etc., and also of the people in the houses.
2. Statistics:
  - classification of the inhabitants.
  - registration of births and deaths
  - calculation and compilation of data regarding births, deaths, diseases etc.
3. epidemiology: inspection, research, laboratory work etc.
4. health education of the people by means of house to house visits, films, public addresses etc.
5. prevention of the pollution of soil and water.
6. mother and child health care, before, during and after confinement, hygiene for babies and toddlers.
7. School-hygiene work:
  - inspection and improvement of premises, furniture, ventilation, latrines, etc.
  - medical inspection of the pupils
  - health education course for the teachers
  - health education of the pupils
8. Sanitation of drinking water.
9. Refuse disposal.



10. Housing: requirements for the building of healthy, ratproof houses.
11. Hygiene of food: control and improvement of daily meals; inspection of market places, food-shops, and eating houses. Medical inspection of foodsellers.
12. the demonstration centre gives training facilities to all medical students, doctors, candidate sanitary inspectors and other health workers.

A survey of the organisation of a desa (village) public health service and of the training system of hygiene nurses is already given in part B (encl. III & IV).

III. It has been explained above, that the reopening of a training course for **sanitary inspectors** was urgently needed.

The curriculum for such a training course should be as follows:

- English language
- plane geometry
- biology
- anatomy
- physiology
- bacteriology and parasitology
- infection
- pathology
- prophylaxis
- statistics: registration of population (census), of births and deaths, of birth and death rates and of causes of death
- health education of the people by means of house to house visits, films, speeches etc.
- personal hygiene (of expectant mothers, babies, toddlers, schoolchildren, adults); hygiene traditions
- school hygiene (organisation and effectuation)
- hygiene of food, water and clothes.
- latrines and septic tanks, refuse disposal.
- hygiene in houses, factories, industries, market places, food-shops, eating houses etc.
- general means of disinfection of houses, foodshops; ships (clayton apparatus), destruction of fleas and rats.
- architecture, sanitation, knowledge of the nature of foodstuffs.
- geography.
- first aid.

- public health laws and regulations:  
(the decentralisation of health services, responsibilities and competencies of medical authorities, labour legislation, infectious diseases, national and international quarantine).

The course will be given in the following places and institutions:

- Central Laboratory of the Public Health Service.
- City Hygiene Demonstration Centre.
- Village Hygiene Demonstration Centre.
- Laboratory for Technical Hygiene.
- Anti-Malaria Service.
- Anti-Plague Service.
- Anti-Popular Diseases Service.
- Anti-V.D. Service.
- Sea Port Sanitary Service.
- Airport Sanitary Service.

IV. It has been illustrated above how the Government's conception of the work and duties of a public health service has changed during the last decades. It will therefore now be necessary, and it is the Government's intention to take this step shortly, to establish a special **School for Hygiene and Public Health** for the training of doctors for the modern health work. This **School for Hygiene and Public Health** will give a **one year's post-graduate course** to qualified doctors and will issue special certificates of graduation in public health work.

The curriculum of this course will include:

a. **Public Health Administration:**

- laws and regulations regarding public health and control of health services.
- ways of improving the general health standard of the people.
- relation between social, economic and health conditions of the people.
- budget.
- personnel.
- reporting.
- correspondence.
- etc.



**b. Statistics:**

- compiling of information.
- diagrams, charts, tables, graphs, pictures etc.
- utilizing of statistical figures.
- registration of births, deaths, causes of death etc.

**c. Endemiology and Epidemiology:**

- endemiology.
- epidemiology.
- quarantine and isolation.
- the use of bacteriology, parasitology and serology in public health work.
- entomology in public health work.
- protection against infectious diseases.
- the use of laboratory diagnoses in public health work.
- campaigns against malaria and other endemic diseases of the people.

**d. Interior Hygiene Services:**

- constitution of regency health services and village health units.

**e. Health Education of the People:**

- house to house visits, films, public addresses etc.

**f. Personal Hygiene:**

- hygiene for expectant mothers, pre- and after-natal care.
- hygiene for babies.
- " for toddlers.
- " for schoolchildren in the house.
- " for schoolchildren in the school.
- " for children in the puberal age.
- " for adults.
- hygiene traditions.
- hygiene of surroundings.
- hygiene of clothing.
- Influence of personal hygiene on health.
- eugenics and health.

**g. Technical Hygiene and Hygiene of Surroundings:**

- sanitation in general.
- waterworks and sewerage for big and small communities.
- drinking water in the village houses.

**CONCLUSION**

- drainage.
- refuse disposal.
- housing.
- factory hygiene.
- traffic hygiene.
- ventilation.
- meteorology and health.
- influence of technical hygiene on health in general.

**h. Food.**

- food in general.
- means of food-control and food-research.
- production, storing, and distribution of food.
- quality and quantity of food.
- chemical food analysis.
- food inspection.
- vitamins and other important food-elements.
- adulteration of food.
- laws and regulations regarding control of food and beverages.
- metabolism.
- diets and health.

**i. Mental Hygiene cum annexis.**

This School for Hygiene and Public Health will also give a special public health training course to all medical students before their doctoral examination. At the end of the course the students have to pass an examination.

In connection with the serious shortage of medical teachers in Indonesia, for the time being possibly also the sanitary Inspectors will receive their training at this School for Hygiene and Public Health.

Consequently the future School for Hygiene and Public Health will admit 3 different categories of students:

- 1) Sanitary inspectors (non-academic).
- 2) medical students.
- 3) doctors who will receive a special post-graduate training in hygiene and public health work.

\*  
\* \*



## CONCLUSION.

From this document the reader may have obtained a general insight into the outlines of the policy of the Ministry of Health in Indonesia, and he will have come to the conclusion that the problems we have to face now and in the future are manifold.

First of all we have to improve our organization, both central and regional, and every problem we meet on our way must be solved with the help of only those resources available.

This document will also have proved that our task of improving the standard of health of our people is a heavy but also a grand one. Heavy because we have to cope with so many shortcomings, grand because — as Disraeli once said — “the health of the people is really the foundation upon which all their happiness and all their powers as a State depend”. The phrase “healthy people make a strong nation” is not a mere slogan, it also contains the very root of all health work. The production capacity of both farmers and workers in factories and other enterprises is closely connected with their physical and mental well-being; schoolchildren can only learn well if they are not suffering from illness; the military forces which have to defend the country can only do their duty when their health is good. I thought it necessary to emphasize these facts here again, because many of our country-men do not yet realize these simple truths.

It will take great efforts from the Government and all civil servants, and also the full support of the whole population, to execute this heavy task; close cooperation and good understanding between the Government and the relevant professional Unions (doctors, midwives, nurses, pharmacists etc.) is also indispensable.

The machinery of organization in a young and growing nation, still under the influence of many paradoxes, does not yet run very smoothly, and the Government and the people of Indonesia can only achieve their objects, if they are strengthened by great enthusiasm and zest for work.

Every upbuilding program should only be executed according to careful planning, and such planning should — as the sociologist Mannheim once said — be supported by great confidence.

In this critical period of the growth of our nation we need, next to a sense of humour and great optimism, the unfailing confidence that in the end we will reach our goal: the upbuilding of our nation in the fullest sense of that word.

## ENCLOSURE I.

In elucidation of the statistical figures given in this document, similar figures from other countries, compared with those from Indonesia, are given below:

### Number of hospital beds.

	per 1000 head of population
Indonesia .....	0.8
U.S.A. ....	10.4
England .....	7.1
Netherlands .....	4.2
India .....	0.24
Japan .....	3.5

### T. B. mortality.

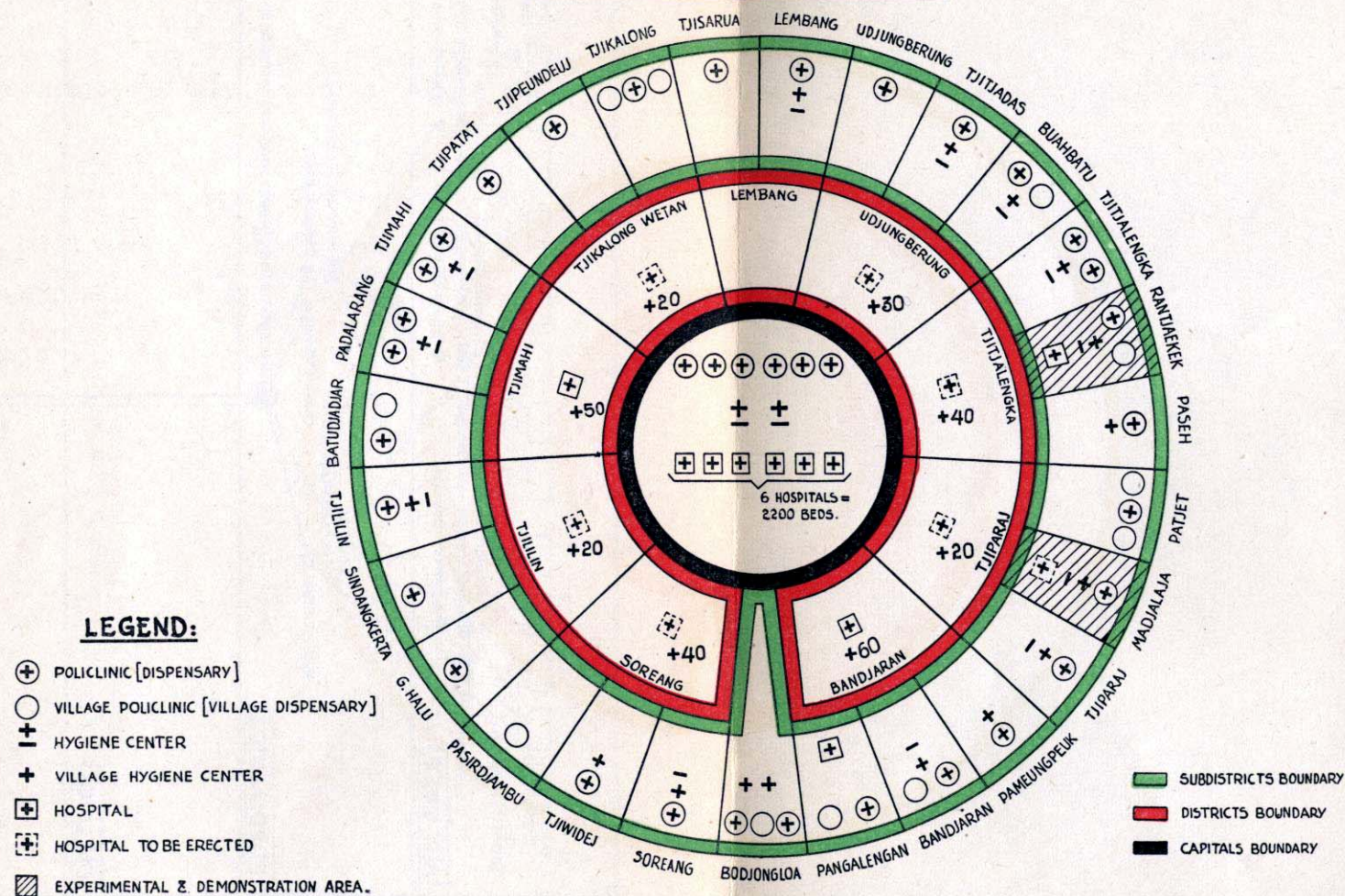
	per 100,000 head of population.
Indonesia .....	189
Netherlands .....	85 (1945)
Japan .....	28 (1948)
	160 to 280 (1945)

