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SOCIALIST ASPIRATIONS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

- INDONESIA -

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SOCIALIST ASPIRATIONS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Following are translations of the text of a speech given by Hoeslan Abdulgan, 2 July 1960 and an article by Sarino Mangupranoto appearing in Mimbar Indonesia (Indonesian Forum), 23 and 30 July 1960 and 6 August 1960.

Table of Contents

<u>Article</u>	<u>Page</u>
Development of Socialist Aspirations in Indonesia . .	1
The Role of Culture in Economic Development	57

DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST ASPIRATIONS
IN INDONESIA

Following is the full translation of a lecture by Mr. H. Roeslan Abdulgani at the University at Malang on 2 July 1960.

I. Introduction.

The call of President Soekarno to the people of Indonesia to realize socialism à la Indonesia, together with the Government and with all the facilities of the State, has found enthusiastic reception everywhere.

In my opinion, those who work in the field of science such as in institutions for higher learnings shall not and cannot but rise to this call.

For what reason?

It is because the purpose of socialism not only contains elements of science, but also because its implementation is based upon scientific findings.

Whereas the University of Malang three years ago has already begun with the teachings of Law and Social Sciences, and now has started with Business Administration, to be further extended to Agriculture and Veterinary, it is not too difficult for an outsider like I am to draw the conclusion

that in all those fields of teaching "Sociology" has been or will be included.

And speaking of Sociology as a science to study the problems of human society, we all know that it is not the only science to be active in that field. In this case, Sociology does not stand alone. Together with Economy, History, Political Science and other sciences, Sociology is a part of "Social Sciences". It is even to be considered a young member of the family.

When an economist studies production and distribution of Nature's resources in the broadest sense of the word; when a historian endeavors to collate the relationship of past events; and when a political scientist studies and analyzes the concentration and distribution of political forces in various societies and States, each one of them merely concentrate one's attention upon one facet of society. Sociology now endeavors to see society in its

entirety, the inter-relationships and inter-influences, trying to synthesize and generalize all the movements of society.

Socialism as an idea, as an aim, takes in all facets of society; it even considers society as a unit. And socialism as a movement so far has been able to establish 13 States with a total population of about one-billion people.

For that reason it not surprising that universities in other countries which I have visited, in Western as well as in Eastern countries, the trends of socialism, including Marxism, are being taught as part of the study of sociology.

It is for that reason that I am of the opinion that the call of our President for realizing socialism should command the attention and reception of every Institution for Higher Learning as a logical thing, in the spirit of what an Englishman once said that "a University should be a place of Light, of Liberty and of Learning!"

II. Socialism is not a new idea in Indonesian Society.

This lecture is meant to assist in facilitating the question of Socialism a la Indonesia concretely.

The theme "Development of Socialist aspirations in Indonesia" is divided into two parts, each of which needs to be explained. In the first place, about the meaning of the word development; in the second place, about the word socialism.

By development I mean the history, but in a somewhat limited sense of the word. Thus in its connection with the word socialism I will be in a better position to place more emphasis on the history and development of the aspirations of socialism as such, rather than on the question of the idea of Socialism a la Indonesia, the theory of the idea as well as the implementation of the idea.

Or in other words, I will look more into the past rather than into the present and the future. This is not because I would not like to look to the future, but because looking into the past is not only retrospective but also introspective, and retrospection and introspection render wisdom for the future.

To draw the blue-print and erect a structure for Socialism on the soil of Indonesia, it is necessary to investigate and evaluate the strength and weaknesses of that soil which is among others determined by Time which has passed. The result of the study and evaluation will give useful and valuable "historical background".

For that reason, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that this general lecture will emphasize the development of the aspirations of that socialism.

Intentionally therefore, the word socialism as an idea of the aims based on scientific study is to be considered a new phenomena, a result of the meeting between Western Europe and Indonesia; or between the cultures of Europe and of Asia. And if we wish to use the term of Mrs. Barbara Ward (an English writer who is now teaching in Ghana, Africa), it is the result of "interplay between East and West"; or in the words of Prof. Toynbee, the result of the "encounter of civilizations"; or if we wish to quote a strong

expression, we can apply a term used by two Dutch professors Romein and Wertheim: "the fruit of the collision between East and West".

I am saying it intentionally and consciously.

What I mean is that the term socialism has not been applied intentionally in the past. But as a structure of just and prosperous society, socialistic aspirations have existed in our thoughts and ideas.

Like Bung Karno quoting Ki Dalang [Narrator of Shadow plays or Wayang], who describes the Kingdom of Dorowati [one of the characters in a tale from Mahabharata] as follows:

and the Kingdom is -

"as broad as it is long, as high as it is wide -
widely known for its high principles" [Free translation
of the Javanese lyrics],

which according to Bung Karno contains a political idealism and means: "The country is so widely known and widely discussed beyond its boundaries, and the country is of such high culture;"

and that the economic situation is -

"facing haven abound^{ing} seas, and surrounded by green fields. Ducks, chicken, cattle, at dawn streaming into the runs and pastures, at dusk returning to shelter themselves. People ever moving in trade night and day

without end, with no danger on the road" [Free translation
from the Javanese lyrics],

which according to Bung Karno contains economic ideals, to mean: "that the country has many seaports and rice-fields, and that it is so prosperous that there is no thievery. The chickens and cattle go on their own to the fields and pasture in the morning and return to their shelters by nightfall.

The people travel on the road by day and by night, because there is no fear for disturbances on the roads";

and the structure of the society is -

"law and order, happiness and friendliness prevail while the land is fertile" [Free translation of the Javanese lyrics],

which according to Bung Karno projects social ideals, to mean "the country is orderly, with tranquility, while the people work in peace, in happiness and are sociable, and the soil is rich".

Bung Karno's explanation is to prove that aspirations for a just and prosperous State and society, i.e. a socialist society, already existed in the hearts and minds of the People of Indonesia for hundreds of years. If what has been described by Ki Dalang is really the true situation of our society in Java one thousand years ago, then separated from the emotion of the literary liberties of Ki Dalang, we could

draw the conclusion that there existed kingdoms in which the the societies were agricultural-arch-communistic or agricultural-communalistic.

And nine hundred years thereafter, i.e. in the year 1890, the Netherland-Indies colonial authorities were rocked by the teachings of Kjai [title for a religious teacher] Samin alias Soerantiko, a farmer from Blora with over 2,300 farmer-followers widely scattered over Bodjonegoro, the areas of Rembang, Ngawi, Grobogan, Pati and Kudus (I gathered this information from the Encyclopedia of Netherlands-Indies, 1919) and at present still has the following of about 50 farmers households (this information is obtained from the 1955 publication of the Ministry of Information regarding East Java as part of the series of publications by all of the Provinces in the Republic of Indonesia), which teachings are based on collective property and mutual cooperation supplemented with crop-sharing rules according to the needs and to justice.

In addition, his teachings preach moral discipline in which thievery, deceit, malice and other vices are prohibited. Then we can understand the findings of J. Th. Petrus Blumberger in his book entitled "The communist movement in Netherlands-Indies since 1935" in which the first paragraph states:

"Communism as a social-economic principle has also been known of old in the native life of the Netherlands-Indies archipelago."

It further states:

"As one of the most important expressions of arch-communism is particularly the communal property rights of land and water: the so-called right of the community, due the native communities in village or family relationships".

Knowing that in 1905 Kjai Samin society opposed interference by the colonial authorities of the Netherlands-Indies who at that time wished to subjugate the arch-communistic society to the colonial system of the Netherlands-Indies with its capitalistic and liberalistic characteristic of foreign rulers, until Kjai Samin in 1907 was exiled to Sumatra where he dies in 1914, then we can also understand the qualifications submitted by Petrus Blumberger about the Saminist society, to wit:

"As anarchistic practices of 'natural' communism, 'Saminism' should be noted, so called after the founder of a utopian sacred teachings in Central Java, a man called Kjai Samin, who refused to recognize any authority or social obligation - taxation in money or in the form of labor -

and whose refusal is based on the concept of equality for all human beings and on communal property rights of the

soil and its products".

It seems that to the Dutch colonial government any system opposing their colonial system is to be considered anarchy!

The description of the Kingdom of Dorowati by Ki Dalang and the facts on Saminism show us that the concept of equality, and of a just and prosperous society, be it called arch-communism, communalism or socialism in Western terms, long existed on the soil of Indonesia.

Now that we follow and use the Western terms, we might also evaluate the original concepts which we have obtained from Indonesia's own history with the yard-stick of the Western terms.

And using, for example, the bases offered by the men of science that there are two main groups of socialism, i.e. utopian socialism and scientific socialism, we can then include the facts we have mentioned earlier in the group of utopian socialism.

And if we ask ourselves which form of socialism we will adopt as our joint purpose at this time, our answer and choice would be clearly: not socialism based on utopia or mere dreams, but scientific socialism. It means that we wish to establish socialism with the consideration of the forces in our society, of the aims we have jointly de-

terminated, and of the laws of the relationship between those facts and our aims.

III. Socialism according to the teachings of Marx and Engels.

The world of scientists has long recognized that the concept of socialism based on science was originated by the great thinkers, Marx and Engels. And it was from them that the teachings were originated that society will continue to develop along the road of the law of evolution, that a higher and better level and structure will evolve from past and present structures of society. Arch-communistic society will grow into a feudal society which will further develop into a capitalistic society; and from the highest form of capitalism (which according to Lenin is imperialism) will grow a socialistic society and further into a communist society.

In its growth, violence is to arise from time to time with bloodshed; but violence is not to be the ultimate end or requirement! Violence could be compared with labor pains before the birth of a new society. That a new social structure in a higher form will be born is a certainty; but whether violence will assist or obstruct the birth depends on the prevailing situation.

The entire teaching of Marx-Engels in Philosophy, Economy, History and their directives to organize and move the

hungry peoples, and their guidance for political actions, were rejected and suppressed.

The entire teaching is based on decades of scientific study; oftentimes they buried themselves in hundreds of books from the British Museum in London for months, and interrupted only by their activities in managing Labor congresses and by the bitter experiences of a life of "political outlaws".

Marx and Engels were greatly influenced by the teachings of Hegel, Feuerbach and Darwin and other philosophers. But unlike many philosophers whose only purpose is to interpret the events and developments in this world, Marx intended his teachings to change the world.

In "Thesis of Feuerbach" which was written by Marx in 1845 and published again by Engels in 1888, Marx emphasized that philosophy and social life must be unified, by his now well-known thesis:

"The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it."

This is one of the essentials of the outlook of Marx. He taught science as a service; and the services of his followers must be based on science. The science of service and the service of science are to be one.

In the field of social science and history, he came to

the conclusion of the existence of certain rules of law in the development of society and history. And in this field he recommended the study of historical materialism, class struggle and the function of the State.

In the field of Economy, particularly within the framework of capitalism, he suggested the study of:

Value and Surplus value theory;

Capital concentration theory;

Accumulation theory;

Crises theory,

which as a whole arrives at "the catastrophe theory" of the system of capitalism.

Marx, according to Lenin, extended and completed three significant ideological theories in the 19th century which emerged in the most advanced countries, i.e.:

- a. teachings of the classical German philosophy,
- b. teachings of the classical British political-economy,
- c. teachings of French socialism and the French revolutionary doctrine.

