

WE INDONESIANS

by Mochtar Lubis

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INTRODUCTION

As Indonesia was completing preparations for the general election in 1977, Mochtar Lubis "shocked" a certain group of people in the country by delivering his eighty-one-page, three-hour-long, lecture entitled "Situasi Manusia Indonesia Kini, Dilihat dari Segi Kebudayaan dan Nilai Manusia" (The State of Present-day Indonesians, Viewed from the Cultural and Human Values) at Ismail Marzuki Art Center, Jakarta, April 6, 1977. The lecture was summarized by Alfons Taryadi in *Kompas*, one of the most well-read newspapers in the country, on April 12, 1977. The entire lecture was published in the same year by Idayu Press, Jakarta, under the title *Manusia Indonesia: (Sebuah Pertanggungjawaban Jawab)*, which literally means "The Indonesian Human Beings: (A Responsibility)."

Immediately after the newspaper report, people from all over the country began to voice their reactions. Muhan from Pontianak, Jeihan from Bandung, and Oom Fan from Jakarta, for instance, wrote short favorable comments and hoped that those in positions to right the wrongs would soon do so (*Kompas*, April 16). Further and longer reactions by some of the pioneers of the 1945 generation as well as younger intellectuals also appeared in *Kompas* and other leading newspapers such as *Harian Angkatan Bersenjata* and *Sinar Harapan*.

Taking issue with Lubis and indicating his displeasure with what he felt was Lubis's racial slur against the Javanese, Margono Djojohadikusumo, contemporary of the late former President Soekarno and father of former Research Minister Soemitro, stated that what Lubis considered weak personalities are in fact a manifestation of a well-established value (particularly among the Javanese) in which people are taught from early childhood not to hurt or offend others (*Kompas* and *Harian Angkatan Bersenjata*, May 13).

Kasiyanto presented the rationale behind the attitude of the Javanese, who are quick in accepting the unacceptables as being God's will, by relating the phenomenon to the natural environment and the effect of Dutch colonialism (*Kompas*, April 27). Sarlito Wirawan Sarwono (*Kompas*, May 5) and Ayip Bakar (*Harian Angkatan Bersenjata*, May 3), while praising Lubis's courage to speak his mind, questioned the validity of the data upon which Lubis drew his conclusions. These articles compelled Lubis to clarify and reassert his position (*Kompas*, May 14, June 1, and June 6).

Essentially, what Lubis presented is a set of generalizations regarding the Indonesians of today on the basis of the phenomena (not data in the quantitative sense of the term!) which he observed in the people around him. Although he did not say it, I have a faint suspicion that his "data" are the civil servants, the military, the intellectuals, and perhaps also the students. After all, these are the people who play active political and/or administrative roles.

In a country where political unity, economic stability, and cultural integrity are being sought or reaffirmed, there is a tendency for people to develop an excessive feeling of nationalism which oftentimes leads them to think that any view which does not reaffirm the ego, be it that of an individual, an ethnic group, or a nation, is a negative view. On the surface, Lubis did speak more of the negatives

than the positives. Underneath what he said, however, lie his true motivations and intent. As a keen journalist-observer he often speaks with a tone which may rub people the wrong way and thus conclude that he is dirtying his trough. But once we are willing to sit down and ponder over what he says, we should be able to see that his view is based very much on what the Javanese call the feeling of *prihatin*, a very deep concern because you love and care. Unfortunately, many people miss this crucial point.

Manusia Indonesia is one of Lubis's latest *prihatins*. He is very much concerned that the Indonesians he used to know are undergoing a change. If they do not soon do an about-face, they will leave behind their old and treasured values. Lubis makes this clear in his response to Margono (*Kompas*, June 1) who considers Indonesian aristocracy *noblesse oblige* by agreeing with him but at the same time pointing out that the type of aristocrats which Margono refers to has become a vanishing breed in our society.

In brief, it is my belief that deep down, underlying his seemingly unfavorable remarks, lies Lubis's strong desire to see Indonesia as a strong and well-respected nation. I am sure that we are in agreement that the way to achieve this goal is not necessarily through perpetual praise.

Florence Lamoureux has done an excellent job in translating Lubis's lecture. To avoid excessive footnotes, relevant information is incorporated in the running text by means of brackets. Lubis's own parenthetical statements are given in parenthesis.

Lubis has read the first draft of this translation, and has given us his permission to publish it. I am happy to present the translation to you.

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WE INDONESIANS

The old face is already decaying in the mirror, while the typical new face is not yet clear.

Who is the Indonesian?

Does he exist?

Where is he?

What is he like?

Is he a man who appears truly strong and courageous, a true knight, stylish and impressive, a mixture of Arjuna¹ and Gatotkaca², a Brahman prince or even a Brahman king?

And what of the woman? Is she like Srikandi³ with a beauty which the Malays describe thus: someone with flowing perfumed hair, eyebrows like a delicate line of honey bees, lips like pomegranate, and legs as graceful as ripening rice plants?