### Number of doctors (ratio).

	1 : 60,000 head of population
Indonesia .....	1 : 1,200 " " " "
Japan .....	1 : 6,300 " " " "
India .....	1 : 1,000 " " " "
England .....	1 : 1,500 " " " "
Netherlands .....	1 : 1,000 " " " "
International standard .....	1 : 1,000 " " " "



# BANDUNG REGENCY





# Infant mortality.

	per 1000 births
Indonesia .....	115 to 300
India .....	243 (1939)
Japan .....	83 (1942)
England .....	32 (1949)
U.S.A. ....	31.8 (1948)
Netherlands .....	21 (1948)

# Maternity deathrate.

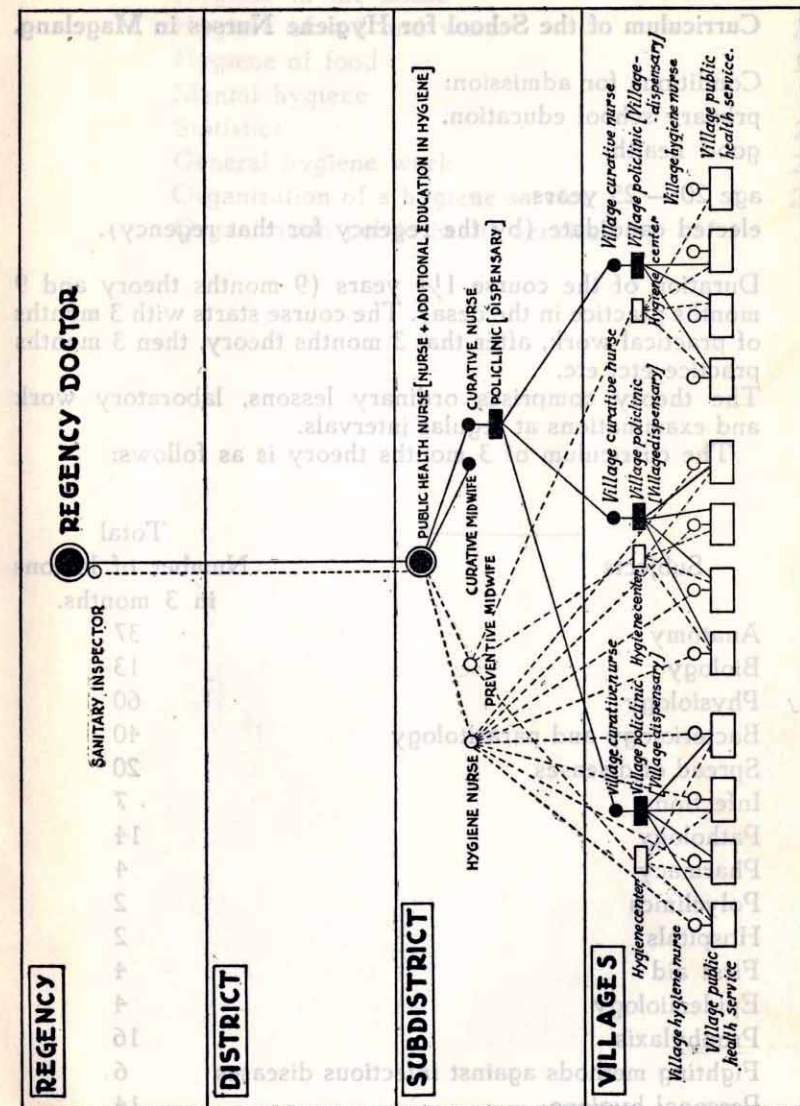
	per 1000 births
Indonesia .....	12 to 16
India .....	12 (1939)
U.S.A. ....	1.1 (1948)
England .....	1 (1949)
Netherlands .....	1.2 (1948)

# Crude deathrate.

	per 1000 head of population.
Indonesia .....	10 to 15
India .....	22.4 (1937)
England .....	9 (1949)
U.S.A. ....	9.9 (1948)
Japan .....	11.96 (1948)
Netherlands .....	7.4 (1948)

# Crude birthrate.

	per 1000 head of population.
Indonesia .....	20 to 30
Japan .....	34 (1948)
England .....	23 (1949)
U.S.A. ....	20 (1948)
Netherlands .....	25 (1948)





## Curriculum of the School for Hygiene Nurses in Magelang.

Conditions for admission:  
primary school education.  
good health.

age 20 — 25 years.

elected candidate (by the regency for that regency).

Duration of the course  $1\frac{1}{2}$  years (9 months theory and 9 months practice in the desa). The course starts with 3 months of practical work, after that 3 months theory, then 3 months practice etc. etc.

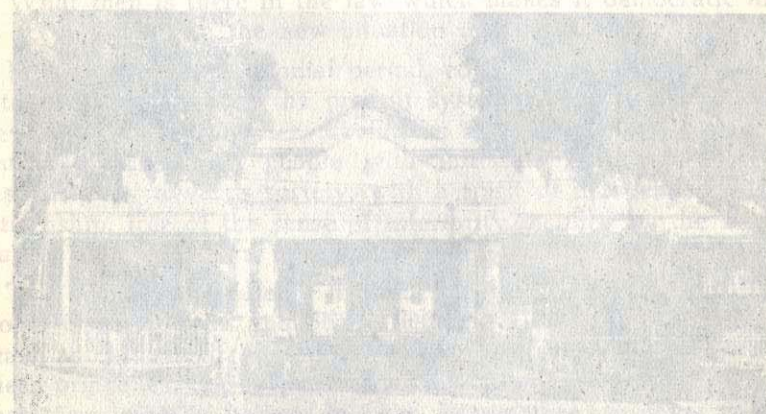
The theory comprises ordinary lessons, laboratory work and examinations at regular intervals.

The curriculum of 3 months theory is as follows:

Subjects	Total Number of lessons in 3 months.
Anatomy	37
Biology	13
Physiology	60
Bacteriology and parasitology	40
Spread of diseases	20
Infections	7
Pathology	14
Pharmacy	4
Polyclinics	2
Hospitals	2
First aid	4
Epidemiology	4
Prophylaxis	16
Fighting methods against infectious diseases	6
Personal hygiene	14

Hygiene in the premises	12
Hygiene in the house	8
Hygiene of soil and water	22
Hygiene of food	10
Mental hygiene	1
Statistics	24
General hygiene work	25
Organization of a hygiene service	25
Organization public health service	2

New Basis of Education.  
On the basis of the recommendations of this Committee the Government then drafted a bill on education. This bill was passed by the Working Committee of the Indonesian National Committee (the Provisional Republican Parliament) in Jakarta in October 1949 and was promulgated in 1950 under the name of Law No. 4 concerning the Basis of School Education.



A front view of the Gadjah Mada University in Jogjakarta, Central Java.



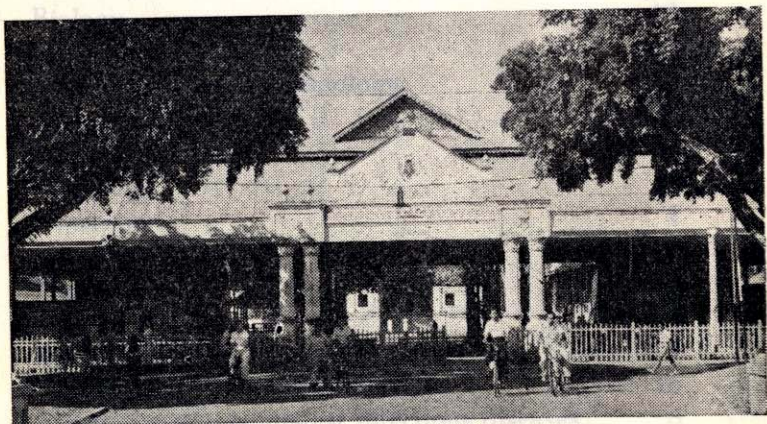
## THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL EDUCATION IN INDONESIA.

One of the most important problems facing Indonesia after the proclamation of her independence was the creation of a new educational system which must be consonant with the position of the Indonesian people as an independent people and based on democratic principles.

On April 12, 1946, a Committee was established, called "**Panitya Penjelidik Pengadjaran Republik Indonesia**" for "Committee to Investigate the Educational System of the Republic of Indonesia" under the chairmanship of Mr. Ki Hadjar Dewantara, a prominent Indonesian educationist, to enquire what was needed for a new and democratic educational system.

### New Basis of Education.

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*A front-view of the Gadjah Mada University in Jogjakarta, Central Java.*

For a clear understanding of the new law, one should also understand the atmosphere in Indonesia at the time the bill was drafted. The Committee on Education was established at a period when our national revolution was in its momentous beginnings. Its work was hampered by the Dutch military actions of July 1947 and December 1948. The draft bill arising out of the Committee's work was discussed in the Jogjakarta Parliament in the middle of 1949, just three months after the most prominent Republican leaders, who had been exiled to Bangka by the Dutch Government, returned to Jogjakarta. Its promulgation took place in April 1950, at a time when the Indonesian people outside the Republic of Indonesia were struggling passionately for the abolition of the Dutch-sponsored Federal Republic and the incorporation of the various puppet member-States into the original Republic of Indonesia.

This atmosphere of struggle was bound to have a profound influence on the law in preparation. In contrast to the educational system prevailing at that time in the Dutch puppet States outside the Republic, the new system was very democratic and based on the needs of the masses. The new law is today effective in all parts of Indonesia.

What then is there in the law which makes it democratic and in accordance with the new situation in Indonesia?

During the Dutch colonial period, education was mainly of an intellectualistic nature; the present system lays emphasis on the development of character, having as its goal the creation of a nation consisting of people with initiative, with a sense of responsibility towards society, with a spirit of independence and citizenship, free of the sense of inferiority instilled by the Dutch during their 300-years' colonial regime.

The Pantjasila — Belief in God, Humanism, Democracy, National Consciousness and Social Justice — forms the basis of our State as well as of our educational system. In accordance with these principles, the teacher must train the young in such a way that they learn to believe in God, love nature, be loyal to the State, love the people, appreciate the national culture, respect and love their parents. In addition, they must be made to realize that



they have the duty to bring about better conditions in the country, that as individuals they are also an inherent part of the community and subject to the order of that community, that all human beings are basically equal so that they should respect each other on the basis of justice and self respect.

It is certainly not an easy task to realize all these aims. The unnatural social relations resulting from hundreds of years of Dutch colonization and the Japanese occupation had unfavourable effects on Indonesian education and these cannot be neutralized and undone overnight.

Another factor which had a bad influence on the development of the Indonesian youth was the armed Dutch-Indonesian conflict. A great number of schools had to be closed, thousands of children from war-areas had to be evacuated to safer areas. Students formed themselves into their own army units, and as guerrillas they had to spend more than four years in the jungle or in remote villages. Their thoughts were centred not on lessons, but on fighting and killing.



*Physical exercise is compulsory for students of the secondary school.*

When the armed conflict was over, special schools had to be set up for these students, the so-called transition-schools. Here lessons were adapted to the condition of the students who had just left the guerrilla front. After a time, these students could enter ordinary schools.

Apart from these psychological difficulties arising out of the conditions of the past, there are also difficulties of a material nature. There is a tremendous shortage of capable teachers, of school-buildings and equipment. Never before have we had to face such an acute shortage of everything necessary for education, because never before have Indonesians had so great an opportunity to send their children to school.