In completing and advancing the above, Marx observed in the course of the development of society the "historische Notwendigkeiten" [historical necessities], over which the individual has no control.

It should be remembered that Marx himself often remin-

ded his pupils that his theories were no rigid dogmas, but a doctrine, flexible basic teachings. A Marxist is not a dogmatic person, and whenever Marx noticed that his students acted dogmatically by calling themselves Marxists, he would say:

"Alles was ich weisz ist, dasz ich nicht Marxist bin".

["All that I know is that I am not a Marxist"]. This is to mean that, ^{if} Marxism is to be that dogmatic, then they are not Marxists, a saying which was used by Bung Hatta [former Vice-President Mohamed Hatta] in his polemic with Mrs. Voedegel-Sumarmah in 1939-1940.

Marx and Engels also advanced that socialism is the first phase of communism, and that in the first phase the principle of production and distribution is: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his deed". In the second phase, the principle is to be: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need".

Article 12 of the Constitution of the Soviet Union shows its socialistic nature with the following:

"Work in the U.S.S.R. is a duty and a matter of honor for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: 'He who does not work, neither shall he eat'.

The principle applied in the U.S.S.R. is that of socialism: 'From each according to his ability, to

each according to his work'."

The People's Republic of China, which also bases its system for the State and for its society on those teachings, explained, when the people's communes were established in 1958, that:

"The people's communes which thus far have been extensively established in China is socialistic in nature, and not communistic. So far, the people's communes still follows the socialistic principle of distribution - 'to each according to his work' - which is not the communistic principle of distribution - 'to each according to his need' ".

So far as I can understand the writings of Bung Karno from the past until today, Bung Karno is not so attracted by the formulation of the socialistic and communistic principles of production and distribution. In one of the meetings of the Supreme National Advisory Council, he defined a just and prosperous society as: "Negatively - the absence of poverty, the absence of exploitation 'de l'homme par l'homme' [of people by people], the absence of concentrated individual wealth. In the positive sense - continuous and growing general welfare". That is the reason why Bung Karno emphasized in particular the phraseology of Ki Dalang: "the soil is rich; orderly, with tranquility, peace and happiness".

And even in the negative sense, Bung Karno is truly correct to state that socialism is anti-poverty and that socialism combats poverty.

Those are the essentials of socialism.

IV. Teachings of utopian socialism.

Poverty is the principal driving force of socialism, plain poverty, suffered by an extraordinary large number of people! The well-known saying of St. Simon was: "la classe la plus nombreuse et la plus pauvre". [The most numerous and poorest class].

The warning of Harry W. Laidler, Executive Director of the League of Industrial Democracy, contained in the volumes entitled "The International Library of Sociology and the Social Reconstruction", published under supervision of the well-known sociologist Karl Mannheim, is appropriate:

"For thousands of years, under every kind of industrial society, the great mass of the world's burden bearers were doomed to lives of poverty and want, while the few lived in luxury.

"And for these thousands of years, prophets and dreamers of the world - some from the heart of the common people, some from the privileged classes of society - agonized over this tyranny, this oppression, this injustice.

"Some of the prophets appeared before the rulers of so-

ciety, calling them to repentance and renunciation. Others made their appeal primarily to the common people, urging that they secure control of this sorry scheme of things, and transform it into a nobler social order".

Those prophets and dreamers are called by Laidler: Ethico-Religious Utopists.

And then came waves of hundreds of opponents to poverty and the generals of the forces fighting against poverty, who followed the steps of those "ethico-religious prophets and dreamers. Laidler mentioned among others: Plato of Greece; Sir Thomas More, Hobbes and John Locke of England; Andrease and Campanella [sic; Tommaso Campanella] of Germany and Italy; Saint-Simon, Fourier, Louis Blanc and Proudhon of France; Albert Brisbane and Horace Greeley of America.

To that list of names could be added those mentioned by Mr. H. P. G. Quack in his 8 volume books (1923) entitled "The Socialists", or those mentioned by G.D.H. Cole in his 6 volume books (1959) entitled "A history of Socialist thought"; and if Laidler, Quack and Cole had visited Indonesia, the list of utopists would be added the names of our Dalangs [Shadow Play narrators], such as Gitosewoko, Soetarno, Hardjotjarito, Madrim; and certainly the name of Kjai Samin would be added to it. And if those books were made up to date to include 1960, Vhinoba Bahve, a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi who

is presently traveling throughout India by foot to ask the landowners to distribute land to the poor.

V. Development of Scientific Socialism.

The above are the proponents of utopian socialism.

In the middle of the 19th century then emerged Karl Marx an economist, historian, philosopher, who based his studies on exact science, and who arrived at the theories on the sources of poverty and the ways and means to be used to combat poverty.

Once again I would like to emphasize: Socialistic aspirations, utopian as well as scientific, are aspirations for those of poverty and of misery; or to be more appropriate, those who have been made poor and who have been made to suffer miseries.

The philosophy of socialism is a philosophy emerging from poverty in society, from suppression and from exploitation. When a "self-satisfied" person such as Proudhon philosophized about the source of poverty, and in his book entitled "La philosophie de la misère" advanced that the problem of poverty is the problem of the fate of the individual, the "fortunes" of the individual, Marx challenged such a way of thinking by emphasizing through research in the entire development of the history of the world that poverty of the masses is caused by suppression and exploita-

tion. And he challenged Proudhon's philosophy on poverty by reversing the words and wrote the famous book, entitled "La misère de la philosophie", as opposed to "La philosophie de la misère" (1847).

"The source of inspiration and prophecy", said Prof. H. J. Laski of Marx. What Laski meant was that Marx is the source of inspiration for every fighter in combating poverty.

"A giant, who was able to combine the use of his enormous scientific mind and his unusual talents in strategy, that he could make one shudder", thus wrote Mr. H.P.G. Quack in his book "The Socialists", Volume V.

"A remarkable person, the father of the labor movement, whose theories are very difficult and hard to understand for the educated, but easy to be understood by the oppressed and the suffering peoples", thus wrote Bung Karno in "Pikiran Rakyat" [People's Thoughts] in 1933 at the 50th anniversary of Karl Marx' death.

"The works of Marx are a model of magisterial construction", so wrote Bung Hatta about Karl Marx in 1940 in his book entitled "Selected Writings".

Earlier I said that between Utopian Socialism and Scientific Socialism we choose Scientific Socialism. But the development of the history of scientific socialism since the

time of Karl Marx and Engels has not followed a straight line. It means that there have many efforts to interpret and adjust the basic theory of Karl Marx to the development of the prevailing situation.

Based on the theory of Marx and Engels, Bernstein advanced his theory of revisionism. He was then followed by Kautsky. In addition to that we have known socialist leaders such as Jean Jaurès, Lasalle [probably Ferdinand Lassalle], Ebel, Liebknecht, Adler, Otto Bauer, etc. This constitutes the first branch.

The second branch which grew, based on Marx and Engels, were the theories of Lenin (particularly his theory on the State and Revolution, and on Imperialism as the highest form of Capitalism), together with Rosa Luxemburg (a woman fighter for Socialism who was murdered by the Rightwing group during the upheavals in Berlin in 1919) and Hadek, whose theories have been further advanced by Stalin, Mao Tse-tung and Tito.

The question which we are facing now is which scientific socialism we should follow.

Let us first set aside this problem and let us look into the situation of poverty of our people.

VI. Choice of Idea of Socialism for Indonesia.

a. Emerged because of poverty of the People.

If we are emphatic in saying that the essential feature

of socialism is to combat poverty, then in the first place we have to determine what the situation of the People was in the past and what the situation of our People is today.

I shall not go into this matter too deeply. It is sufficient for you to read the books of Van Soest entitled "Cultuurstelsel" / "Culture System" - Agricultural System (1869), in which the author described the golden age of Indonesia in the 15th and 16th century, before the arrival of Dutch colonialism, beginning with the Malay ethnic group:

"enterprising traders and persevering settlers";

Bugis ethnic group:

"noble and loyal, representing courage";

Java ethnic group:

"industrious, fearless, tranquil, idealizing agriculture, gentleman, noble farmer".

And the book by Raffles, "The history of Java" (1869), in which the Indonesians were described as: "trained seafarers, who sailed to the Cape of Good Hope and to Madagascar".

And the book by Veth, "Java" (1875), in which he stated, that the people of Indonesia, aside from prospering in agriculture and commerce, consisted of: "coppersmiths, metal thread makers, foundrymen, carpenters and smiths".

The literature I mentioned above pictured the happiness

and prosperity our People enjoyed before the arrival of colonialism.

What colonialism has brought to us I should not waste so much time to explore.

It suffices for you to study the writings of Multatuli: "Max Havelaar" (1860), of Mr. P. Brooshooft: "Ethical course" (1901), of Van Kol: "Netherlands-Indies in the States General" [Staten Generaal - Upper House of the Dutch

Legislative Branch of government], of Van Deventer: "Review of the economic situation of the Native population of Java and Madura (1914)", of Dr. Huender: "Review of the economic situation of the Native population of Java and Madura (1921)", of Stokvis: "From profit producing province to self-government" (1922), of Prof. Boske: "The business and personal aspects of the colonial welfare policies" (1927), of Prof. Snouck Hurgronje: "Colijn on the Indies" (1928), and of Prof. Gonggrijp: "Economic history of the Netherlands-Indies (1929) and many others.

All these books could show us, that the people of Indonesia long ago, in their era of independence, lived in an affluent society. And afterwards, because of foreign rule, they experienced poverty, material poverty and spiritual poverty.

And it is poverty which brought about national movement

aspirations for socialism. I do not have to explain to you further about this.

The aspirations of R.A. Kartini contained in her letters to Abendanon which were later published in a book entitled "From Darkness to Light"; the birth of Budi Utomo, an association formed by the students of the Java Medical school in Djakarta under the leadership of Wahidin Sudirokusodo; the establishment of Sarikat Islam [Islamic Union] in 1911 under Samanhudi and H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto; the emergence of the Indische Partij [Indies Party] under Douwes Dekker, Tjipto Mangunkusumo and Suwardi Surjoningrat (whose known poem "If I were Dutch" caused him to be exiled), etc.; all of the above are valuable sources for you to study.

The entire movement was inspired by the material and spiritual sufferings. It was based on nationalism and patriotism, full of emotion and self-respect. The position and actions were radical and sharp, but the form was not yet clear. Because their actions desired an atmosphere of political and social equality and justice, the essentials of the colonial situation, together with the causes for colonialism and the strength and weaknesses of the colonial system, they could not arrive at an organized movement.

b. Influence of Dutch social-democrats.

The analysis of the situation took a more definite form

with the arrival of teachings of socialism which were brought to Indonesia by Dutch individuals ^{with} social-democratic leanings. Sneevliet, Baars, Bergsma, Brandstoder, Dekker, C. Hartogh are some of the names of Dutch individuals who brought to the soil of Indonesia teachings of scientific socialism founded by Marx and Engels.