Does the following illustration hold true? Two sociologists are having a discussion about Adam and Eve. They are debating where Adam and Eve came from.

One man says, "Certainly they were Egyptian."

"You're stupid," says the other man, "at that time Egypt didn't exist."

"Ah, then surely they were Jews."

"How is that possible?" answers his friend, "the Jews came about with the prophet Abraham."

"Okay, if that's the case then I am convinced that they were assuredly Indonesians."

"What do you base that on?" queries his friend.

"Well, take a good look. Adam and Eve had only an apple and a snake. They didn't even have any clothes, and yet they thought they were in paradise."

Or is it true, as is the opinion of the Chinese merchants who now range across our land, that Indonesians these days can be depicted as having three fingers like THIS [Lubis rubbed his fingers together--the universal sign of the finger-itch for money]! True or not I offer it for the audience's consideration. I question the validity of these merchants' assessment, but at the same time I hesitate to counter it because of the following experience.

One day I was taking a plane to a foreign country. Two foreigners, Caucasians, were seated in front of me. The plane had already departed Indonesia and they were involved in a heated discussion. One of the men said that he was leaving Indonesia for a while because he was bored with just sitting around his hotel room. He had waited a long time for all sorts of licenses and approvals in order to invest his capital.

"How long have you been waiting?" asked his friend.

¹The handsome and refined hero of *The Mahabharata*.

²Also a hero of *The Mahabharata*, and handsome in a more physical sense.

³Arjuna's beautiful and vivacious wife.

"Hell, already four months, coming up on the fifth month," he answered.

"Oh, you're going about it all wrong. Don't you know that in Jakarta money speeds up everything.....you know what I mean." He then added, "You can buy anybody in Jakarta."

"Dammit, no kidding."

Blood rose to my head. I am a citizen of Jakarta and that was an extraordinary insult. My instinct urged me to strike the rude lout across the mouth. But my common sense told me that if I hit him, and he did not accept my reason for being angry, I would straightaway be whisked off to court. Chances are that he had stronger evidence than I, and I would have lost the case. Wouldn't that have been a mess! So I just calmed down. Whether or not these foreigners have the right idea about us in Jakarta I leave up to all of you. Are there among you those who would dare go to court and prove that these foreigners indeed insult our people because they make allegations with which you disagree?

What of the opinions of others concerning Indonesians in earlier times and now? At the time of the Dutch East India Company, the Dutch considered Indonesians to be treacherous, unwilling to honor firm agreements, reveling in murder and war, dishonest, like animals, and extremely cruel. This idea probably came about as a result of the fact that from the time they arrived in the Indonesian archipelago the Dutch never ceased to wage war, if not with the Indonesians, then with the Portuguese, the English, or the Spanish.

On the other hand, the Indonesians believed that the Dutch did not honor their promises, and since they perpetuated an intense cruelty, the Indonesians of that period repaid the Dutch in kind. Even after the Dutch assumed the role of colonizers their general opinion remained that Indonesians were lacking the capabilities to take on jobs requiring superior intelligence and that these "natives" in general were merely mediocre as far as possession of the qualities of religion, hard work, honesty, sympathy, and gratitude were concerned. Not until much later did the Dutch credit the Indonesian people with possessing the qualities of respect, tranquillity, reliability, goodness, generosity, geniality to guests, and gentleness. Yet it was also said that Indonesians did not like to tax their intellect, lacked opinions of their own, were weak-willed, and could never make decisions. They said, of the various ethnic groups, that the Irianese were quick to anger and loved to be rowdy; the Macassarese and the Buginese were persevering -- enduring fatigue and suffering; the Balinese were thought to have a zest for life, were brutal and hard-working; the Ambonese were considered intelligent and freedom-loving; the Malays were thought to be careless, cruel, withdrawn, suspicious, honest, genial hosts, and formal; the Bataks, Achehnese, Mandailings, and Menangs were among those considered to be hard-headed; the Javanese had little inclination to anger, had high opinions of themselves, their feelings were too easily hurt, and it was also said that they were good "yes-men."

In 1416 an Islamic Chinese named Ma Huan, the interpreter to Cheng Ho, traveled to our archipelago and visited Java. He wrote that there were three types of people here. The first was the Moslems who came from areas west of Indonesia and who now lived here; their food and clothing were clean and good. The second was the Chinese living in

Indonesia. The food they ate and their clothing were excellent. There were many among this group who had embraced Islam and faithfully followed the teachings of that religion. The third was the indigenous people who were disgustingly dirty and very shabby. They went about with uncombed hair and bare feet and actually believed in evil spirits. Their food was dirty and repulsive, such as snakes, ants, and all sorts of bugs and worms which were briefly roasted in a fire. They ate the meat of dogs, and they also slept with them.....