We are trying to overcome the shortage of teachers and professors by opening as many teachers, schools and colleges as possible, and by sending people abroad to be educated as teachers.

Also foreign teachers and professors are asked to assist us in this field. A significant thing is that many students of universities are at present teaching in secondary schools.

What we have achieved during the last years is undoubtedly far from what should be done ultimately. But, nevertheless, we can say that in comparison with the position during the colonial period great progress has already been achieved.

### Types of Schools.

The following types of schools can be found in Indonesia:

- (a) Kindergarten, (b) elementary schools, (c) lower secondary schools, (d) higher secondary schools, (e) special colleges or academies, (f) Universities.

In addition, there are schools for those who need special education like invalids and blind people. To safeguard sectional interests, especially in the matter of religion, full opportunity is provided to open private-schools which, provided they meet certain requirements, are subsidized by the Government. There are at present many private Christian, Chinese and Moslem schools and also private schools for Dutch children.

The plan of the Government is to have one elementary school for every 2,000 inhabitants. That means that in our country, with its population of 70,000,000 people, there must ultimately be 35,000 elementary schools. To come nearer to this end, 4,000 new elementary schools were opened on the 17th of August, 1951.

After passing the elementary school it is intended that students enter either secondary schools or special classes, called "social classes". These special classes do not exist yet, but in the very



near future they will be established everywhere; they aim at giving practical training to the children, so that they will be able to earn a proper living after leaving school. The curriculum for these classes depends on local conditions, and will be concentrated on special fields, agriculture, handicrafts, fishery, and so on.

The secondary schools are divided into two parts, the lower and the higher, each taking three years. There are two sorts of secondary schools, vocational, which give specialized knowledge, and general, which deal with more general subjects. Examples of vocational secondary schools are the Technical Secondary School, the Lower Economic Secondary School, the Girls Industrial Secondary School, the Teachers' Secondary School, the School for Kindergarten Teachers.

Besides these vocational schools, which are under supervision of the Ministry of Education and Culture, there are also others controlled by other Ministries. We have for instance the secondary school for agriculture, for fishery, under the Ministry of Agriculture, the secondary school for technical aircraft personnel and for marine personnel under the Ministry of Defence, the secondary school for police officers under the Ministry of Interior and pharmacy school under the Ministry of Health.

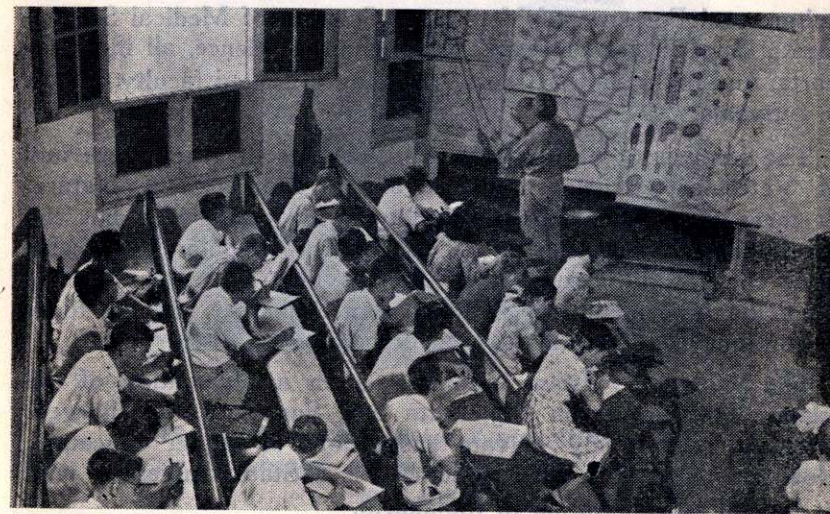
One very important form of schooling for secondary school graduates is given by the special colleges or academies. These academies which have been established only during and since the revolution, aim at giving training which is more specialized and shorter than what is provided by the University.

There is the Police Academy \*), the Academy for Journalism, the Academy for Foreign Affairs, the Academy for Trade, the Flying Academy, all in Djakarta; the Academy of Plastic Arts in Jogjakarta; the Academy for Physical Training in Bandung.

While the other academies are still in their infancy, the Police Academy has been functioning since June 1946. The first police officials graduated from it in January of this year (1953). They could have left the school earlier, had it not been for the fact that after the second Dutch military action in 1948 the academy had to be closed for nearly one year.

\*) now called University for Police Sciences.

The first University on a national basis is the Gadjah Mada University in Jogjakarta. Established in March 1946, it was the first effort to educate students on a completely new basis. The difficulties faced by this National University were, in the beginning, overwhelming. There was a shortage of qualified professors, of accommodation, and of textbooks. Nevertheless, the sponsors and staff of the University courageously moved on. The standard of study was by no means as it should have been, but at that time it was very important. The Gadjah Mada was the first place where the student was made into the new Indonesian, the Indonesian who broke with the colonial mentality of the past. Students of the Gadjah Mada University were not people who, in the first place, were after knowledge and certificates. They were students who were convinced that they were part of the Indonesian community and conscious of their duty to that community. They took part in politics, and afterwards, when Jogjakarta was invaded by the Dutch, many of them joined the students' army and fought the Dutch as guerrillas.



Agricultural college.



Now Jogjakarta is a peaceful place, and the students of the Gadjah Mada University can continue their study quietly. The conditions of study are still far from perfect, but the Gadjah Mada University is highly appreciated by the Indonesian people, since it has made a valuable new contribution to University study in the new Indonesia. It is for this reason that the University, formerly a private institution, has been taken over by the Government.

The other big University of Indonesia is the University in Djakarta, which is to be considered more or less as the continuation of the University of the Dutch colonial period.

After the general international recognition of Indonesia in December 1949, however, much was done by the Government to democratize this University and to adapt the basis of education here to the changed conditions. Both the Gadjah Mada University and the University of Indonesia with its centre in Djakarta have several faculties.

The Gadjah Mada University consists of the Faculties of Law, Economics, Sociology and Political Science, of Literature, of Agriculture and Forestry, of Veterinary Science, of Medical Science, Dental Surgery and Pharmacy, of Technical Science, all in Jogjakarta; and besides these, there is also an affiliated faculty of Law in Surabaya.

The University of Indonesia has faculties of Agriculture and of Veterinary Science in Bogor, and of Mathematics, Natural Sciences and Technology in Bandung. In Surabaya, it has the faculty of Dental Surgery and of Medicine, while in Djakarta itself the faculties of Law, of Letters and Philosophy, and of Medicine. The faculty of Economics in Makassar has had to be discontinued because of the lack of professors.

The University Islam Indonesia is an amalgamation of the Islamic Universities in Jogjakarta and Surakarta, which were formerly respectively private institutions of higher education. Now the University Islam Indonesia is a State University with its central administration in Jogjakarta.

It has in Jogjakarta and Surakarta Faculties of Religion (including Islamics and Literature) and Social Economics, further a

Faculty of Pedagogics in Jogjakarta and a Faculty of Law in Surakarta.

Apart from these Government Universities, there are a number of private ones, including the National Academy in Djakarta. This Academy came into being because its founders regarded the University of Indonesia in Djakarta as too western in mentality and neglectful of the spiritual and social needs of Indonesian students.



*The rapidly growing number of students necessitates the Government to build emergency schools in some places.*

The following figures relate to the end of 1952:

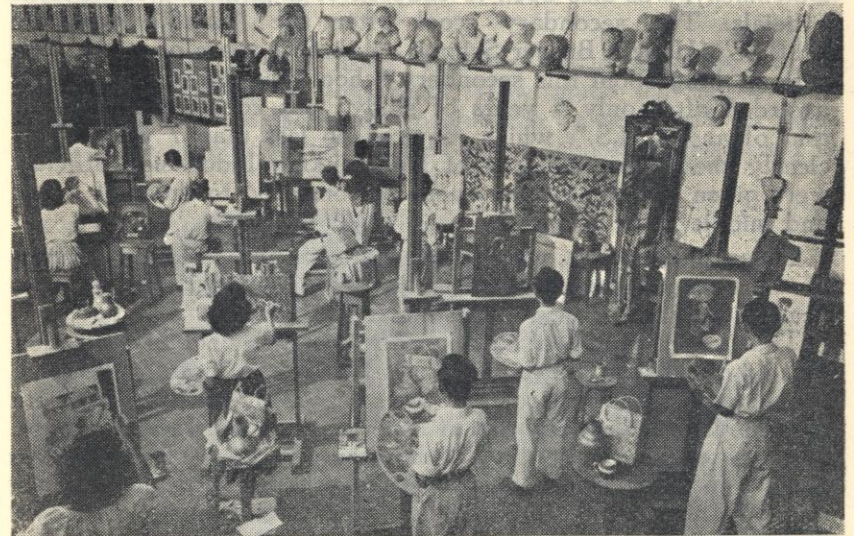


In considering the figures for the number of teachers one should keep in mind that one professor in most cases gives lectures to two or more universities or academies.

### A Comparison with the Colonial Period.

To get a better understanding of the extent of progress of education one must know something about the conditions in this field during the past Dutch and Japanese colonial periods.

School education during the Dutch colonial period was characterized by discrimination and segregation. There were different schools for the different social classes of the Indonesian people.



Future teachers of art absorbed in the practical part of their study at the Academy of Plastic Art in Bandung, West Java.

For the common people, there was the village school with very low standards. The only school that children coming from village schools could enter were the Teachers' Schools, which trained people to be teachers in these same village schools. There was no opportunity to progress further, by entering secondary schools or universities.

Type of School	Number of Schools			Number of Teachers			Number of Students		
	Govt.	Private	Total	Govt.	Private	Total	Govt.	Private	Total
1. Kindergarten .....	—	306	306	—	506	506	—	24,180	24,180
2. Elementary school .....	24,775	1,895	26,670	83,060	6,765	89,825	4,977,304	340,710	5,318,014
3. Lower Secondary school:									
(a) General Lower Sec. School .....	231	502	733	2,318	4,195	6,513	65,707	91,029	156,736
(b) Vocational Lower Sec. School .....	298	94	392	2,498	547	3,045	40,323	8,733	48,796
4. Higher Secondary Schools:									
(a) General Sec. School	59	43	102	1,003	770	1,773	18,381	9,222	27,603
(b) Vocational Sec. School .....	47	31	78	523	433	956	6,400	3,392	9,792
5. Teachers' Colleges .....	442	10	452	1,441	115	1,556	41,606	1,011	42,617
6. Academies .....	5	2	7	71	21	92	430	700	1,130
7. Universities .....	3	4	7	485	49	525	13,677	no official records	13,677



Indonesians belonging to the lower and middle classes, such as the greater part of the Government's officials, could send their children to elementary schools of a higher standard, the so-called "Dutch-Native School" (Hollands-Inlandse School), where Dutch was the language of instruction. From this school, the children could go to a lower secondary school, the "Mulo", and afterwards to the "A.M.S.", the higher secondary school. If the parents had enough money they could later send their children to one of the faculties of the University.

There was also another class of elementary and secondary schools. The "E.L.S." (Europeesche Lagere School), an elementary school intended specially for "Europeans" (in this case Dutchmen), was also open to children of high-ranking Indonesian officials. The secondary school after the "E.L.S." was the "H.B.S." (Hogere Burger School), with five years of study. The curious thing about this secondary school was that its certificate, awarded after only 5 years of study, was considered equal to that of an "A.M.S.", which required no less than 7 years. This clearly shows that children of high-ranking Indonesian officials were given preferential treatment as compared to those of lower and middle class people.