Sneevliet led them by establishing in 1914 in Semarang the Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereeniging (I.S.D.V.) [Indies Social Democratic Association]. And when Sneevliet in March 1917 wrote an article entitled "Zegepraal" ["Victory"], honoring Kerensky's February Revolution in Russia, he stated:

"Here live and resign and suffer and bear millions of people ^{for centuries,} and not since Diponegoro has there been a leader to bring the masses in motion to guide their own destiny.

"People of Java, the Russian Revolution also contains a lesson for you. The Russian people too tolerated centuries of oppression, were poor and mostly illiterate as you are.

"They won their victory only by continuous struggle against a government of force and deceit. Also in Russia are labor unions led by the Government.

"To serve freedom is a heavy task. It does not tolerate

weakness, mediocrity, hesitancy nor uncertainty. It demands ones entire personality, courage above all. Does the sound of enthusiasm now echo in our hearts? Shall the sowers of the propaganda seeds for ^{the} Indies radical political and economic people's movement double their efforts? And continue to fight against any attempt to suppress the drive for freedom?

"Then there shall be nothing else than that the people of Java, of the Indies, shall gain, as the Russian people have gained: victory".

He was then indicted by the Attorney General and brought before the Dutch Court of the Netherlands-Indies Government. A Dutchman against the Dutch; but also a socialist against colonialist; class struggle among the whites. His defense speech, which was published in November 1917 in a 366-page book, became a source from which several of our leaders began to find teachings of scientific socialism.

Yes, the form and structure of Bung Karno's defense speech before the Court in Bandung in 1930, which was later translated and published by the Dutch S.D.A.P. (Social Democratic Labor Party) entitled "Indonesia Accuses" and which a short time ago has been published again by the Newspaper Publisher Senc, also entitled "Indonesia Accuses" [In Indonesian] containing 183 pages, showed the great influence

of Sneevliet's way of thought in his defense in 1917 upon Bung Karno's way of thought before the court in 1930.

It was indeed after that, that the teachings of Marx began to spread over Indonesia. In Semarang, Semaun and Darsono led the movement and established the P.K.I. (Communist Party of Indonesia) in 1920. In Surabaya, Tjokroaminoto of S.I. [Islamic Union] was attracted by the teachings of

Marx, and the literature mentioned by Sneevliet in his defense began to be purchased or borrowed from Tjokroaminoto's bookshop ISDV and studied by Tjokroaminoto, together with Surjopranoto, Alimin and others. Those books were among others:

Marx and Engels: The Communist Manifesto

Karl Marx: Das Kapital, Kritik der politische Ekonomi, herausgegeben von Karl Kautsky (1914-Stuttgart). [Capital, Critique of Political Economy, published by Karl Kautsky]. Dutch translation, first volume, by F. v.d. Goes, Wereldbibliotheek [World Library].

Engels: The development of socialism from utopian to scientific [Dutch title, probably trans-

lation of Engels' pamphlet "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific".

Engels: The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State. (Socialist Library).

Karl Kautsky: Sozialismus und Kolonialpolitik (Berlin 1907).

Karl Kautsky: The Road to Power (Socialist Library).

A. Babel: Woman and Socialism.

Herman Gorter: Historical Materialism.

H. N. Brailsford: The War of steel and gold (Translated from English by Dr. W. van Revesteyn).

Mr. P. Brooshooft: Ethical Course (1901).

Dr. Herman Gorter: Imperialism, World War and Social Democracy.

Rudolf Hilferding: Das Finanzkapital, eine Studie über die jüngste Entwicklung des Kapitalismus
[Financial Capital, a study of the latest development of Capitalism].

Hern. Roland Holst: Capital and Labor in the Netherlands. (Socialist Library 2.)

Bung Karno himself, who from 1916 until 1920
resided with the Tjokroaminoto family,
wrote from his place of exile in Bengkulu
in the daily Pemandangan [Opinion] in 1941 as follows:

"From the time I was a young man when for the first time I became acquainted with the Marxist theory from the mouth of a H.B.S. (High School) teacher with social-democratic leanings (C. Hartogh is his name) until I studied that theory myself by reading as many Marxist books of several varieties as possible, and until I have become active in politics up to this day, to me the Marxist theory is the only theory I consider competent to solve the problems of history, politics and of society".

c. Grew into P.K.I.

The influence of Marxist literature since 1917 has been considerable. In the first place, it encouraged the formation of P.K.I., and the publication of P.K.I. newspapers between 1920 and 1926 spread the teachings of Marxism in a popular manner and often times in a forceful way, particularly the teachings for revolutionary action, in magazines with names such as Voice of the People, Fire, Proletariat, Burning, Heat, Champions, Islam Opinion, End of the World, Voice of the Mines, People's Guidance, Lighting, Torpedo and others.

At that time, the books and pamphlets which were widely circulated and read were:

1. "P.K.I. Kompas" (published in Semarang in 1923),
2. Axan Zain: "Communism", Vol. I (Semarang, June 1925)

Volume II (Semarang, July 1925),

3. Sukendar: "Thesis of the Social and Economic situation and of determining organization and tactics in Indonesia" (1924),
4. "Communist Manifesto by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels", translated by Axan Zain and Partondo, and also published in the daily Soeara Rakyat [Voice of the People] (1923),
5. Tan Malacca: "Towards the Republic of Indonesia" (first published in Canton in April 1925, later published in Tokyo in 1925),
6. Tan Malacca: "Young Spirit" (written and printed in Manila, 1926),
7. Tan Malacca: "Mass action in Indonesia (printed in Singapore, 1926).

Their organizations for the struggle were called: People's Union, Spirits Union, Anti-Disturbance, etc.

Tan Malacca did not receive his Marxist schooling in Indonesia, but in Holland between the years 1918-1921 when he studied for his Master's Degree in Education, and when he attended the Comintern Congress in Moscow in 1922.

Because during the years thereafter he lived as a political outlaw outside of Indonesia, his books were written and published in foreign countries.

We can read about all this not only in the old issues newspapers some of which are now in the Djakarta Museum, we can also find them in the following books:

1. Petrus Blumberger: "The Nationalist Movement in the Netherlands-Indies" (1931).
2. Petrus Blumberger: "The Communist Movement in the Netherlands-Indies" (1935).
3. B. Schrieke: "The Causes and Effects of Communism on the West Coast of Sumatra", in the volumes of Selected Writings of B. Schrieke (1955).
4. Harry J. Benda and Ruth T. McVey: "The Communist uprisings of 1926 - 1927 in Indonesia: Key Documents", published by Cornell University (New York, November 1959).

As you know, in November 1926, P.K.I. was crushed by Government of the Netherlands-Indies because it led the risings against the Netherlands-Indies colonialism in the cities and towns of Batavia, Meester-Cornelis, Tangerang, etc., in the areas of Central, West and East Priangan, in the towns of Solo, Banjumas, Pekalongan, Kedu, Kediri, Surabaya, Padang, Solok, Silungkang, Aלהan-Pandjang, and Mhlunto; and the jails in Glodog, Tjipinang, Sukamiskin, Kalisosok together with places for exile and execution Digul and Muting began to echo the sufferings of the

millions of people of Indonesia. K.H. Misbach and Ali Archam are among the martyrs of the communist struggle in Indonesia.

d. Efforts to synthesize Islam and Marxism.

The second impact of Marxist literature was that S.I. [Islamic Union] felt P.K.I. would draw the masses away from S.I. and that its influence among the common people would continue to decline if S.I. did not immediately base its mass movement on the theories which were in accordance with the nature and desire of the masses.

Certainly you know the rule with regard to the relationship between revolutionary movement and revolutionary theory. In the German language it is: "Ohne revolutionnäre Theorie, keine revolutionnäre Bewegung". [Without revolutionary theory, there cannot be a revolutionary movement].

About the efforts of Hadji Agus Salim to solve the competition between S.I. and P.K.I. by "public debate" and in his book "Conduct of H.A. Salim" we can find a report about the S.I. National Congress in Surabaya from 6 until 10 October 1921, where the "Debate between H.A. Salim and Semaun on Marxist socialism and Islam socialism" was conducted. The competition was later solved more satisfactorily by Tjokroaminoto who in 1924 wrote a brochure, known up until today, entitled: "Islam and socialism".

Four points in Pak [Father] Tjokroaminoto's book attract our attention.

First, that Islam with the teaching of anti-riba (riba = interest plus surplus value) [riba also means usury] is in the final analysis anti-capitalistic, according to Tjokroaminoto.

Second, that the Commands of the Almighty for charity and virtue to and consultation with all people is the call of the Almighty for socialism and democracy.

Third, that based on the study of history, extracted by Pak Tjokroaminoto from books written by Islam scholars and by experts of the Orient such as Renan, Stanley Lane Poole, Prof. Theodoore Noldeke, the Islam countries led by the Prophet [Mohamad] and his 4 disciples, consecutively, i.e. Sajidina [Arabic title indicating descendant of the Prophet] Abubakar, Sajidina Oemar, Sajidina Oesman and Sajidina Ali, which countries were known as chulafaur-rasjidin [Arabic phrase meaning "Just Form" or "Form based on Justice"] reflected a socialistic society which were indeed in accordance with the teachings of Islam. And during the rule of Sajidina Oemar, the form of government and of society were Communistic-militaristic within the limits of the teachings of Islam.

Fourth, that based on a Marxistic analysis Pak Tjokro-

aminoto concluded that the poverty suffered by the people of Indonesia was caused by colonialism and capitalism and that the group of the Islam Union were convinced that their aims were the same as the aims of the majority of the peoples and labor movements of the world. Thus Pak Tjokroaminoto saw the connection for cooperation between the labor-social-international movement and Pan Islamism.

In his book "Islam and Socialism", Pak Tjoktoaminoto very often quoted Prof. Quack, Mr. P.J. Troelstra, August Babel, and the works of Marx-Engels, while his basic idea reminds me of the opinion of the Pakistani literary writer Iqbal who stated that "Islam is identical with Bolshevism plus God".

e. Efforts to synthesize Islam, Marxism and Nationalism.

From the start, the efforts to synthesize Islam and Marxism have clashed with the question whether Communism is anti-God or not. This question is a problem of philosophy. The demagogues often advance that Marxism equates property rights and the relationship between male and female, which is contrary to religion and morals.

In addition, Nationalism clashes with Marxism, particularly with regard to the internationalistic nature of Marxism and Moscow's position in internationalism. The disagreements increased with the clash between Islam and Na-

tionalism on the question whether Nationalism would or would not conflict with Pan Islamism.

Thus it is clear that the political atmosphere around 1920 and 1926 in our country was dominated by three movements, i.e. Islam, Marxism and Nationalism which were sometimes opposed, sometimes one or each of them, sometimes all of them together.

In such a situation it was refreshing to read the work of the late Tjokroaminoto "Islam and socialism" and the work of Bung Karno was even more inspiring when at the age of 25 in 1926 he wrote in the publication of the Bandung Study Club "Suluh Indonesia Muda" [Torch of Young Indonesia] an article entitled "Nationalism, Islamism and Marxism".

The basic ideas of Bung Karno were:

First, that based on the teachings of Renan, Kautsky, Otto Bauer about nationalism, and reflected in the manner in which the struggle in India was organized under Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Mohamad Ali, Sjaukat Ali, Gopala Krishna Gokhale, C.R. Das and Prof. Vaswani, and also by studying the aims and movement of Sun Yat Sen in China, Indonesian nationalism must be able to unify itself with Islam and Marxism.