These, in their turn, were privileged as compared to the children of the common people of the villages, who could only enter a dead-end school of very low standard.

This Dutch policy of discrimination in the field of education created dissension and controversies between children of the same people, and between parents of the same people. It gave rise both to feelings of inferiority and of superiority in the various groups. The masses were kept stupid, while the privileged classes for the greater part became industrious Government officials, and in this way helped the Dutch colonize and often oppress their own country and people. In fact, it can be said that education at that time was primarily intended to supply cheap labour to keep the Dutch administration running.

Was it surprising then that many Indonesians were dissatisfied with such a system of education? Much was written in newspapers, much also was said in the Representative Body at that time, "De Volksraad", to have this policy of discrimination changed. But no reasonable change was made.

Another objection to the Dutch system of education was that it was pedantic and too intellectualistic. The main purpose of study

was to get book-knowledge. Not much attention was paid to character-formation. Nothing was done to make the child aware of his place in the community, of his obligations to his people. Seen from the Dutch point of view, it was certainly logical. Awareness of his obligations to the community might have awakened in the child a consciousness of his duty to the Indonesian community, the Indonesian people, which would have made him aware of the evils of foreign domination. And certainly it was not what the Dutch intended in giving school education to Indonesians.

Considering what we said about the Dutch system in education, it is easy to understand that the Indonesians were aware of the necessity of setting up their own schools based on a national Indonesian basis.

In 1922 the "Taman Siswa" Institute was founded by Mr. Ki Hadjar Dewantara in Jogjakarta. How much this school was appreciated by the Indonesian people can be seen from its rapid growth. In a short period Taman Siswa schools were opened in



A "Taman Siswa" secondary school in Djakarta.



all parts of Indonesia. Later on, the Taman Siswa Institute had several standards of schools, from kindergartens to secondary schools and teachers' colleges.

Besides the Taman Siswa schools, there was established in Bandung, the "Ksatrian Institute" under leadership of the late Dr Douwes Dekker (Dr Setyabuddhi), another prominent Indonesian nationalist leader. Another school on a nationalist basis was the "Kajutanam Institute" in West Sumatra, formed and headed by Mr Sjafei, now a member of Parliament.

Apart from these schools which are actually the outgrowth of the nationalist movement for independence of the time, there were also private schools based on religion. Private Protestant, Catholic, Moslem and Chinese schools were to be formed in every important city.

To the Dutch Indies Government private schools were "wild schools", dealt with in a special "Ordinance for Wild Schools". While private schools which could be considered as more or less helping to stabilize the Dutch administration, received both moral and material assistance from the colonial Government, private schools on a nationalist basis met with all kinds of difficulties. Government officials, who dared to send their children to such schools, were dismissed. But in spite of the oppressive attitude of the Dutch-Indies Government, the nationalist schools grew and kept on growing.

Another way to escape the colonial system in Dutch schools was to send children abroad to study at foreign universities. However, for most Indonesians it was too expensive. A number of students were sent to the Netherlands, to study at Dutch Universities. Many of those students later on became prominent nationalist leaders. We may mention here Vice-President Mohammad Hatta, Dr. Sartono, Speaker of Parliament, former Prime Minister Dr. Sukiman Wirjosandjojo, Dr. Ahmad Subardjo, who not only studied in Holland but also in England and France, the Prime Minister, Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo, Ambassador to the Federal State of West Germany, Dr. A. Maramis, Dr. Iwa Kusuma Sumantri, the Minister of Defence and a considerable number of others.

In short, the education system during the Dutch period was a logical consequence of the colonial policy at that time.

It is not our intention to say that we have learnt nothing in the Dutch period. The knowledge we got was very valuable, and has proved to be of great use to us up till now. It was the policy of discrimination that we disapprove.

### The Japanese Occupation Period.

Our country was occupied by the Japanese from 1942 till 1945, when they surrendered to the Allies.

As in the case with the Dutch, the Japanese during their occupation here established an educational system quite in line with their general colonial policy. It was fascistic and militaristic. The intention of the Japanese was to replace the Dutch in this country to be themselves the dominating power, and to impose Japanese culture on the people.

Children at school were taught that Japan was the best country in the world and that it was the destined leader of all Asia. The Japanese soldier was the representative of the Japanese Emperor, therefore the children at school should give the greatest honour to him. Military drill was compulsory.

Japanese was taught to even the lowest grade. To know Japanese manners was essential for school children. The children were even taught and asked to say "Good Morning" in Japanese to parents, and make bows in the Japanese way before them.

But despite these bad things, the Japanese occupation period also brought about certain advantages to the Indonesian school-child. Advantages which, we are sure, were never meant as such by the Japanese themselves.

During this period the Indonesian pupils could learn how thoroughly bad Dutch colonialism and the Dutch education system were. The ban on the use of Dutch in schools stimulated the development of the Indonesian language, which had not generally been learnt by Indonesian pupils at school before. And the use of this national language strengthened the consciousness of national unity amongst the several groups of population. It is true that, later on, the Japanese tried to replace the Indonesian language by Japanese, but fortunately they stayed too short a time to hamper





*The Medical Faculty in Djakarta.*

the development of Indonesian at school. For all Indonesians there was only one kind of Government school. The policy of discrimination of the Dutch Indies Government was put to an end.

The strong measures taken by the Japanese created reactions in the souls of the children. They understood more and more that only independence could give what they needed. And the military drill at schools, however militaristic it was, was accepted as a preparation for the struggle to come, which would probably be fought against the Japanese themselves. When the revolution broke out in 1945, school-children and students and the youth in general were the pioneers, especially in the armed fighting. And, undoubtedly, this was one of the outcomes of the type of education given during the Japanese occupation period.

A comparison of the numbers of elementary and secondary schools and their pupils as between the periods of Dutch and Japanese colonial rule and the present time, gives the following picture:

Type of School	Dutch period (1941)		Japanese period (1944)		1952	
	Number of schools	Number of students	Number of schools	Number of students	Number of schools	Number of students
Elementary school...	13,595	1,879,270	15,069	2,523,410	26,670	4,977,304
General Secondary schools .....	94	19,338	55	21,433	835	184,339
Vocational schools .	276	25,612	122	22,932	922	101,205

This then is a short survey of the development of education in our country. Much has been improved in this field since the proclamation of Independence. But much more has to be done in days to come. And considering the general conditions in Indonesia at present, it is unlikely that large-scale improvements can be made within a short time. The Indonesian people are aware of this and are prepared to continue the struggle for the realization of their educational ideals, as they had done for their Independence, until complete success has been attained.

Under Dutch influence, certain Indonesians wrote poems and biographies in Dutch, but when national consciousness began to develop, this attitude of regard for the Dutch soon ended and our writers turned to their own language by new developing forces. From Malay and known as Indonesian. Their writings, however, were still influenced by the West. The efforts made to find new forms of expression, which was the aim of the "Gerakan" (Movement) of 1945, this year really marked the end of an epoch. A new era in Indonesian literature began. During the Japanese occupation an enormous amount of literature was accumulated, and this was, of course, and rose as the Japanese centered everything that did not contribute to their propaganda. This life of value was published and the novels of this period were saturated with politics. It was not until 1945 that Indonesian literature was able to develop on a large scale and a great number of poems and novels



## SOME INDONESIAN WRITERS.

(Taken from a lecture given by Miss Sukezi Budiardjo in London, on 1st November, 1950).

The development of modern Indonesian literature really began after the fall of the Netherlands Indies Government, although we must not forget that much progress had been made between the two world wars. Publications in the early part of the 20th century had not been very interesting, as little attention was paid to the Malay language. In the past Malay literature had consisted chiefly of novels and poetry, which were traditional, in line with the fact that the entire Indonesian Community had been bound up with tradition.

The old novels were mostly stories with a moral tendency and these were too dull for the new generation; but the ancient poems written in traditional form were still popular. The best known form of these was the "Pantun", consisting of four lines and written in a romantic vein, with the first and third and the second and fourth lines rhyming; these classic "Pantuns" are learnt by heart.

Under Dutch influence, certain Indonesians wrote poems and biographies in Dutch, but when national consciousness began to develop, this attitude of apeing the Dutch soon ended and our writers turned to their own language, by now developing separately from Malay, and known as Indonesian. Their writings, however, were still influenced by the West. The efforts made to find new forms of expression — which was the aim of "Pudjangga Baru" — ended in 1942; this year really marked the end of an epoch.

During the Japanese occupation an enormous amount of literature was accumulated, but this was, of course, sub rosa, as the Japanese censored everything that did not contribute to their propaganda. Thus little of value was published and the novels of this period were saturated with politics.

It was not until 1945 that Indonesian literature was able to develop on a large scale and a great number of poems and novels

were published, as well as many modern plays which were performed with outstanding success. Most of this literature had been written during the Japanese occupation and remained unpublished because of the censor. It was at once apparent that there was a great difference between the work of the "war generation" and that of the Editor of "Pudjangga Baru". "Pudjangga Baru" saw everything through the eyes of national idealism and sometimes this tended to become exaggerated and sentimental. Great emphasis was put on rhythm and rhyme, both of which were set aside by the 1945 generation.

The sorrow and distress endured during the Japanese occupation and the proximity of death, even after the Proclamation of Independence, gave a deeper meaning to life. The war generation had grown up with grief and this tended to find expression in their writings. They at once abandoned the complicated and obtrusive style of the schoolmaster and the agitator, finding it old-fashioned and clumsy, and they acquired a new style of their own, in which their wartime experiences proved of inestimable value.

Attention was focussed on foreign literature, such as the English, French, Russian and American authors, Pushkin, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, Yeakov, Ilja Ehrenburg, André Gide, André Malraux, Aldous Huxley, Hemmingway, Steinbeck and others, some of whose writings have already been translated into Indonesian.

Among modern Indonesian writers, one of the best known is **Takdir Alisjahbana**, the Editor and one of the founders of "Pudjangga Baru". He is extremely versatile, being not only an author but also a lawyer, teacher, poet and essayist. The first novel he wrote, published in 1929, was "Ta' Putus di Rundung Malang" or "Always Dogged By Ill-Luck". It is a story about two poor orphans, a boy and a girl, who leave their birthplace because of ill treatment by their uncle. After many wanderings they arrive at Bengkulu, but here they have a miserable time and finally the girl commits suicide. The boy, Mansur, is jailed owing to a false accusation and after his sister's death and his release, he cannot bear to stay in Bengkulu; so he becomes a sailor and for fifteen years he sails among the Indonesian islands. His austere and lonely life means little to him and he longs for death.



Takdir's second novel entitled "Dian Jang Tak Kundjung Padam" or "The Ever-lighted Lamp" was published in 1952. This is about a poor village boy, Jasin, who falls in love with a rich girl, the daughter of a nobleman from Palembang. The evening before Molek is to be married to a wealthy and unscrupulous Arab, Jasin tries to elope with her, but they are unable to carry out this plan. After her marriage the two lovers meet again, but Molek is determined to die. She prefers to wait for her lover in the hereafter than to follow him now that she feels



*Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana.*

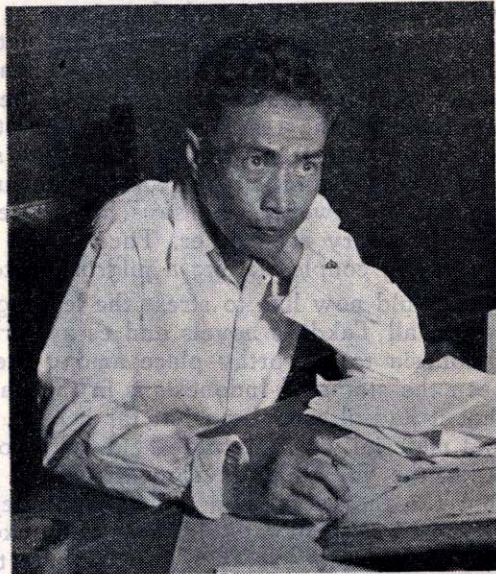
her body is defied. After her death Jasin becomes a hermit and at the end of the book, a ward and protege of Jasin asks his help. He has eloped with a girl and they beg Jasin to give them shelter and to save them from their pursuers. He looks at the young couple with a smile full of resignation and joy; they had done what had been denied to him and the struggle for freedom has come a step nearer. Grateful and content he gives them his blessing.

I am not going to deal with all of Takdir's novels, but there is just one more that I wish to talk about. It is called "Lajar Terkembang" or "Unfurled Sails" and was published in 1938. The story is very simple: two sisters, Tuti and Maria, meet a medical student who has almost completed his studies. The girls have very different characters. Tuti, the elder, is an intellectual, she is very serious, a fighter for women's rights and a leading figure in all women's organizations. The other is a gay carefree girl who enjoys life. They both fall in love with Jusuf. Tuti had been engaged before, but she broke it off, as she felt marriage would interfere with her more serious work. But she is a woman and, when she sees her sister's happiness at being engaged to Jusuf, she suddenly feels lonely and incomplete and is aware that she is growing older. Then one of her colleagues, a teacher, proposes to her, but she refuses him; and now she feels that she will really be alone for the rest of her life. She struggles against her love for Jusuf, but it grows stronger and stronger. Then suddenly Maria falls ill and is taken to a sanatorium where she dies. Before her death, however, she says her dearest wish is for Jusuf and Tuti to marry each other. They do so and the book ends with the young couple making a pilgrimage to Maria's grave.

I should now like to stress the leading ideas which are expressed in all Takdir's novels and essays. His first aim was to raise Indonesia to a worthy place among the Nations; whatever had been the status of Indonesians in the past, he considered in 1930 that it had already been left far behind, both from an intellectual and material viewpoint. He held that, from the time of the Middle Ages, the West had developed from the static to the dynamic and that the individual had gained an independence in the community, with a freedom which was often excessive. There were some who feared this excess of freedom! Be that as it may, the West had acquired its cultural, political and economic superiority from this very freedom, though there were varying opinions as to the results of Western development. One thing, however, he strongly maintained was that, if Indonesians were to play an important part in the world, they must adapt themselves to the changed conditions of that world; on this Alisjahbana was adamant. Violently he challenged those Indonesians who thought that the mastery of Western techniques was sufficient and that they could then revert to their former status. His opponents countered with the argument that the East, with its spiritual civilisation, was in



fact far superior to the materialistic West. They spoke of Indonesia's illustrious past and said that, if only the people would revert to that, they would be able to rise again. To Takdir this was mere sophistry; it seemed obvious to him that all this nobility of soul and spiritual wealth had no value while the people were hungry, naked and listless. No, the past was no longer desirable and we must not revert to it! The only basis for a new and vigorous Indonesia was a firm faith in the future, and Alisjahbana was convinced that, if Indonesians were to keep up with the tempo of the world, they must learn all they could from the West.



Sanusi Pane.

This, he felt, could best be attained through the literature of the West, but without embracing its purposeless codes and ideas. The modern young artist must be free; he was his own master and must not clutter up his mind with tradition, if this interfered with his self-expression; and inspiration and personality must replace mere mechanism. But even after the artist had broken all links with the past, had he then reached his goal? Not entirely; for Takdir was against art for art's sake. He did not approve

of the Western idea that the artist was an entity divorced from the rest of the community; he did not want this imitated in Indonesia, where he felt the artist should fulfil his function not only as an individual, but also as a leader of his people in their struggle for life and freedom. Takdir Alisjahbana defined the duty of a writer thus: individuality in both the community and literature must be subordinate to the struggle for freedom, and there must be a renewed and conscious binding of the individual to the community. This humanistic attitude is one of Takdir's chief characteristics and it pervades his novel "Lajar Terkembang" which is a significant contribution to Indonesian literature. The book is written in a pure and trenchant style, with clear and attractive scenic descriptions and a lively dialogue. It is an extremely readable novel and moreover stresses Takdir's important message of unity.

Now let us turn to Takdir the Poet. One of his books of verse is "Tebaran Mega" ("Scattered Clouds"). It was begun some days before his wife's death and completed several months later. Here again the style is clear and restrained; though in deep distress, Takdir looks through the scattered clouds to the mountains above, where the sun still shines — and life claims him once more. He feels safe — at one with God and yet still of the world where there is little time for dreams and idleness, but only for the struggle of life.

Another writer of Alisjahbana's time is the poet **Amir Hamza** whose poems are written in the traditional form and seem to indicate that the old language has not yet died. His verses, in charming rhyme, deal mostly with melancholy and homesickness. He was always longing for his native land Sumatra when he studied in Java where he felt lonely and an alien. Later, turning his thought to the Hereafter, he was to feel a stranger in the world and this religious fervour pervades his poetry. He was born in 1911 and died in 1945.

Other writers who were also contributors to "Pudjangga Baru" are **Sanoesi Pane** and his brother **Armyn Pane**.

**Sanoesi Pane** began to write verse when he was sixteen years old. The poems of his first book, published in 1926, are mostly sonnets, as he was much influenced by Western writers. He was also greatly influenced by the Indian poets, as he lived in India for many years and wrote most of his verse there. This is apparent in his choice of subject, and he reveres India as the country of



his inspiration. His Play "Manusia Baru" is really a story about India, although it could equally well refer to Indonesia. In contrast with his other work, his dramas, five in number, two in Dutch and three in Indonesian, are all taken from ancient Javanese history. Sanoesi Pane does not agree with Takdir's wish to break with the past. He is in favour of continuity in history and tries to convince his readers that it is impossible to start afresh. Further, he disagrees with Takdir's view in regard to the humanistic place of the writer in the community. In contrast to Takdir, he does believe in art for art's sake.

**Armyn Pane** is more divorced from the past than his brother and we may regard him as a forerunner of the 1945 school of thought. His prose is vivid, natural and concise. His last novel



**Armijn Pane.**

"Belenggu" or "Shackles", published in 1940, is a remarkable book. It is the story of a doctor called Sukartono. He is unhappily married, as his wife feels he neglects her for his practice, while she for her part neglects their home, refusing to be a "slave". Also she is always thinking of her former young lover. Then one day she sees him again and discovers her love for him has died; but still she cannot throw off her "shackles" and be more to her husband. The doctor then meets again his former playmate, Ehi Jah. She consoles him and becomes his mistress. His marriage becomes more and more unbearable — in fact it is no longer a



**Idrus.**



**Pramudya  
Ananta Tur.**



marriage at all — and even Tini doesn't care when she discovers that her husband is being unfaithful to her. She decides to leave him and devote her life to social and charitable works. This, however, does not seem to help her very much as, strangely enough, she is still conscious of the ties which bind her to her husband. As for Ehi Jah, her life with the doctor fails to give her the happiness she sought and she decides to leave him. Finally we find the doctor deserted by both wife and mistress.

This novel is new in both style and content. It does not revert to the Indonesian past; there is no problem of East and West; no question of any forced marriages. It is in fact a psychological novel. Although the ending does not solve the problem of individual freedom, we recognise the writer's own character throughout the book. He is always hesitant, not knowing whether there is really any purpose in his efforts; and here we see the difference between him and Takdir Alisjahbana who believes so strongly in his life purpose and his work, while Armin Pane holds no such ideal.

Let me now turn to certain other pre-1945 writers:

**Abdul Muis** belongs to the older generation of writers, he is well known, not only because of his literary work, but also as a journalist and politician. One of his novels "Salah Asuhan" or "Unwise Upbringing", published in 1928, became a best-seller. It is a tale of an Indonesian boy Hanafi, living in Solok, who acquires a Western education, but of the wrong type; this separates him from his relatives and friends, while he still does not know enough to become a real Westerner. As a boy he had formed a youthful friendship with a girl, Corrie du Bussec, the daughter of a Frenchman and an Indonesian woman. Years later, when he returns from Djakarta where he has been studying, he meets her again and they discover that their friendship has turned to love. Corrie finds it difficult to refuse him anything and she therefore leaves Solok in order to avoid him. Hanafi, disillusioned and apathetic, to carry on the traditions of his country, marries an Indonesian girl chosen by his mother. As, however, he has neither love nor friendship for her, the marriage proves a disaster and even the birth of a child does nothing to change his indifference. Then he has an accident: he is attacked by a mad dog and has to go to Djakarta to be cured. Here he meets his love Corrie once more and this time she decides to accept him. As a Moham-

medan he is allowed to marry more than one wife. But this marriage also fails; there are scenes and accusations which make life intolerable and Corrie flies to Semarang where she finds work. Hanafi, sad and lonely, follows her in an endeavour to bring her back, but it is too late! She is dying. He then returns to his native land where his first wife awaits him faithfully, but here he only causes trouble and sorrow to his mother, his wife and



*Chairil Anwar.*

his son. At last, unable to find a solution, he commits suicide. This is one of the most interesting pre-war novels; the dialogue is vivid and his characters, Hanafi and Corrie are realistic. His other novels are of less importance.

**I Goesti Njoman Pandji Tisna** is a Balinese author who writes of Bali and describes the good and bad qualities of his people. He inserts many lovely folk tales into his novels and this makes them particularly attractive. Thus he speaks of Bali, in contrast to Takdir whose scenes are set in Menangkabau in Sumatra.



"Siasat" and its cultural supplement "Gelanggang" meaning "Arena".

**Idrus** began to write during the Japanese occupation, but was soon stopped by the censor and it was not until 1945 that his many short stories were published.

Short stories form a special genre of modern Indonesian literature, to which it is fitting to draw special attention. Many more short stories are written now than before the war and some of our young writers excel in this type of literature. Among them — as well as Idrus — are **Asrul Sani** and **Pramudya Ananta Tur**. The latter joined the Army during the Revolution and was imprisoned by the Dutch from 1947 to 1949, being freed only upon the transfer of sovereignty. While in prison he translated Steinbeck's "Of Mice and Men" and wrote some very realistic short stories about his experiences at the front. One of them concerns two boys who killed their father because he joined the Dutch Army in Djakarta. They then fled the capital and joined the Indonesian Army in the interior of Java. One morning a little later, when on guard duty, the younger brother is pondering on this fatal deed and suddenly realizes it is his own father he has murdered! His brother tries to reassure him saying it was the only thing they could do, but he remains full of worry and foreboding that he himself will be killed in battle. The story ends with the roll-call.

There are also great developments in the modern play, known as "Sandiwara", which was just coming into prominence before the Japanese occupation. **Mohamad Yamin** \*) and the **Pane brothers** had already written many "Sandiwara" before the war but these were mostly on ancient and classical Hindu subjects, whereas the modern play deals with current happenings.