Second, that based on the teachings of Mohamad Abduh, and Seyid Djamaludin El Afghani who planted the seeds of nationa-

lism as advanced by Arabi Pasha, Mustafa Kamil, Mohamad Farid Bey, Aly Pasha, Mohamad Ali and Sjaikat Ali, in addition to the prohibition of riba [usury] by the Koran and the recommendations for socialism and democracy, Islam in Indonesia must be able to be unified with Nationalism and Marxism.

Third, that based on the teachings of Marx-Engels, Ferdinand Lassalle, Blanqui, Sismondi and Thompson, added to the fact that Indonesian Nationalism and Islam in Indonesia were political and religious movements which were suppressed, Marxism in Indonesia must be able to join with Nationalism and Islam.

It was that article which for the first time stressed the difference between historical materialism and philosophical materialism. If philosophical materialism advances the question of relationship between "mind and matter" which indeed touches the existence or non-existence of God, Bung Karno clearly expounded that he adopted as a starting point the theory of historical materialism, which tries to explain the development of history, to study the relationship between the ways and manner of production during a certain period and the way of thinking during that same period of time.

Bung Karno stated:

"We must differentiate

Historical Materialism

from Philosophical Materialism; we must remember that the meaning of Historical Materialism is different from the meaning of Philosophical Materialism. Philosophical Materialism derives its meaning from the question; what is the relationship between mind (thinking) and matter (material), how the mind has come about. Historical Materialism gives the answer to the question: what is the reason for the mind to behave such and so in a certain period; philosophical materialism queries the existence of mind, while historical materialism studies the development of mind. Philosophical materialism is philosophical, historical materialism is historical.

"The opponents to Marxism in Europe, particularly the church group, interchange these two ideas and often mix them up. In their anti-Marxist propoganda they endeavor consistently to create a misunderstanding of the two different ideas; they continuously contend that the Marxists are groups of people who advance that mind is only a product of the brains, as saliva from the mouth and gall from the spleen; they consistently create the impression that the Marxists are people who worship worldly goods, people who worship material things.

That was the cause of the hatred of the Marxists for the church. The friction increased, became more violent,

while the church used religion to protect capitalism, used religion to defend the interest of the upper class, used religion to conduct very reactionary politics.

And the hatred for the religious group, caused by the reactionary attitude of the church, have been directed by the Marxists toward the Islam group whose attitude is entirely different from the attitude of the church in Europe. Here Islam is the religion of un-free people; here Islam is the religion of the lower classes."

Bung Karno thus endeavored to lay the foundation and the synthesis for the three political streams in Indonesia.

f. Marhaenism.

Bung Karno's synthesis is brilliant and courageous. The synthesis ^{was} not only the fruits of the deep thoughts of a fighter who was determined to gain unity, but it was also the result of the 1926-1927 situation itself.

During the years of 1926-1927 reaction reached its peak. But during those years the forces of revolution also reached its highest point. It could be said that particularly because the forces of revolution increased, the forces of reaction were being prepared.

What was those years of 1926-1927?

It was then that the International Democratic Congress met in Bierville where the Indonesian Association, an

association of our students in Holland, worked together with international socialists.

It was then that the Liga Congress against colonial subjugation met in Brussels where students from all over Asia met with the international progressive movements.

It was then that Hatta met with Semaun at which time the Communists declared themselves prepared to work closely with the nationalists under the leadership of the Indonesian Association.

It was then that the revolutionary people's movement began to march forward.

But it was also then that colonialism struck and suppressed the movements for freedom.

In Indonesia, a heavy blow fell on P.K.I.; S.I. was obstructed; in Holland, our youth Hatta, Ali Sastroamidjojo and Nazir Pamontjak were indicted.

And it was in the midst of such a situation that Bung Karno arrived at the above synthesis, meant to secure and continue to pursue aims for freedom, democracy and socialism. On 4 July 1927, in the midst of the thunder of reaction P.N.I. [Indonesian Nationalist Party] was established under the leadership of Bung Karno, Mr. Iskaq, Dr. Samsi, Mr. Budiarto, Mr. Sartono, Mr. Sunario and Engineer Anwari.

What Benda and Ruth McVey said about the years 1926-

1927 truly fits the situation when they described it as "a decisive turning point", because:

1. the Dutch ethical policy with regard to Indonesia failed.
2. the right-wing in the Netherlands-Indies government got the upper hand.
3. the left-wing nationalist movement came into the scene.

The result of all the above has been that during the years of 1929, 1934, 1941 and since our Proclamation of Independence in 1945⁷ until this day a political association or a political compromise between the Indonesian nationalists and the Dutch colonialists is not possible.

If we study the writings of our leaders closely today and look into their speeches, we can see the deep influence of the synthesis of Marxism, Nationalism and Islam. The character remains socialistic, nationalistic and revolutionary.

The influence of the writings of Kautsky, particularly the one contained in his report entitled "Sozialismus und Kolonialpolitik" which was submitted to the Second International Congress in 1907, could be seen in the works of our leaders. Said report analyzed the entire colonial situation and separated "Arbeitskolonien" labor colonies (colonies to which surplus labor is moved) from "Ausbeutungs-kolonien"

(colonies for exploitation), which in turn was sub-divided into "Ausbeutungs-kolonien alten Stils" (old style colonies for commercial capital) and "Ausbeutungs-kolonien neuen Stils" (new style colonies for markets of industrial products and for capital investments).

The guidance given by Kautsky for gathering forces and for mass action in his book entitled "Der Weg zur Macht" [The Road to Power] also became a valuable manual for our leaders during that time.

Particularly the works of Bung Karno, in "Suluh Indonesia Muda", in several issues of the magazine "Fikiran Rakjat" [People's Thoughts], in his court defense "Indonesia Accuses", and his article "Towards Indonesian Independence" which resulted in his exile to Flores, show clearly the influence of the above.

It could also be noticed in the writings of Bung Hatta, Sjahrir, Ali Sastroamidjojo, Sartono, Suwandi and others in the magazines "Daulat Rakjat" [Sovereign People], "Suluh Indonesia Muda", etc. Yes, it could be observed in the booklet entitled Kamus Marhaen [Marhaen Dictionary], written by Mr. Doel Arnowo who because of it was forced to retire within the four walls of the jail for 15 months.

All the aims of independence and for social justice for all are put together by Bung Karno in the term

"Marhaenism"; Marhaen is the name of a farmer whom Bung Karno met in South Bandung and whose name is used as a symbol and as a collective noun for the people of Indonesia who, without regard of religion or political color, became victims of colonialism. In this connection, colonialism is like an offspring of the system of imperialism, while imperialism is the highest form of capitalism.

According to Bung Karno, by using the teachings of Marx as a work method, the Indonesian society "im groeszen Ganzen" [in its entirety] will no longer have layers of classes of its own nationality. In general, the people have already been proletarianized or equally reduced to an inferior position. Unlike Karl Marx' findings regarding the people of Western Europe who experienced an industrial revolution and whose capitalistic system brought about the labor class called the proletariat, in Indonesia Bung Karno arrived at the conclusion that not only the class of labor (the proletariat) suffered, but also the other groups, such as the farmers, the traders, the fishermen, civil servants, religious teachers, suffered from poverty and misery.

Because of it, the call of Bung Karno was: not class struggle among our own people, but national unity to fight the Dutch colonial system. In the final analysis, class struggle in Indonesia was the same as racial struggle. For

that reason, for Bung Karno the cry was not: "Proletariat of the World, Unite!", but: "Marhaenists of Indonesia, Unite!"

Louis Fischer, an American author, once compared Marhaenism with Smith-ism in American society because the name Smith is a common name for common people; and if Bung Karno did not take a walk in South Bandung but here in Malang and met Pak Kromo or Pak Bakat, he might have called it Kromo-ism or Bakatism.

If we wish to follow the teachings of Marhaenism from the inventor himself, it would be best to note the resolutions of the Partindo /Great Indonesia Party/

Congress in Mataram in 1933, regarding Marhaen and Marhaenism. It stated:

1. Marhaenism is socio-nationalism and socio-democracy.
2. Marhaen is the Indonesian proletariat, the poverty-stricken Indonesian farmer and the other members of poverty-stricken groups of Indonesia.
3. Partindo uses the word Marhaen, and not the term proletariat, because the word proletariat is already included in the word Marhaen, and because the term proletariat might exclude the farmers and other poverty-stricken groups.
4. Because Partindo is convinced that in its struggle

the other groups who also suffer from poverty must be made part of it, therefore Partindo makes use of the word Marhaen.

5. In the Marhaen struggle, Partindo is convinced that the members of the proletariat will take an important part.
6. Marhaenism is the aim which desires the establishment of a society and of a country which in all its facets will secure the position of the Marhaen.
7. Marhaenism is also the mode of struggle to achieve such structure of society and of the country, and because of it, the mode of struggle must be revolutionary.
8. Thus, Marhaenism is a mode of struggle and an aim to wipe out capitalism and imperialism.
9. A Marhaenist is an Indonesian national who applies Marhaenism.

Thus the nine principles of Marhaen and Marhaenism as resolved by the Partindo Conference in 1933.

"A un bon entendeur, un demi mot suffit" a French saying goes, meaning that for a good listener, half a word suffices. And for such a good listener, the 9 principles show that Marhaenism is Socialism which uses Marxism as a method to analyse the Indonesian society.

Because in the last few years Bung Karno noticed some discrepancies in the interpretation of the terms Marhaenism, Marhaen and Marhaenistic, he stressed once again the meaning of those terms in his message to the National Indonesian Student Congress in Tawangmangu in February 1959. Among others, the message stated:

"To me, the aim of Marhaenism is the only aim which is in concord with the movement of the people of Indonesia."

"Its formulation is as follows:

1. Marhaenism is an aim, which desires a structure of society and of country which in all facets secure the Marhaens.
2. Marhaenism is a method of struggle which revolutionary and which is in concord with the characteristics of the Marhaen in general.
3. Marhaenism is therefore, ^{concurrently} an aim and a method of struggle towards the abolishment of capitalism, imperialism and colonialism.

"On the positive side, therefore, I also call Marhaenism socio-nationalism and socio-democracy; because the nationalism of the Marhaenist contains social consciousness and because the democracy of the Marhaenist also contains social consciousness.

"And whom do I call Marhaenist?"

"Marhaenists are those who take part in our struggle and who are national patriots; who organize the millions of Marhaenists, and who, jointly, with the potentials of the Marhaen masses drives forward to overthrow the system of capitalism, imperialism and colonialism, and who, jointly, with the Marhaen masses exert considerable efforts to develop Country and Society for the achievement of strength, tranquility, justice and prosperity.

"The essence is that the Marhaenist is each and every one who follows Marhaenism as I have expounded earlier.

"Remember! Each Marhaenist fights for the Marhaenists and jointly with the Marhaenists!"

Thus the Message of Bung Karno.

If we look deeper into it, it is reasonable to conclude that Marhaenism is Marxism which is applied in accordance with the conditions in Indonesia itself.