**El Hakim** (a pseudonym for Dr. Abu Hanifah) has written several modern plays, whose leading parts have been acted by the above-mentioned young writer, Rosihan Anwar. "Taufan Diatas Asia" meaning "A Hurricane Over Asia" and other plays of El Hakim have already been performed in Indonesia with outstanding success. The growth of the modern Indonesian play is a direct result of the development of the language, as the classic Javanese plays were always acted in Javanese.

Indonesian has not yet reached the peak of its development, and we are convinced that our literature will develop still further.

\*) the present Minister of Education.

Certain of his books deal with tales of the past century, but his best novels are on historical subjects. One of these "I Swasti, Setahun di Beda Hulu" or "I Swasti's Year in Beda Hulu" treats in much vivid detail with the court of a famous king of the tenth century, but from a psychological point of view his characters are badly drawn. It is however worth reading, as it makes its own contribution to Indonesian literature.

Among the men of letters since 1942, we must first mention the famous poet **Chairil Anwar**, whose first verses were written in 1943 during the Japanese occupation, when he was twenty-one. They were not published until 1945, as they contributed nothing to Japanese propaganda, but his fame preceded publication. These poems, typed on cheap paper, were circulated amongst young writers and poets who were much impressed by his originality and striking choice of words. Many of them tried to imitate him, but with little success. In short, trenchant sentences, he could describe moods and feelings as no-one else had ever done. But he was more than a writer and a poet; he was also an architect of the Indonesian tongue. He discovered new words and new combinations of words and he used them with such understanding and imagination that they were soon adopted by other writers. He was an individualist "pur sang", never to be entangled by woman, friend or organization. He was a wanderer, now joining the soldiers at the front, now the young people in the interior of Java, and again his artistic contemporaries in Djakarta. Thus during the Revolution his life was one of adventure and this wandering spirit is given expression in his verse. In 1949 his collected poems, "Deru Tjampur Debu" or "A melee of Noise and Dust", were published. He died in April of that year aged twenty-seven, but in these short years he had held a burning torch to illuminate Indonesian literature. His poems have been translated into Dutch and English.

**Rosihan Anwar** is another young poet who began to write during the Japanese occupation. He somehow managed to elude the censorship and had several of his poems and short stories published. His poems may be described as "snapshots", concise and clear but unflattering. This was no doubt due to the fact that he was also journalist and wrote brief descriptive articles. He is one of the founders of, and among the chief contributors to, an important weekly magazine published in Djakarta called



## INDONESIAN PAINTING.

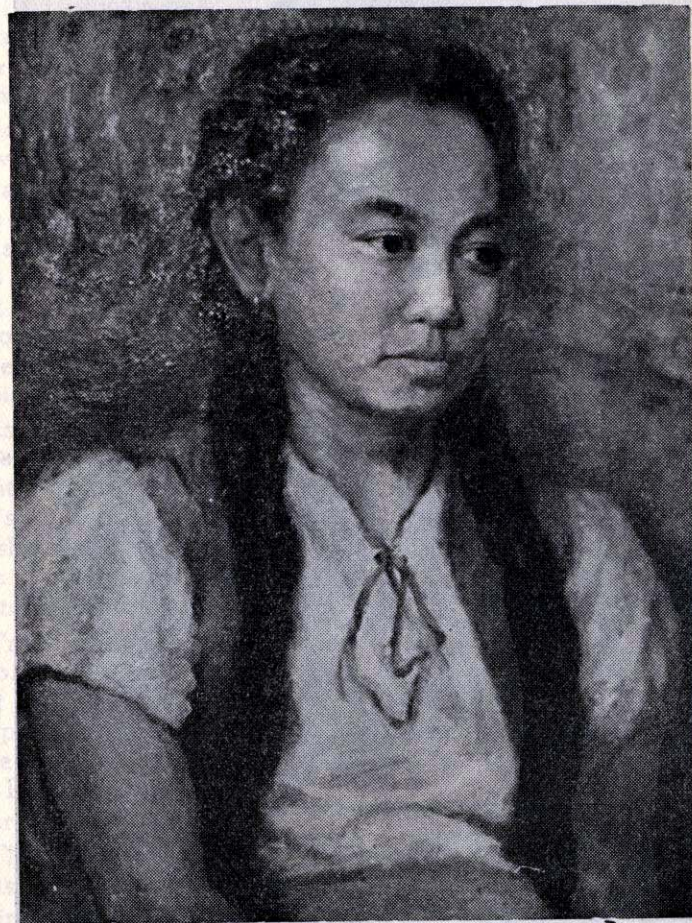
The exhibition of painting and sculpture organized by the Ministry of Information from the 18th to the 27th of August, 1952 showed the renaissance in Indonesian pictorial art in all its vividness and variety.

In the works displayed one could see clearly the struggles of Indonesian artists for an idiom to be called their own and one in tune with the social and cultural realities of the nation at the present time. The following discussion is of these struggles. The pictures reproduced below, which were on display in the exhibition, can be considered representative of various tendencies emerging from them.

Until the middle thirties painting was relatively unimportant in Indonesia. In the traditional art of Java, Bali and the other cultural centres, sculpture, woodcarving and drawing were maturely elaborate media of expression, but painting was little developed. Where orthodox Islam had held sway it had forbidden religious art and indirectly discouraged secular art. Some training was given to talented Indonesian artists by the Dutch, but the few men sent by them to study painting in Europe could never bridge the gap between the cultural forms of their mentors and the spirit of their own people.

In the late thirties and the years of war, occupation and revolution, came the sudden blossoming. It has been a remarkable phenomenon. Like old men coming into a second adolescence, Indonesian painters have cast off all but the deepest element of their mature traditional culture and burst dynamically, gropingly and demandingly into a new field of artistic activity. Reflecting the speed and tension of the political and social developments of their time they have brought Indonesian art into a new phase of storm and stress.

Perhaps the most striking feature of this renaissance of Indonesian art is its variety. It is false even now to speak of a school of Indonesian painting; more correct to speak of half a dozen schools, each in process of change, each rapidly gaining and again rapidly losing its adherents. With only a very few exceptions Indonesia's painters are self-taught. Not bound to regular form



1. "A Girl" Trubus.





2. "Si Udin" Nasjah.

they are still searching for forms appropriate to their genius. Each of them has taken something of Western art for himself; all except a handful have retained much of the tradition of philosophy and of the deeply ingrained habits of thought and feeling of their own people. Almost all of them express tensely and dynamically the rapid changes in the life of the Indonesian people, their worries and their hopes; all carry with them at least something of the cultural legacy of the past.

How then is the new integrating medium being striven for? How is the passivity of the traditional past being combined with the activity of the present period of struggle? What can now be seen as the characteristically Indonesian features in the work of these painters and how do these stand in contrast to Western art? It is with questions like these that we will be concerned as we look at the eleven pictures from the exhibition reproduced here, six of them in styles parallelling Western ones and the next five more clearly examples of the attempt at a new Indonesian synthesis.

As an example of Indonesian naturalism modelled on Western style we may take "A Girl" by the young painter **Trubus**. This painting speaks for itself. It is worth noting however that in it the subject is all-important and the background, though carefully finished, has no significant independent relation to the whole. The colors are not unusually sombre, nor is there a lack of sharp contrasts between them.

Trubus, a man of 27, is self-taught. He first earned his living in Solo, Central Java, by coloring photographic enlargements, and that has been his training. He is a painter who concentrates chiefly on portraits, and one of the few modern Indonesians faithful to pure naturalism. Although a member of the socialist "Painters of the People" organization, his attitude to this work is one of "l'art pour l'art".

The second painting, also a portrait, is **Nasjah's "Si Udin"**. This is also Western-influenced in style, naturalistic with a touch of impressionism. Nasjah is portraying a strong, impassive, take-it-or-leave-it character, a character that seems to attract attention as forcefully as he repels sympathy. Although the painting of the hands and body is technically imperfect the whole is impressive. Nasjah too is only 27.



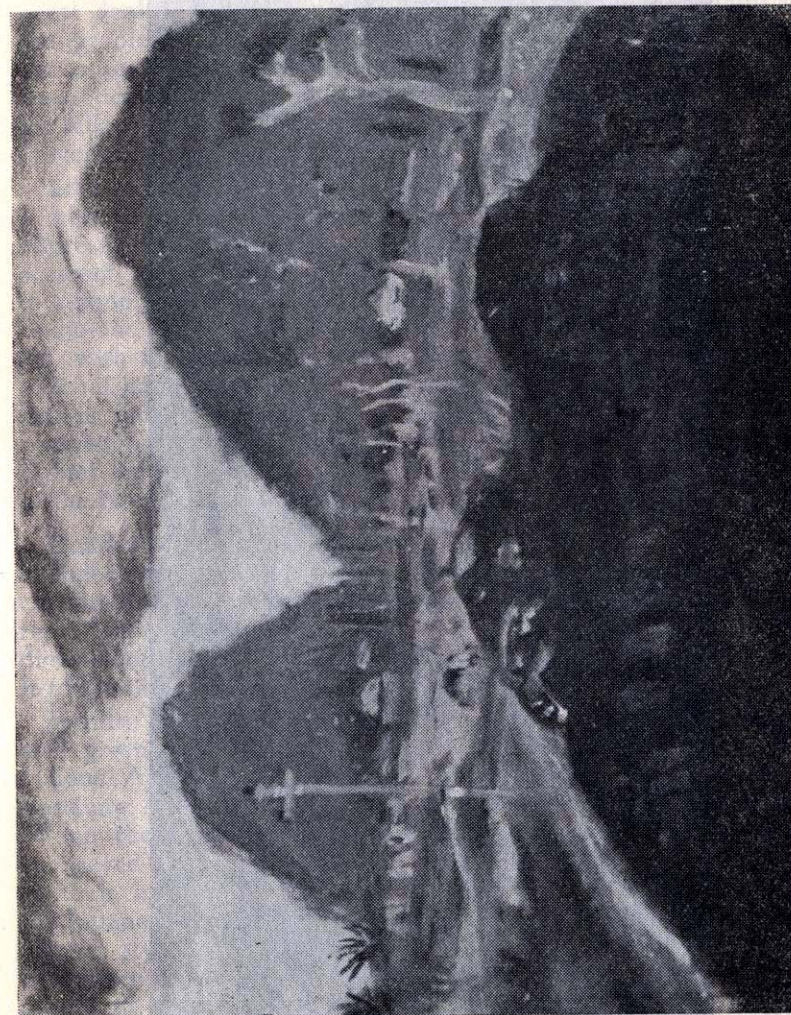
In this painting, unlike the one of Trubus, there is very effective congruence between the subject and its background. Colors are dark and on the whole not sharply contrasted. These aspects are worth careful consideration as ones which have been thought characteristically Indonesian and outside the mainstream of European art.

A clearer example of impressionism in Indonesian painting is Sudjojono's landscape of "Kaliurang", a mountain resort near Jogjakarta in Central Java. Here the influence of French impressionism is clearly marked, for instance in the sense of impending storm which the picture gives. The mountains are painted with the mind's eye; their distortion, especially in angle, is as subtle as it is strong. The whole is thoroughly three-dimensional.

Sudjojono has often been called the leader of Indonesia's renaissance of painting. Although now only 38 he has from the late thirties been prominent as a leading painter of the nationalist movement. During the Japanese occupation Sudjojono, like a considerable number of Indonesian artists and writers, worked with the authorities up to a point. The Cultural Branch of the Japanese Propaganda Office Ministry offered these men positions, and so elementary economic security, and encouragement in the pursuit of characteristically Eastern cultural forms. The rapid political changes had already shaken the society of Indonesia into greater interest in forms of art which were neither outdated nor imitative and led to rapid artistic development. Sudjojono, like a number of other Indonesian painters, matured considerably during this period.

During the post-war revolution Sudjojono concentrated again on nationalist political activity. As well as being a nationalist painter, perhaps the foremost nationalist painter, he worked also as a writer and speaker. But it was as a poster and caricature artist that he was then best known. During that period, to which this painting belongs, Sudjojono's style turned from naturalism to impressionism. In his choice of matter and his aesthetic theories he became a social realist, strongly influenced by the German socialist painter Käthe Kollwitz and her Proletkult, cult of proletarianism \*).

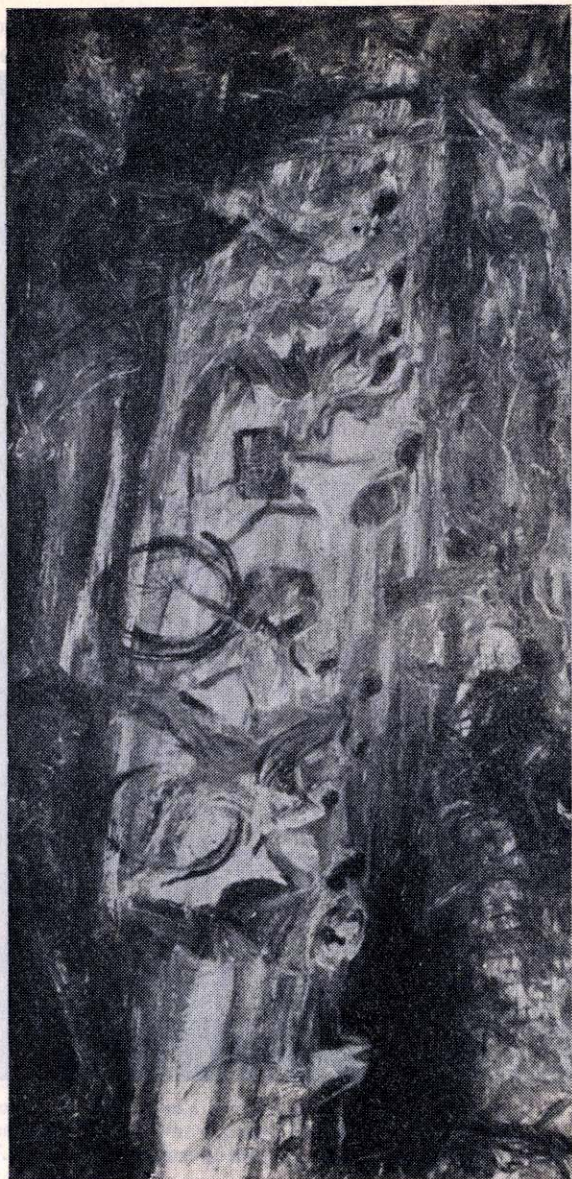
\*) An example of Sudjojono's social realism and of Proletkult in his painting, his "Guerrilla Front", was reproduced in the July number of "Indonesian Affairs". The cover picture of the July issue was taken from one of Sudjojono's pre-war works.



3. "Kaliurang" S. Sudjojono.



4. "Panic" Hendra.



Unlike the great majority of Indonesian painters, Sudjojono take a theoretical attitude to art. He is one who has studied a great deal of the theory of art and is concerned especially with the problem of the relationship between art and literature and the political and social struggle. He has written a number of theoretical essays on these subjects. Sometimes he is condemned by fellow-artists for his intellectual and political approach to art. Nevertheless he does enjoy considerable fame as a painter.

Like so many of the others, Sudjojono has experimented with a number of radically different styles. After his period as an impressionist in the early years of the revolution he turned to an abstract, almost surrealistic form of expression; now he is returning to a style similar to his naturalistic one of pre-war times. Certainly Sudjojono is one who is concerned with the future of Indonesian art, with the search for a synthesis which can express both traditional harmony and the realities of the modern era of struggle. But in fact in most of his work he shows himself to be almost completely involved in the latter — an activist intellectual, a fighter for social justice, a man every bit the product of the worry of the twentieth century.

Hendra's "Panic" is an example of post-impressionist influences in Indonesian painting. The sense of movement of the work, which can be only very imperfectly conveyed in the black and white reproduction, is striking. This work also is very much in three dimensions — one might almost include time and make it four. It too is the product of profound worry.

Hendra is a man who wanted to paint in pre-war times but was given no opportunities. He and another painter now justly famous, Affandi, \*) worked together as itinerant housepainters in Bandung, spending their spare time in teaching themselves to paint. When the Japanese came they at first joined the government-sponsored League of Painters, but left it soon afterwards to return to their housepainting, in protest against the oppressiveness of the Japanese regime. Completely self-taught, Hendra is still looking for the style to suit his own ego and artistic experience. He has experimented with some unique styles in ways which have led others to regard him as dishonest with himself. His attitude is

\*) Early this year (1953), Affandi paid a visit to West-Europe where he held exhibitions of his paintings in London, Amsterdam, Brussels and Paris. In all these cities he met a warm reception from art critics.



understandable however in the light of the general situation of Indonesian art.

Henk Ngantung's "The Betjak Driver" shows Indonesian social realism at its best. For Ngantung art must be both of and for the people; art and the people are inseparable, and the relation between them must be mutual. In various styles, naturalistic and impressionistic, he is searching for the media which can best be understood by the mass of the people; at the same time he sees it as his task to arouse the conscience of the better-off to a realization of the sufferings of the people. This attitude to art flourished during the years of guerrilla struggle, that is between 1945 and 1949, but is now no longer as widespread as it was. Indeed, among the leaders of Indonesian painting Ngantung is now probably the only thoroughgoing social realist.

The son of a rich official of the Dutch government, Ngantung was given a Dutch education and in his early years forcibly kept away from the common people. When in his early twenties during the Japanese occupation he made his first close contacts with the mass of the people, he felt impelled to identify himself with them, and rebelled against his family environment in order to be able to do so. It was at this time that he began painting, so he too is self-schooled.

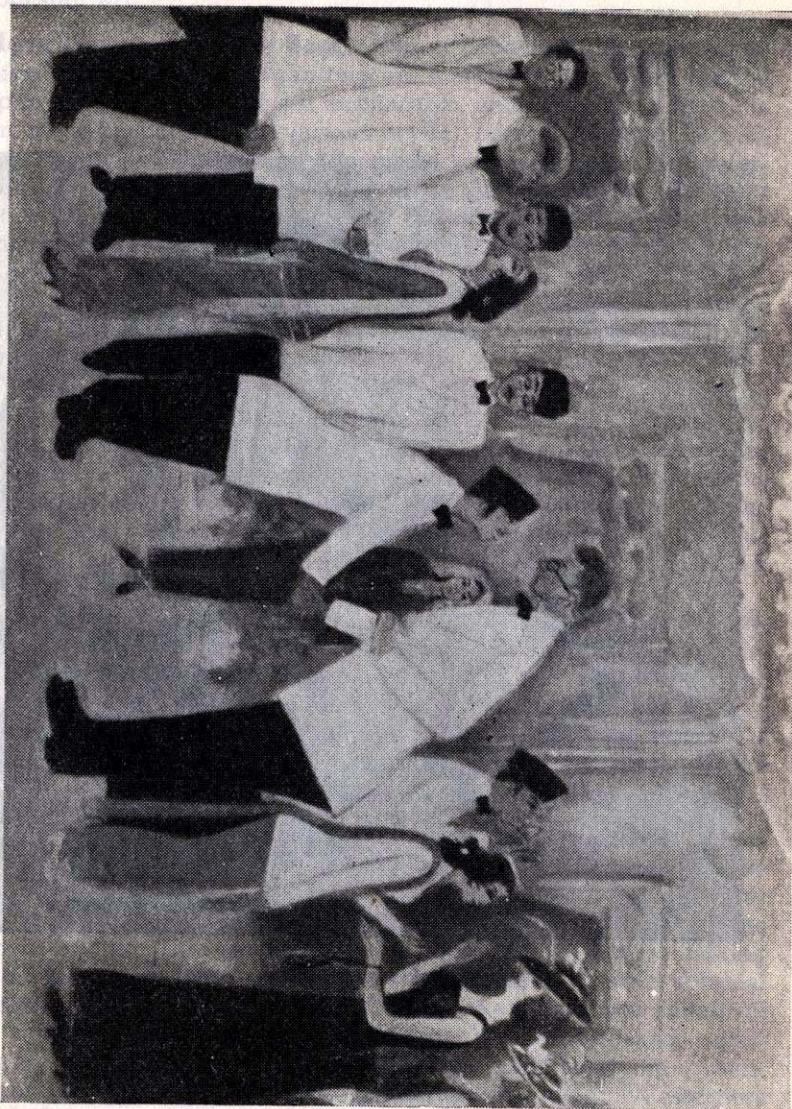
This painting is of a driver of a betjak, a three-wheeled Indonesian rickshaw cycle, whose drivers are known as a group particularly susceptible to tuberculosis. It is a painting of a type rather than of a human individual. The strength and long-suffering of the face and body are powerfully portrayed. The vividness of Ngantung's coloring and the directness of his rough brushstroke make the work as strong in artistic as it is in human appeal.

"The Cocktail Party" by Otto Djaja is one of the first pieces of good satirical painting in Indonesia. Surely nothing could be more devastating than its indictment of the vanity, superficiality and insincere snobbish formality of official receptions, of the jealous hunting for social prestige, and the dishonest talking behind backs. In it too we can see those relics of the old colonial inferiority complex, which in acute form are expressed in unnatural and uncomfortable relations between Westerners and Indonesians. The artist pierces right through gaudiness and glitter, pretentiousness and sophistication; his ridicule falls on Westerners and Indonesians with equal severity.



5. "The Betjak Driver" Henk Ngantung.





Otto Djaja and his brother Agus are among the few painters of the modern movement who were already well-known in Dutch times and have studied painting under European teachers, both in Indonesia and, recently, abroad. Before the war they were both naturalists. During the Japanese occupation, however, they were swept into the movement for a national culture. In the revolution their style tended towards impressionism and then expressionism, and their subjects were very often social. In the last years they have been among the foremost of those trying to find a synthesis between Eastern and Western art. This painting however, being Western in style and spirit, does not show this as do the two other Djaja paintings to be discussed later on.

The next five paintings to be dealt with are ones which in the clearest way show the attempt to find such a modern Indonesian synthesis.

A very unusual painting indeed is "Stranded" by the woman painter **Emiria Sunassa**. It is an anti-war painting conceived in 1943, at a time as Emiria says, when for many nights she had been sleeplessly brooding over news of war wreckages. The reader will see that it conveys its sense of disturbance with striking force. The style is stormy and unruly, the colours phosphoric, almost ghoulish. The bodies of the victims are distorted into a piercing lifelessness. The sea, threatening and brutally irregular, is as if mythically one with them. It has doomed and now enclasped them. And yet they have not quite lost their humanity. Pity wrangles with supernatural fear in the onlooker's mind, with neither completely dominant.