Bung Karno has often stressed that one could not understand Marhaenism if one does not study and understand Marxism. The fact that Bung Karno often stated that he is a Marxist, I have shown from several of his statements. Dr. Tjipto Mangunkusumo, writing in Hong Po [Chinese-Indonesian newspaper] about Bung Karno in 1941, stated that Marxism

"consuming the soul of Sukarno". Immediately Bung Karno replied to that article in the same year of 1941 in the daily mandangan [Opinion]:

"I wish to express my gratitude for the honor which Tjipto Mangunkusumo showered upon me. It is indeed true!"

And Bung Karno in his article entitled "Sukarno, by ... karno himself" in the daily Femandangan in 1941 wrote:

"And I ask you, sir: Do you know the outlines of the 'Sukarno Brand'?"

"There are people who say that Sukarno is a nationalist; others say Sukarno is not a nationalist, but Islam; still other people say that he is neither nationalist nor Islam, but a Marxist; and others say that he is not a nationalist, not Islam, not a Marxist, but that he has his own ideas. The latter group say: if he was a nationalist, he does not agree with what is usually called nationalism; as Islam, he expresses ideas which are not in concord with the ideas of any Islam; and as a Marxist he prays; and he could not be called not a Marxist, because he is 'crazy' about Marxism!

"It is best that I submit to you, sir, how Sukarno is. What Sukarno is: Nationalist? Islam? Marxist? For readers, Sukarno is a mixture of all the isms above!"

By admitting himself as such, he repeated it again in 1947 in his book entitled "Sarinah", when he wrote:

"In my political aims,
I am a nationalist,
in my social aims,
I am a socialist,
in my social [sic] aims,
I am a theist,
Believing entirely in God,
I serve, totally, God."

With it, in the final analysis, he made his 1926 synthesis his own flesh and soul. Psychologically, it can be explained that again based on the condition of the Indonesian society in the years 1920-1926, Bung Karno stressed the necessity for such a synthesis. Life in jail and in exile encouraged him to personify that synthesis. And when the revolution began on 17 August 1945, the synthesis was revived in the form of Pantja Sila [Five Principles], a unifying ideology for all of the people of Indonesia.

Because of it, a conclusion based on historical interpretation could be drawn that the philosophy of Pantja Sila is a philosophy based on the facts in society; it is also based on science, science for the good of the people. Revolutionary science for revolutionary

harmony for all! And revolutionary in the definitive sense of combatting the sources of poverty and exploitation in this world, i.e. capitalism and imperialism. And there must be no confusion in the semantics of these terms; or there must be no efforts made to confuse the semantics.

At present, during the social-economic phase of our revolution which he [Bung Karno] expounded in his speech on 7 August 1957, this synthesis was emphasized in his ideas about Socialism à la Indonesia by way of guided Democracy and guided Economy.

*

In relationship to the development of socialist aspirations, the speech of Bung Hatta in Peking in 1957 is noteworthy. He stated:

"Marxism as a social-economic theory - a scientific theory - is used by non-communists in Indonesia to analyze social developments.

"Three objective factors have strengthened socialist ideals in Indonesia, namely:

- a. Marxism,
- b. Islamic religion,
- c. the old social pattern of Indonesia".

It is not exaggerated to conclude that the history of the development of socialist aspirations in Indonesia

has been an extension and improvement of old ideals, and that it truly reflects the pledge of the suffering of the People.

VII. Implementation of socialism today.

During the phase of implementation of ones aspirations, one must face realities: "Das Sollen" [the shall be] faces "das Sein" [the being]. Even more so with regard to socialist aspirations in Indonesia.

It is necessary for us to know in the first place the historical background of those aspirations in Indonesia. I hope the elaborate historical background I have just submitted can give some lead to you in general, and in particular to you who study science at the University of Malang.

The phase for implementation needs a strong theoretical foundation; also strong cadres who possess and control such theoretical foundation. Those cadres should be formed from among our institutions for higher learnings.

Next to a theoretical foundation, organization and facilities for the implementation are needed. And it is clear from the speeches of our President that all of us must give our service to it. But we must realize that such service should not take an amorphous character; we must be able to give such services and facilities a concrete form.

Our 1945 Constitution can be used as a structural basis for the implementation of our aspirations; also as a spiritual basis, the 1945 Constitution as decreed by the President/Commander-in-Chief on 5 July 1959, with the emphasis on the position of the Djakarta Charter, meets all the requirements in accordance with the Pledge of the Suffering of the People.

The People's Consultative Congress, composed of the members of Parliament and representatives of the functional groups and of the areas; the Office of the President, responsible to the M.P.R. [People's Consultative Congress]; the Cabinet Ministers assisting the President; the Body of Parliament working with the President and his assistants in the field of legislation; the D.P.A. [Supreme Advisory Council] rendering advice to the President and to the Government; the Body of Depernas [National Planning Council] for ^{complete} detailed and over-all planning; all those constitute the organization of the State for the realization of socialism à la Indonesia, i.e. socialism based on the teachings of Pan-tja Sila, in which our principle of social justice is socialism based on Godliness, Humanitarianism, Nationalism and Democracy, and in which our Democracy is a Democracy of Godliness, Humanitarian, Nationalistic and of Social justice.

Next to theoretical foundation and organization, con-

centration of the People's energy is needed. This is necessary because in order to develop socialism in an under-developed and un-industrialized economy, and in which we are unanimously intend not to depend entirely upon foreign investment while collective national capital is still to be mobilized, the question of the energy of the people is an important problem. Onto this then we are now concentrating all our thoughts and energy.

The decrees of our President issued in August, September and October 1945 in fact contain several sound bases for the concentration of the People's energy, particularly the Decree calling for the formation of the National Indonesian Committee and the National Indonesian Party every where as the seed for a vanguard party or a State party.

The developments since November 1945, with the Manifesto of 1 November 1945 and the Announcement of the Vice-President of 3 November 1945, created a situation in the People's movement which we have experienced lately, i.e. a liberalistic multi-party system. While it has already become "communis opinio" [general opinion] to surrender our system of parties and to afford a place for functional groups in several of the organizations of the State, we see that the architects of socialism à la Indonesia are now

busily occupied with the formation of M.P.R. [People's Consultative Congress], the National Front and Legislation on the General Elections, after having established the Mutual Cooperation Parliament.

Now, awaiting 17 August, we are all expecting the result of the work of the National Planning Council of which the blue-print will constitute the "score" for the music of socialism à la Indonesia which will be the guidance for the conductor and for all the musicians.

For that reason, I would like to suggest to those who wish to study further and deeper the problem of socialism à la Indonesia to look into the coming work of the National Planning Council. The result of the work of the National Planning Council is still to be discussed and to be submitted to the M.P.R. for approval, so that the nature of Indonesian Democracy will not be ignored.

The present situation, difficult and burdensome for the daily life of the people because of our efforts to fight inflation and deficits in our budget, because of the uprisings and foreign subversive activities, should not be identified with socialism à la Indonesia. The realization of socialism as such indeed creates open as well as covered opposition, particularly from anti-socialistic quarters. It is not the intention of this general lecture to go deeper into this

matter.

A general lecture on the "development of socialist aspirations in Indonesia" should be limited to this point.

VIII. Conclusion.

Allow me to conclude this lecture. I am convinced that this lecture is not complete. For example, I have not gone into the development of socialism during the years of 1945-1948-1952.

Recently, the Oxford University Press published a book by Saul Rose entitled "Socialism in Southern-Asia" under the auspices of the "Royal Institute of Internal Affairs". This book endeavors to advance the socialism of the Socialist Parties in Asia included in the Asian Social Conference as the only kind of socialism in Southeast Asia and particularly in Indonesia, with complete disregard or ignorance of the influence and role of Marxism, Nationalism and Islam which are factors of social-economic conscience. The publication of the book is indeed to be deplored.

I also realize that the number of books I mentioned -- and which I suggest to be read by our students -- is too large. It is far from me to make you fill up your brains only with what I know of science.

If I can at least arise the curiosity of our young ge-

neration to pursue the study of science more diligently by mentioning those books, I will be very happy; let your time or my time not be wasted at present. In the final analysis, what a University can teach the students is the same as what in the beginning is taught to the pupils of a low grade school by its teachers, i.e. to teach how to listen and how to read.

Learning to listen and learning to read should have been the encouragement for all of you when you enter the classes of Higher Learnings. Learning to listen to people who know and who personally experienced the suffering of the People, and learning to read the right books. This is important, because it is bad for the students to learn to read about socialism not from the sources of socialism itself but from "intermediaries", and worse even when those "intermediaries" are anti-socialism.

You have to study directly, from its sources.

Later, then, what we have studied must be used in serving our nation and society; for the State and for socialist aspirations, as a redemption by our generation for the Pledge of Suffering of the past generation.

In the meantime, I request your indulgence for any shortcomings in this general lecture. In particular, I ask for the indulgence of the teachers for not mentioning the

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works of Mr. J. Bierens de Haan, Prof. Dr. P. J. Bouman, Marx Weber, August Comte, L.V. Wiese, Steinmetz, Hobbes, Aume, M.F. Ninkoff, W.F. Ogburn and others which are usually mentioned in relationship with studies on the problems of social science.

The reason for it was that I have found that those works are not the sources of knowledge which influence and encourage the development of the aspirations and movement of socialism in Indonesia.

Speaking about your books, since 1926/1927 all Marxist literature by Sneevliet was prohibited in Indonesia by the Netherlands-Indies Government. What had been imported into Indonesia between the years 1927 and 1934 were books published by the S.D.A.P. [Social-Democratic Labor Party in Holland]; and during the period when the left-wing socio-nationalist movement was incessantly suppressed, socialist literature which could enter Indonesia went illegally through libraries such as "Karni Bookshop" in Gang Keputran, Surabaya, and disguised publications such as "Uiver" [Stork], the name of a Dutch airplane which crashed in 1935.

During the Japanese time from 1942 until 1945, the remaining books on Socialism were burned.

Therefore, it can be understood that our youth, whose formative years covered the period from 1935 to 1945, does not know the immediate sources of socialism unlike our ge-

neration whose formative years were between 1917 and 1937.

Today, our youths live in an era in which the sources [of study] once again flow into Indonesia. It now even flows from two quarters which are engaged in a cold war to gain influence over Indonesia. I would like to stress to you: do not fear the flow of those sources.

Indeed, Indonesia today is in its transition period and often our voices sound attractive and melodious to hear so that the people begin to doubt it; on the other hand, our voices sometimes sound loud and rough to the outside world that it often creates doubt about our good intentions.

Evenmore so with regard to the question of USDEK, Political Manifesto and others. I hope, however, that you will not lose your perspective when you listen to those sounds. We must maintain the faith in ourselves in whatever situation. Our situation is difficult, but it is not "hopeless".

Recently, a visitor to Indonesia who anonymously wrote a book entitled "Die Front der Farbigen" [German - probably "The Front of colors"] said:

"The political struggle in and around Indonesia continues. The Republic is yet no more than a young State in Asia, but tomorrow it will already be a world power. No-one can predict who will lead the released growing force of 80-million people and whither it will be led. It is like the

strength of an untamed tiger which at long last has broken loose from its cage and which roar now can be heard in all of Asia."