Emiria Sunassa is an artist whose work, though intensely individual, is very interesting as an indication of tendencies in Indonesian art in general. Now 57 she is the oldest among the painters of the new movement. The daughter of a noble of Irian (West New Guinea), she began painting at the age of seven. She also never studied painting, and this fact is to be recognized more clearly in her works than those of others of Indonesia's self-made painters because of her primitive use of color, and her avoidance of shadows and perspective. Yet the influence of her works, which are great in number, has been very considerable here; she was one of the leaders of the movement away from traditional form.



Emiria too paints in very different styles. Often her painting is coarse and crude and relies for what appeal it has on the intellectual satisfaction that follows explanation. In other works however, as in this one her stylization is artistically compelling. A lot can be said for the view that in the best of the work of Emiria Sunassa there is a dynamic fusion of indigenous art and the art of the sophisticated modern neo-primitivist.

Suparto's "Meditation" stands strongly in contrast to the other paintings. Its style bears its greatest similarity to modern surrealism, but seems in addition to owe a lot to Chinese and Japanese painting. Soft fawns, greys, blues and blacks give the whole a coolness rare in Indonesian painting. Two-dimensional, its beauty lies in its grace and flowingness. The half-faces are distinctly mystical — but this seems to be a mysticism, unlike that in the works of other Indonesian painters, which has been nurtured in monastic seclusion and remained unpenetrated by the era of speed and tension. Something of the spirit of the traditional culture has been expressed in modern style, but the non-artistic stimuli of modern times have been evaded or so highly rarified as to defy recognition. Intuitions, feelings and ideas have been transposed rather than synthesized.

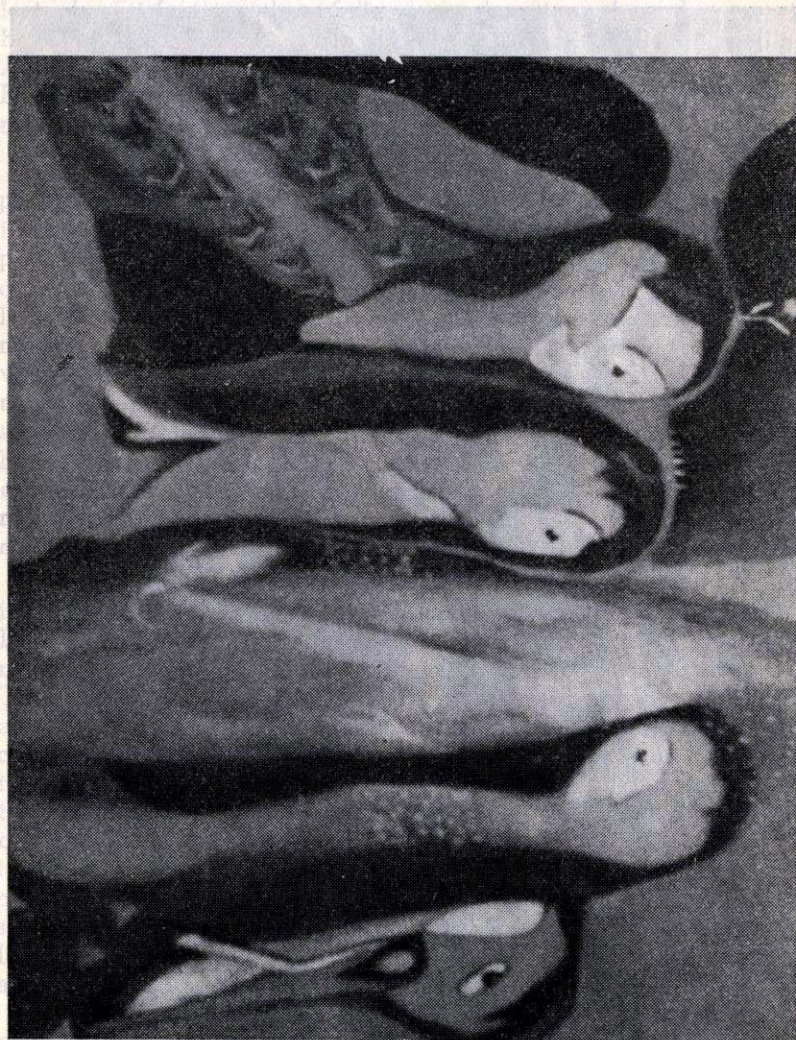
Those who like stylization will find a great deal to be admired in "Dajang Sumbi" by Otto Djaja, the painter of "The Cocktail Party". In some ways an intensely romantic painting, this work nevertheless leans heavily on traditional classical symbolism. The absence of depth and the stylization of flowers and trees and sun, and even of the body and face of the subject, suggests comparisons with the pre-naturalistic symbolic art to Europe in the Middle Ages. And yet the painting has its shocks too; subtly the figure and the sun behind it are placed just away from the centre of the picture. The face is as modern and human as it is traditional and legendary. Djaja's style reminds one both of the pre-naturalism of the time before Giotto and of modern expressionism. On the other hand however it has the characteristics of Indonesian painting, dark coloring, the absence of strong contrasts and the close unity of subject and background.

The painting of the Hindu goddess "Saraswati" by Agus Djaja, Otto's brother, unfortunately suffers a great deal in black and white reproduction. In the original the body is a copper brown, the background a thick dark green, the sky, crown and hair very



7. "Stranded" Emiria Sunassa.





dark blue, and the fire a flaming yellow which yet fails to light up the rest of the picture. The combination of colors gives the whole a similarity to some of the works of the French post-romantic painter Gauguin. And yet if what we have said is true the coloring of this painting is also characteristically Indonesian. The stylization of corpulence and of the profile are certainly Indonesian. And there is a decided mystical content in the whole.

Sularko's "Child and Flower" is perhaps the most interesting of this small selection of paintings from the point of view of synthesis of modern and traditional forms and ideas. The combination in it of peace with mystical weirdness — the flower and the hair — certainly has its roots in the deepest in Indonesian tradition. And yet the traditional is disturbed by modern worry; the large head and face are not those of a child, rather a reflection of the anxiety in the mind of the artist.

In style the painting is strongly anti-naturalistic. Perspective is lacking and so the child looms huge in front of the trees, which seem so close. In the background both horizontal and vertical directions are stylized to form an inverted T-shape motif. In the trees particularly the impression of weirdness is strongly sustained; the trunks seem to be wrestling for the sun. The body too is stylized; the thick lines at the edges of the frock and of the arms and legs give the impression of naiveness in execution. Perhaps the painter is merely lacking in technical completeness. Perhaps on the other hand his intention is to suggest a connection with children's art, with the art of this child were it to paint.

Here too subject and background cannot be divorced from one another. The explanation given of this characteristic of Indonesian painting is that in Indonesia, as in Asia generally, life has remained much more of a unity than in the West; the mentality of categorization and fragmentation has not gained the hold that it has there.

A final interesting feature is sombreness of color. This Indonesian characteristic is said to reflect pensiveness and melancholy, a deeply ingrained tradition of philosophical religion, and depression at the political and social evils of the recent past and the present.

Conclusions about Indonesian painting at the present time may be stated only with great caution. The sudden flourishing in painting has as yet produced no school; everything remains in



a state of flux and change; almost every painter and group of painters is as yet searching and experimenting. So it is possible to speak only of tendencies, not of directions.

With the coming of widespread national consciousness which was so closely connected with the artistic blossoming, Indonesian artists came to feel unable merely to imitate European styles and subjects. With political consciousness came also consciousness in the minds of these artists of the subtle importance in themselves of the psychological and philosophical heritage of their own people's past. They came to understand the important differences in types of human sensitivity between Indonesians and Europeans or other non-Malay peoples, the differences for instance in attitudes towards a crying child, or between various artistic conceptions of deity. Hence they sought to express in painting, which is originally more or less a European innovation, intuitions, feelings and ideas which are characteristically Indonesian.

But where were they to turn for the pattern of things characteristically Indonesian? A very few turned to the past, to the traditional culture of Java and Bali and the other cultural centres, to the motifs of Hindu temples, wayang puppets and batik designs. They tried to model their styles on the classical ones of the past.

But in fact they did not succeed in fashioning a medium to satisfy their own genius, nor could they have. Many of those with tendencies in this direction were accused, and probably rightly so, of being forced and artificial. For indeed artistic creation must, in however indirect a way, reflect the conditions of life of the artist and his time. Men living in a twentieth century revolution, and inevitably affected by it, cannot find creative expression along the same channels as the court artist of a timeless feudal age. Nor, except in rare cases, can men of secular outlook paint in a style fashioned by men whose whole life was centred in God. There had to be a synthesis of the traditional with the modern. But how was this to be achieved?

One factor, on the surface of it fortuitous, which seems to have set the stage for such a synthesis, is the tendency in contemporary Western art to escape from all laws and find new irregular types and forms of beauty, as for instance in expressionism, surrealism and cubism. This tendency in fact corresponds closely to that among Indonesian artists of the revolutionary period and is probably rooted in similar factors. In any case it has enabled modern



9. "Dajang Sumbi" Otto Djaja.

11. "Child and Flower" Sularto.



a state of flux and change almost every painter and group of painters is as yet searching and experimenting. So it is not surprising to find only a few tendencies.

With the coming of widespread national consciousness which was especially connected with the Indonesian independence movement, the artists began to search for a new style.



10. "Saraswati" Agus Djaja.

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Indonesian painters to find guidance in their search for new forms of artistic expression. It has also meant that in accepting the techniques of Western painting they have not been obliged to imitate any particular forms slavishly but are rather free to search for their own.

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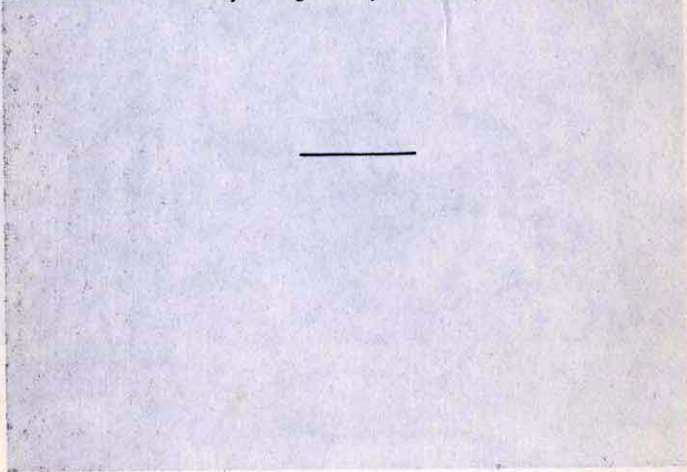
11. "Child and Flower" Sularko.



Indonesian painters to find guidance in their search for new forms of artistic expression. It has also meant that in accepting the techniques of Western painting they have not been obliged to imitate any particular forms slavishly, but able rather to search for ways of turning these techniques to express their own inspiration.

And so there have resulted some tendencies towards a modern national school of painting. They are, as has been said, no more than tendencies as yet. So long as society itself has not yet reached a stable keel it is unlikely that art will, but the tendencies are in that direction. Already some distinguishing features are beginning to stand out. We have mentioned sombreness of color, the lack of sharp contrasts and the congruence of subject and background as three of these, but there may well be others. And many painters, such as the ones we have discussed last, are both in their style and in the content and feeling of their work, fusing the traditional and mystical with the modern, the active and the disturbed.

From the point of view of a sociologist of culture the present period is very interesting. From that of the layman it is producing works of extraordinary originality, beauty and strength.



11. "Child and Flower" Zainko.