The above truly touches our heart. Obviously, it is as Veth stated: "The tiger-like spirit of the Indonesians which has been put to slumber because of the tranquilizing medicine of colonialism has now arisen again". Its rise has shaken those who wish that the tiger remains asleep.

I now call on you:

Rise!

With science, to serve!

for Socialism a la Indonesia!

for Pantja Sila!

for Guided Democracy!

Make those who oppose freedom and justice, enemies of Pantja Sila and Socialism a la Indonesia, shudder!

THE ROLE OF CULTURE
IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Following is the full translation of an article by Sarino Mangupranoto entitled "Fungsi Kebudayaan dalam Pembangunan Ekonomi" (English version above) in the weekly Mimbar Indonesia (Indonesian Tribune, Vol XIV, No 30, 23 July 1960, pp 14-15; Vol XIV, No 31, 30 July 1960, pp 13-14 & 30; Vol XIV, No 32, 6 Aug. 1960, pp 12-13 and 29.)

(1) Introduction.

The role of education and educator in cultural development constitute one of the programs in the cultural symposium today. If I am not mistaken, the Cultural Congress conducted by B.M.K.N. [possibly Consultative Body for Cultural Affairs] at present adopts the basic theme: "Role of culture in economic development". I remember that in the Cultural Congress in 1950 at Magelang, the relationship between economy and culture was once submitted by Prof. Soenarjo Kolopaking. It seems that at that time the urgency of said problem was not yet felt.

If today the problem of economic problem is to be the basic theme, where is then the causative relationship between the two? Is it to be connected with the political ma-

nifesto of Bung Karno with its USDEK spirit, or is it to be directly related with over-all development of which the blue-print is now being drawn by Depernas [National Planning Council].

Also, this problem is being discussed at this time in the form of a symposium with the framework of the course of the National Cultural Congress. Then, is it only to be a "scientific speech" in accordance with the nature of a symposium, or are we going to adopt a resolution in concord with the purpose of the Congress? What is the background of the idea to relate the role of culture to economic development which must be particularly directed towards the domestic situation at this time?

During the Congress in Solo in 1954, an interpretation was accepted that culture is constituted of 3 (three) elements of activities in the life of man, i.e. Science, Philosophy and Art. In which group are education and educator in the field of cultural development to be included, and particularly its role in relationship to economic development? Is it to be included in science or in philosophy?

I submitted the above problems as questions which have not to be answered or explained. It is meant to give an idea of the thesis to be faced. In this case, I relate the role of education and educator with over-all development.

Consequently, it is not far separated from the political manifesto, not far separated from the purpose of USDEK and possible not widely separated from the over-all blueprint being drawn up by Depernas. As a matter of fact, the role of education and educator constitute the staging base for the implementation of it all. Therefore, further explanation shall not go too deep into the question of education as a science but more in the light of philosophy.

(2). What is over-all development?

Over-all development is expected to bring about man's labor to achieve a balance between physical and spiritual desires. Therefore, it hopes not only to achieve "material values" but also "spiritual values". Both are to be equally and concurrently achieved.

(1) In the explanatory message of the President to the special meeting of Depernas in Bandung on 9 January 1960, it was, among others, stated: 1. in order that we can work on a step-by-step development so that by such step-by-step development we can achieve finally what I advanced to the National Planning Council, i.e. a just and prosperous society, or by another name, socialism à la Indonesia. 2. the Indonesian socialist society contains basic elements, as follows:

First: guarantee sufficient food, clothing and housing

appropriate for the citizens so that they shall not continuously live in fear in facing the day of tomorrow.

Second: guarantee every citizen the maintenance of health and education so that they shall not suffer and so that they shall be skilled to meet their rights and responsibilities to their country.

Third: guarantee the old-age of every citizen, so that they shall not live in fear and poverty when they are no longer able to make a living.

Fourth: guarantee every citizen that they can enjoy and develop their culture and improve their spiritual life, so that not only their physical life is cared for, but also the spiritual life of every citizen.

Fifth: guarantee that the Indonesian nation shall be able to contribute to the improvement of the welfare of mankind.

(II) In another part of his message, the President advanced: The largest capital for every development is

man's energy and man's mind. The People of Indonesia in the most trying times have proven their ability to overcome their problems, so that our faith is great enough that the Indonesian people will be able to face the problems of over-all development, even more so because we possess natural factors which are beneficial. Our weakness is in the

problem of experts. Consequently, this fact demands our fullest and sincerest attention. Registration and utilization of experts must be carried out as soon as possible.

(III) The President continued his message on "over-all planning" as follows:

"Over-all Planning" is not only limited to the task of economic planning; over-all planning in all fields, in accordance with what I have often stated that our revolution is a multi-complex revolution, with five facets, i.e. political revolution, social-economic revolution, cultural revolution, mental revolution, human revolution.

"Now then, I ask that this be achieved in the end by Depernas. Within these five facets, I do not ask ^{you} to only draft the social-economic plan. No, I ask you to draft a step-by-step planning to achieve socialism à la Indonesia.

"Socialism does not only mean economic socialism; socialism does not only mean that everyone can eat and drink and can have a home. No. Socialism is a conception which includes all fields of the human life, economic as well as political, cultural, and mental; I even continue the line as far as man as human beings.in the field of mind of men: You must not forget to include this; in this mental field, for example, all people of Indonesia must be inspired by Pantja Sila, because Pantja Sila is the emana-

tion of the idea of Indonesian socialism."

If we study the message of the President closely, we can see clearly that over-all development is a revolution in itself which moves concurrently in five fields, i.e.

- I. field of politics
- II. economic-social field
- III. cultural field
- IV. mental field
- V. in the field of men themselves.

In his message, the President stressed that the largest capital for every development is man's energy and man's mind.

Still in another part of his message, he advanced that a socialistic society in Indonesia must guarantee education for every citizen. It is also hoped that there shall be guarantees that every citizen shall be able to develop culture. Thus it is clear that in over-all development the human element is not only to be the object but also to be the subject.

In this case, the improvement of the individual, his mental being, his senses, his behaviour, etc. has become the basic problem. He is the greatest capital, the developer of politics; he is the social-economic and the cultural executor. As such and as an individual he must have genius; as

a personality he must have a feeling for culture; as an individual he must have the ability to work, as a member of a nation he must have character and as a human being he must be civilized.

(3). What is education?

Education is a right of a mother and father to bring up their off-spring as a consequence of "multiplication" requirements of the purpose of life. The understanding of bringing up varies according to the nature and personality of the parents. Basically, the rearing of ones child is directed toward the realization of ones individuality or personality.

Man, as a social creation (a social Being, according to Rousseau) is influence by his surroundings (millieu) which bring one individual closer to another, or one individual closer to a group or his society. Here emerges reciprocal life between individuals and society, and the influence of society upon man. A group of individuals forming a society come closer together because of the equal norms of life. Finally, a society of one people is established which no longer reflects the gathering of many individuals but a unit which is nationality.

The right of parents to educate their off-spring is limited only to the structure of the household.

Beyond that, the right to educate is extended to the nature and identity of the nation. Moreover, when a child becomes adult, he or she is released from the influence of the parents and enters society. If as a child one is admonished or praised by ones parents, as an adult it is society which directs and evaluates ones character and abilities. Naturally the result of the nature and character of the education given by the parents is carried into society. And it is in society where ones nature and character are compared with

others. It is possible that in society, then, emerges the thesis, antithesis and synthesis which, in the final instance, assists in forming the nature and character of the nation, in addition to the other elements such as history, tradition, religion and the like.

Association with other nations also brings elements of life which may carry with it bad or good influences for the life of a nation.

It is the "tri-con" theory of Ki Hadjar Dewantoro which advances that education is not only an effort to mold the personality of an individual (concentricity), but also to shape the character of a nation (convergency) and to nurture and develop the status of mankind (continuity).

In addition to the above, there is another definition of Ki S. Mangunsarkoro which says that education is the

"transfer of culture" from generation to generation.

It is clear, then, that education is the right of generations of nations (continuity) which carries the nature and character of the nations individually in the form of culture. The personality of the individual is not the particular aim but the object of which its nature and character are derived from the nature and character of the nation. Then, it is the culture of the nation which must guarantee the height of the culture of the individual.

The late Mangunsarkoro was a teacher in people's education and when he was the Minister of Education and Culture, the Office for People's Education was established. His motto was "of the people, by the people, for the people".

It is here where the "concentricity principle" of Ki Hadjar Dewantoro meets the "continuity principle" of Ki Mangunsarkoro. One applies a "tri-con theory", the other a "global method". In the final instance, the people will take the attitude that the two definitions will be reciprocally and concurrently applied by us.

The two educators definitely wished to mold the personality of the individual by an as much as possibly independent and free method (aid system) with the application of "tutwuri andajani" [Old Javanese -- "follow with ones own strength of convictions"] (following the influence of the

surroundings for the good of mankind) of the teachers.

Thus, there is no compulsion and the character of the child can develop independently to improve the individual lot. It is to achieve courage and ability to live to bring about a nation's society within the framework of man's civilization.

According to the above concept, to educate is a "sacred mission" to bring about something so that the movements and changes of life can be achieved towards the good, in accordance with nature's omnipotence.

The educators hold an important part in implementing it.

(4). The role of the educator.

The meaning of educator is usually limited to teachers and schooling only. But it is every person, who wishes "propagation" of his qualities, who must rear his offspring.

All parents are educators, all people's leaders are educators, our President is an educator. Our Ministers are educators, our armed forces are educators, the police are educators, and the civil servants are educators. Indeed, the parents as executors of "propagation" first lay down the nature and character of the offspring, while the teacher is merely the extension. The efforts of the extension is reflected in the teachings in school. He endeavors to relate the life of society with what the child has gained from

the home, and in turn he tries to adjust the characteristics received from the parents to life in society. A teacher as an individual possesses a personality of his own and, consciously or subconsciously, carries that personality into the nature and behaviour of the child.

The teacher does not always know the home life of each child. Association between teacher and parents, usually in meetings or on social level, often creates problems. Often "antipodal" situations emerge from the personality of the teacher and of the parents of the pupil. In addition, there is the influence of the playmates of the child and the life elements of society. From it all a composition is created consisting of various kinds of elements.

Outside the influences of man upon man, there is the power of nature which brings changes which are "omnipotent". In addition, the belief in God carries the influence that success or failure of man's aspirations lies in the essence of God. Here, man must, whether he is willing or not, be able to adjust the genius he possesses to nature's omnipotence and to the essence of God. Thus, it is not possible for man to solely depend on the element of man's genius and to take the position that only man determines the fate of the world.

Every educator must realize ^{the} above principle. If not,

in the hope for economic development they will only appraise the tangibles, i.e. materialistic progress, considering the present economic situation in which material shortages can be observed.

If not careful, one might fall into the ravine of "material worship" and base everything in life on "calculation" and lean heavily on intellectualism alone. Material things are then worshipped, and the idea arises that this world is a place to enjoy forever. There is great danger in that. When material aspirations cannot be achieved, then as compensation one enters the field of mysticism which is "escaping from the world" and runs away into a hidden world with no determined aim. In such a situation, the educators step forward with modest reasoning, spiritual and moral reasoning and the like. They establish themselves as spiritual guides who can only draw an abstract idea without taking a positive step.

In order that the composition as hoped for in the above can be the choice melody, each educator must direct his or her attention toward the purpose of education.

Teacher as educator:

The way for the teachers to determine their course is to follow the basic legislation on Education No. 12 of 1954, i.e. "to mold decent and able people, democratic and

responsible citizens, based on the welfare of society and country". The afore-said is still something abstract. Therefore, the Ministry of Education and Culture is charged with the duty to supply guidance for the implementation of it. For that purpose, curricula from grammar schools to colleges have been established. The present curricula are in accordance with the hopes for our society and are left to society to be evaluated.

Parents as educators:

For parents (mother and father) as educators, there are no better manuals than the character and behaviour of the parents themselves. Biologically, they are directly related to the child. "The law of eugenics" shows efforts to find a basis for the child even though in disguised form.

In addition, the condition of life in the household can also explain those hidden problems ^{and they} can evaluate for themselves the character, behaviour and ability of the child. This must be studied to assist in implementing good educational efforts for the offspring. In this case, the teacher can be of assistance. If the above cannot give a clear directive, "modern science" at present can use the "psycho technical test" which is used in various large countries.

The analysis of the character, nature and behaviour of our youth can assist them in doing the task assigned to them

successfully.

Generally speaking, the achievement of development efforts, moreover in the field of economy, depends on the personality of the individual who brings with him certain skills to the task he faces. Such^a situation can show the people where each has equal rights and positions. The difference is only in the duties and responsibilities, depending on the individual skill while recognizing leadership. Such is the ideal which is in concord with over-all development for Indonesia.

It is different from the opinion that the success or failure of an economic development effort depends on "modern techniques" in which the human being constitutes only the operator of machines and in which the human being labors under mechanical work discipline. In such a case, the educational method is only directed towards the will to work. In such a situation, society will be divided into three groups, i.e.

1. labor group (majority);
2. creative group (technicians);
3. controlling group of management.

People's Leaders as educators:

Leaders of the people as educators can use their own basic ideology. I am convinced that every leader of the peo-

ple certainly hopes for the improvement of the people's lot.

The implementation of their ideologies, too, would be directed toward assisting the people in improving the material and spiritual life of the people. The people to be assisted are naturally those of whom he (the leader) himself is part. The place or area where those people live is naturally meant to be the area of the state of those people where he [the leader] resides.

It is clear that whatever ^{the} ideology of the party and of the people's leader, it will assist and develop its own nationals. Efforts for "formation of power" in order to gain a "position of power" must take the cultural values which are already deeply rooted and which have existed as a source of civilization of the people. I do not understand the people who advance their ideology for the benefit of another country and of another people, with the exception of those individualists who want to sell their country for their own benefit or for the benefit of their family or their groups, or who really want to live in this world as cosmopolitans.

It is hoped that such is not the case with the people of Indonesia.

(5). Aims of Education.

Short-term:

Education in the sense of "skill training" does not require an extended time. A period of from 2 to 5 years would suffice. Within a short period, then, the need for experts to implement an economic development program could be met. Each program needs calculation, such as a program to build a factory, ^{an} agricultural program, mining, etc. It can be estimated before hand how many people will be needed also that they can be clasified according to their individual tasks: how many engineers, craftsmen, doctors, etc. could be estimated. Then the Universities or training centers can train within a maximum time of 10 years or less the people needed according to the nature of their expertness. Naturally the Univeraities should be asked to participate in the planning and actively utilized in drawing the blueprints of each phase of development.

A plan for a factory, for example, needs precise calculations based not only on scientific theories, but also on experiments (comparisons with research findings) and also based on experiences in completed projects.

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relationship between the universities and the industries in the Democratic Republic of Germany. Thus, the function of the universities is not only as a place for the education of scientists and as institutions for scientific studies, but also, in the realm of the implementation of the political manifesto of the Republic of Indonesia, a place to deliberate and indirectly participate actively in the execution of development programs.

We must not be afraid to change the old way of thinking about the role of universities and must not fear to make the universities a source of reflection for over-all development. Over-all development planning should not only be based on desire and imagination, but it should be really based on exact calculation and consideration on social and natural-scientific level.

It is here that the scientists are to be made the basis, while the groups of labor and politicians represent the consideration of application, ideology and imagination.

The nature of the scientist and of the working politician are indeed different. One group does not sufficiently observe the practical factors (very theoretical and too scientific), while the other group is too idealistic and usually depending on imagination as an expression of what is being faced daily in practice.

Two of a kind of different natures, even though opposing one another as the nature of water and of fire, could be unified if one knows how to use it. It is necessary that I submit this, because the facts show that whenever a body or institution is formed in connection with development or social programs, the side of the universities does not represent a subject but only an object with a role in the sense of being asked for its advice and opinion only.

The educational program for the high schools and even for the low grade schools must be drawn up in such a way that it offers a basis for higher learning in accordance with the role of universities as a source of positive consideration for over-all development, i.e. to educate scientists to execute the work and not merely to theorize (the use of knowledge, not the possession of it). I mention with enthusiasm the willingness of the Ministry of Education and Culture to work toward this end and its desire to change and adjust the educational system for the High Schools to the demands of the time, while in the low grade schools "Septa usaha tama" [Old Javanese, possibly: "Seven principal efforts"] has been started. The number of vocational schools has also been increased.

It is my opinion, that education, training and culture represent a subject (active) in over-all

development and not as some people think just an object (subordinate part). Education and culture as a subject is not only valid on a short-term basis, but it is even more important for the long-term.

Long-term:

Long before the aspirations of a nation can be realized, efforts must be made towards that end. With efforts it is usually meant efforts in the form of education. As an example, before Japan waged war in Great East Asia during the time of Tenno Heika, Japan already directed its education toward Hei Tai San (soldiers) 60 years before, during the time of Meiji Tenno. This could be observed in the physical education in the low grade schools until the high schools. In this connection, once I observed a boat excursion of pupils of the Fifth grade to an island. It was not just a boat picnic but it was in the nature of an attack on the island, so that it became a training for war with the use of charts and instructions for the attack. It was remarkable that the pupils of the Fifth grade were already trained to read maps and establish a course, and also trained in tactics in neutralizing the enemy (defenders of the island).

Education for war preparation was also conducted in other fields, particularly in industry. One facet of it

which could be observed was the manufacture of children's toys which mostly took the form and nature of weapons of war. Of course in other fields of the industry, production was concentrated on war preparation. Those facts show that long before the aspirations could be realized, the creative energy of that nation was concentrated toward that end. Gradually, the development of the society then followed the "tracks" laid down for that purpose.

After 60 years of preparations war really broke out in Great East Asia in which we were involved and which resulted in the territory of Indonesia being occupied by the Forces of Japan. For three-and-one-half years we could feel that the entire conduct and efforts of the Military Government were concentrated for the interest of war.

We could feel ourselves that the education in the schools and also in society was directed toward the final victory of Dai Nippon. And indeed, even though the occupation by the Forces of Japan was comparatively short, it had a significant influence upon us. The remnants of it can still be felt. The desire for power and the drive to win the upper hand still remain. In this connection, the mentality of "over compensation" can be understood. "Sumuhun dawuh" [Old Javanese, meaning "bowing to command"] from the era of Dutch rule changed into the Hei Tai San [soldiery] spirit

which is derived from Amaterasu [Japanese: meaning unknown]. The positive aspects of the above are good while the negative side of it is bad.

Another example is the era of the Dutch rule when the entire educational system was directed for the benefit of the overlords. The Dutch, who since the time of the V.O.C. [Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie -- Associated East-Indies Company] (1602) had commercial contacts with the Kings in Indonesia, gradually wanted to establish a colonial government. In order to accelerate their efforts to gain power, they opened native schools, the purpose of which was merely to meet the need for administrative personnel for their government.

With the center of management in their hands, they (the Dutch) wished to exploit the territory of Indonesia. For this they need skilled personnel from the native groups and for that purpose they opened vocational schools.

It is clear, that the purpose of the Dutch in giving education to the youth of Indonesia was to make the Indonesians the administration and exploitation tools on the soil of Indonesia itself.

For that reason, the entire system of education and the educational facilities in the schools and in society were directed toward the continuation of [Dutch] domination.

It was achieved and for three-and-one-half centuries the Indonesians lived in "orderliness and peace with a work discipline" in accordance with the norms set by the rulers. The "mental" life of the Indonesians during that time was molded into a subservient position to the justification for domination and into the spirit of "bowing to command" which was deeply implanted in the people's mind.

The educational effort was so intensive that it created a way of life.

Here and there some reaction from the educational world came about with the birth then of educational institutions such as "Taman Siswa" [literally: "Students Garden"] "Perguruan Rakjat" [People's Schooling], etc. Those educational institutions represented private initiative of which the educational and training system differed entirely from and even opposed what was called the "colonial education system". They accept people (children) as objects to be taught to become a "personality" of their own and to be taught as individuals to gain a feeling of self-respect, with a specific purpose to love their country and people.

It was here when the need was felt for the development of national culture. Finally, the schooling of the people of Indonesia brought results so that cadres of patriots were formed who generally emerged as citizens who took an active

part in the war for freedom. Once again I submit that it is education which constitutes the starting point for the achievement of what is being aspired. Education which starts with the care of the individual to gain a personality for the formation of a national character can induce a nation to move towards the gates of freedom.

It is also recognized that in addition to the educational efforts in the schools, the Indonesians as a people moved in the same direction toward freedom, so that education in the schools and in society complemented one another. This was evident from the emergence of political parties and of other national movements during that time.

Another example of the fact that education can assist in a certain direction, be it for national, religious or philosophical purposes, can be seen from the evidence in several countries.

United States of America:

In West Georgia, a Southern State of the U.S. which is less advanced, there is the West Georgia Teachers College (like the Indonesian Teachers colleges) which has a program to develop villages into towns which are hoped to be equal to other towns in the Northern part of the U.S. The curriculum is directed particularly to over-all development of that area. Considering that the area is an agricultural and stock-breeding area, the educational efforts are also moved

toward the life of the surroundings. There is also a program for the development of people's schools in the sense that the pupils are educated to be conscious of their responsibilities.

When I visited one of the people's schools [probably "public schools"] (sorry, but there are still open laboratories) which was a "pilot project" of the Teachers College, from the time I passed the gates until I was introduced from class to class, the pupils themselves acted as hosts and drafted the program for the visit. After that we had a meeting with them and lunched together without the presence of the teachers. Only thereafter a meeting with the teachers was arranged. It showed to us that every part of the educational effort was directed toward development. The effort to develop villages into towns is also started with the education in the schools and with education in society (social education).

Allow me to quote the speech of the [former] Minister of Education and Culture Sarino Mangunpranoto [sic] before the PGRI [possibly the Indonesian Teachers Association] Congress in Bandung in 1956, in which it was among others stated:

"As citizens of an independent country, every Indonesian must achieve a higher standard of living than he has

today. Standard of living includes material and spiritual life.

"Each citizen should know his place in the State, should be conscious of his rights and of his responsibilities. But every citizen should also have a grasp about responsibility in the discipline of the country. He must have a deep understanding about the welfare of society and country.

"Every citizen must be able to develop initiative for his own advancement and for the advancement of his immediate society.

"In order to achieve the above, the People of Indonesia must have the material, however modest but sufficient, to take their places as citizens.

"The material must of such quality that it becomes the source for the activities in their lives. That material or requirement is education in People's Schools [Public Schools] which must be obtained by every citizen.

"Education at the People's Schools is an education which supplies the standard knowledge which is to be the material for all the People in their lives.

"The elementary knowledge must be such that it is dynamic, critical and creative. Such knowledge shall make it possible that our Nation is not only receptive to new ideas, but also that the Nation is to be critical in order to gua-

rantee vigilance.

"Being in the midst of society (village), the People's School holds a cultural role in the village society. If in modern society the cultural stream moves from society into the schools, in Indonesia the stream flows from the schools into society. And the flow of the stream will remain so for some time to come.

"In such a situation, the People's School is of great importance for society. It can be said that the People's School in this case is the pioneer in village society for the culutural efforts in the sense of life's activity. In order that the People's School in such a role can fulfill its mission, some requirements demand our attention:

"First -- the quality of education must be of such height that it can pull the level of the life of village society to higher elevations.

"Second -- the teachers of the People's Schools must be of such quality so that they can give an example and guidance so that social life emerges in the village society which is in accordance with the desires of that society.

"Third -- the relationship between the School and society must be so close that the School can influence society to consider the School as the property of so-

ciety which has to be developed and maintained.

"The School is not only a place for children to learn, but in addition it should also have a social, economic and cultural function. The School should be a pioneer and an example for the immediate society in the efforts to raise the level of the life of the people. This is particularly necessary for isolated villages and areas. In such places, Father Teacher is the leader of the people in the sense that he is the educator of the people. Such an opportunity should be used by the teacher to make his school a tool to elevate the immediate society.

"For example: the garden of the school can be planted with various kinds of fruit trees and vegetables which are not yet known in that area and which benefit nutrition and health. You certainly know that in some isolated islands "kangkung" [spinach-like vegetable] is not known as being edible. With the intermediary of the pupils, such plantings should be an example for the plantings in the gardens of their own houses."

Europe:

Far from Stockholm, the capital of Sweden, about 90 kilometers away, an agricultural town could be found. One hundred years ago that town was a quiet village with

a church. The name of the place is Upsula.

The church then opened schools to educate the children of the villagers, not only in religion but also in the development of their village. The world continued its course, times changed and by then (1958) the quiet village of 100 years ago has grown into a proud and busy city and as the expansion of the life of the church arises a University called "Upsula University". The history of the university shows the growth of the village of Upsula into the university city of Upsula. It ^{shows} clearly to us the role of universities in development.

It was in the field of education where in the beginning efforts were made toward the growth of its immediate society into a modern city. Naturally, for that village the progress which has been achieved was the result of over-all development which has been carried out step by step for decades.

Soviet Union and People's Republic of China.

In the Soviet Union, over-all development was started after the 1917 Revolution and in the People's Republic of China in 1949. The time needed for it was short. Even so, they have been able to achieve such a high performance of labor and have been able to gain an awe-inspiring position for those two communist countries. What is behind their re-

markable achievement? The choice of the form of government which is "democratic centralism" for the Soviet Union and "People's democracy" for the People's Republic of China has given the rulers the opportunity to act dictatorially.

Education is applied as a mass education and conducted with "drilling". Without exception, everybody has to work and has to be trained to become skilled in their field of endeavour. "Mental" education is given through intensive "brainwashing" and imposes a life's opinion that man represents a production factor [possibly "labor factor"]. Therefore everyone must be productive for the State and for the people. The rulers determine every aspect of the life of the people.

Education in schools constitutes schooling for work and to them schooling is training for work. I have not been able to study whether their educational philosophy is based on the "molding of the personality of the individual" as a foundation for the achievement of a "homogeneous" society, or whether man is to live according to conditions determined by the ruling group. What is apparent is that the communist ideology has been made to become the philosophy of life. All facets of political, economic, social and cultural life are based on the aims of communism. Therefore, the purpose of their education is directed toward the develop-

ment of a socialistic society based on the principles of communism.

Indonesia:

The shortage of experts in Indonesia is very much felt, even more so in economic development in which experts constitute a decisive factor next to the problems of financing and the like. It is not only experts in the sense of "skilled labor" who are needed, but experts in the field of management^{who} are also short in supply.

Quantitatively speaking, there is enough "man-power", but qualitatively the number is small. Indonesia, which has been independent for only 15 years, wishes to have a well running State organization and administration. The old methods of working must be replaced with new ones. But the officials are being pressed from two sides: the old regulations on one side and new efforts on the other. The old regulations could not be discarded before new ones are enacted, while renewal does not necessary brings improvement. This dualistic situation creates bureaucracy which oftentimes disrupts and slows down the machinery of government administration.

Over-all development for Indonesia is directed toward two facets, i.e. first, toward immediate economic development (short-term), and second, toward mental development

for the present and for the future (long-term).

The difficult and complex task of drawing up the blueprint for development is now being done by the National Planning Council and the blueprint will be implemented after the approval of the Provisional People's Consultative Congress has been received. What is to be important in the interpretation of the blueprint is mental development for the benefit of the economy, and not the reverse of it as some people think which would be economic development for the benefit of the mind. The question about the mind will naturally touch the elements of cultural life which in turn touch three kinds of life's activities, i.e. science, philosophy and art.

If culture alludes "beauty" to man, then two lines of thought might emerge:

- I. "Is it beauty which possesses power" or
- II. "Is it power which possesses beauty".

In my opinion, the first line of thought is valid. For that reason, this article has emphasized from the start that education is to be the basis and subject of all development efforts (economic as well as mental).

It is possible that one holds that, considering the shortages we are facing today, to meet the immediate needs "physical training and handwork" is the only way to achieve

"skill". With this we can agree, but for Indonesia material needs only do not constitute the end of life's aspirations. If this holds true, then over-all development for Indonesia is not merely to pursue material things, but also to achieve something more complex, and that is "the Indonesian image".

Based on the principles of Pantja Sila as the philosophy of the State, it is hoped that this "Indonesian image" can be drawn into the following form:

- a. as a human being, man must have personality [possibly also meant "identity"].
- b. as a nation, man must possess sovereignty over the independence of the country.
- c. as a member of society, man must adjust his life to the society of Indonesian socialism.
- d. as a cultured human being, he must have culture.
- e. as a human being, his life's attitude must be that of "satrya-pendita" [satrya = nobleman; pendita = theological scientist, also, priest, pastor].

Personality shows the being of the individual with an independent mind and with a sense of responsibility for his country, and whose sublime purpose of life is to be useful to society.

Personality does not only include "self-respect", but must also contain "self-confidence". These two characteris-

tics should not result in self-admiration which might make one fall into conceit and liberalism. It is recognized that education to mold the personality of an individual often shows traces of liberalism. But it is clear that a human being is not just a number (object) in society, but has a function of his own as a cultivated human being (subject) in the development of society which in turn be of benefit to the physical and spiritual life of all individuals (Not only limited to the physical and also not only limited to the spiritual).

Having the sense of sovereignty over the independence of the country means to be conscious of having a country and a government of his own. Lack of conviction in this matter could make one fall into unlimited internationalism, without realizing that internationalism can be strong if based on nationalism and that nationalism can grow if it can move on into Internationalism (quoted from Bung Karno and the "tri-con" theory of Ki Hadjar Dewantoro).

That education must be aimed at the realization of Indonesian socialism is a *conditio sine qua non* [a necessary condition]. Without such realization, greed and excessive individualism would reign. Such characteristics could easily cause materialistic desires which often expand into capitalism and into the drive for power (politics, e-

conomy and culture).

The position expounded in the political manifesto clearly shows that Indonesian socialism is identical with the

nature of the Indonesian nation which is to be used as the foundation for our efforts to achieve a just and prosperous society for all.

To consider man as a cultivated human being is a positive life's attitude. He is conscious of the fact that he has genius, reason and ability (akal-budi-kerti). Positive, because he is aware where he is and how far he can go to achieve what he wishes to achieve in this world. Such characteristics will not create a feeling of conceit that man is the source of all forces and fiber alles [over everything]. It is true that the human element creates useful things in this world, but do not forget the influences of Nature's omnipotence and the essence of God, which also possess a determining factor.

It is indeed recognized that it was man himself who thought of the existence of the essence of God, but the experiences in the life of any individual can convince man of such existence.

"Satrya-pendita" in education is an effort to direct the growth of the nature of the child toward a form to be used as a basis for the life of the Indonesian nation.

It was clearly explained by Bung Karno in his message to the special meeting of the National Planning Council in Bandung on 9 January 1960, that over-all development does not only mean that everyone is to have food and drink and a home, but that it is also to include all facets of human life, i.e. economic, political, cultural and mental.

In another part of his message, Bung Karno advanced that a socialistic Indonesian society guarantees that every citizen can enjoy and develop his culture, and improve his spiritual life so that not only the physical but also the spiritual life of the citizens will be cared for.

It is clear then that the life of the Indonesians is not merely to worship materialism, but also is to maintain the deeper meanings of human life which touches the spiritual being within man (life's aspirations).

To simplify matters I have used the word Satrya [nobleman] as an illustration of life's aims with regard to this world (country and society), while Pendita [priest] as an illustration for the spiritual part of the aims.

The sound and the meaning of the words are not separated from one another, but combined into one word "satrya-pendita".

Conclusion.

Thesis:

1. Over-all development is to realize the fruits of human labor for the achievement of a balance between physical and spiritual life's satisfaction.

2. Education is a right of parents in rearing their off-spring as the consequence of the need for "propagation" of life's purpose.

3. Education definitely aims at the molding of a personality for the individual through independent education in concord with nature's omnipotence (aid system) and with the principle of "tutwuri andajani" / "follow with ones own strength of convictions", orderly and peaceful (Taman-Siswa).

4. The molding of personality is aimed at bringing about a character of a people for the maintenance and development of humanity ("tri-con theory" of Ki. Hadjar Dewantoro).

5. Education is a "transfer of culture" from generation to generation.

6. The best guidance and basis for the educator are his own character and behaviour.

7. Every educator must be able to bring man's genius and sense in concord with Nature's omnipotence and the essence of God.

8. Education from the elementary schools on to the universities must be aimed at the realization of over-all de-

country in general.

9. The achievement of development, particularly in the economic field, depends on the personality of the individual who carries with him certain abilities to the task he is assigned to.

10. The ideal form of Indonesian society is a form in which everyone has equal right, responsibility and position with the consideration of the abilities of the individual while recognizing leadership, and which moves towards a society of Indonesian socialism.

Recommendation (to be realized):

I. that the Ministry of Education & Culture takes the initiative, on inter-ministerial basis, to mobilize experts from the various Ministries.

II. under leadership of the Universities and other educational institutions (private institutions included) to implement ^{extensive} "University extension program" in the entire territory and in industrial centers to be charge with scientific and practical matters.

III. that the aims are to develop the less advanced areas into advanced towns in accordance with the surrounding areas.

IV. that the implementation is to be within the frame-

work of the over-all development of which the blueprint is being drawn up by the National Planning Council.

V. that the motto is: "Realization of education, training and culture for economic development".

2218

END