First Characteristic

What about those Indonesians who claim to be religious? In Indonesia the popular image of the Moslem (according to teachers' lectures or from the Islamic leaders on TV) is as follows: Indonesian Moslems are devout, pious, faithful in attending religious services, and honest because they follow the teachings of the prophet Mohammad s.a.w.¹, who said that a Moslem is one who has the courage to tell the truth even to a cruel despot and one who considers malicious jealousy and religious betrayal tabu. God's laws must always be obeyed, and His followers must always be fully prepared to oppose evil. When a Moslem sees an evil situation and has neither the power nor the courage to change it, nor to take steps to improve it, then he must verbally admonish the person responsible for it. If that, too, accomplishes nothing then the Moslem will at least have reinforced his own faith.

Christians, and followers of other religions, are like that too. The ideal Indonesians of all faiths are those who adhere to their religious teachings, e.g., who equally love all people and comply with the Ten Commandments.

The question that we must raise is this: How many are there among those myriad members of all the religions in Indonesia who actually live their lives according to the teachings of their respective religions and truly use these teachings to direct their lives as evidenced by their daily physical and spiritual conduct? I refer not just to weekly church attendance, going to confession, or being devout in attending mosque and fasting, but where it really counts, by their daily behavior reflecting their religious teachings. Again, I leave the answer to you.

I perceive a chasm developing, however, between our ideal Indonesian and our actual Indonesian, the latter referring to all of us here. A great gap exists between our pretenses and our realities.

¹ An abbreviation of the Arabic *salla'llahu'alih'i'wassallama*, which translates: May the Lord bless him (Mohammad) and give him peace.

Let us take a look at what is going on around us. One legacy of the animistic era of our great-grandfathers is the strong presence of myths and mystiques still found in our present-day society. We have always taken great pleasure in creating myths and do so with relative ease. The old ones are cherished, but we make up new ones all the time to give us courage and confidence to face up to crises and all sorts of difficulties when we seem unable to tackle them with the power of rational thought. Our tales, old and new, seem to provide a shield for warding off all approaching dangers and threats.

Mysticism, which is popularly referred to as *kebatinan* [one's inner-self], is a constant refuge which people seek when facing distressing situations, doubt, and worry. It provides a haven for people experiencing all sorts of uncertainties and conflicts. This is true for almost everyone, whether religious or a professedly rational thinker. Even those who have the highest educations are not immune. Among those very rational Indonesians -- skilled mathematicians, nuclear physicists who can separate the smallest atoms -- there are many who are attracted to *kebatinan*. Their reasoning might include a wish to face up to doubt and uncertainty or they might have various other motivations such as hunger for power, being anxious to achieve a high position, desire to maintain a particular political power, or the urge to accumulate wealth. Because this mystical ideology has control of the largest segment of Indonesia's people, especially those on the island of Java, it is probably a good idea to take a moment and examine the Javanese mystics so that we can understand our people better.

According to those in the know, one of the characteristics of *kebatinan* is a drive to reach unity -- a unity which will encompass all. Furthermore, *kebatinan* views human beings as consisting of two elements, the inner and the outer. Both of these are God-given. The believer considers the inner aspects of his life to be his real life. The outer man is only the body with all of its wants and needs. The mystic calls it *jagad cilik* [materialistic world] and the human spirit must dominate it. Thus, a man already in control of his *jagad cilik* has reached the ultimate level and is king-hero-priest all at the same time. He is a person in control of both his mind and his body. In his own mind he has already achieved a unity with the spiritualism which God ordained. After this uniting, his body also goes through a spiritual process and he reaches a synchronized spiritual and physical accord, at peace with himself and with other men. He is in tune with nature and God -- a true harmony between the spiritual and the physical. Buddha called this attaining Nirvana. The *kebatinan* man thinks of the ideal man as one who works diligently without ulterior motives. Our Javanese brothers are tireless in their pronouncements: *sepi ing pamrih rame ing gawe, amemayu ayuning bawana* (work hard without seeking personal reward, and you will make the world progress), and they spend their lives working as God's messengers in this transitory world. According to Javanese spiritualism, the ideal Indonesian must have the following characteristics: resignation to God's will, willingness to give away his possessions where necessary, and patience -- indeed his life is one of patience and tolerance.

I leave it to you to decide whether or not this ideal man can be found in our country. For hundreds of years various Javanese spiritual ideologies have been among us; have they produced such a man?

Finally, the ideal man of today is said to be one who believes in *Pancasila*. That is to say, what our expert thinkers call an Indonesian is one whose basic life and existence and whose fundamental behavior and character are based on the five principles of *Pancasila*: belief in God, humanitarianism, social justice, democracy, and national unity. The "Pancasilaist" is an ideal man who possesses all the human ideals derived from religious teachings and mythical ideologies as well as ideals derived from political ideologies. Have we seen a *Pancasila* man among us? I leave the answer to you, again.

Besides all of the many religions, philosophies, and mysticisms that have confronted Indonesians, we have also been bombarded with modern science and technology, a variety of political ideologies such as democracy, socialism, communism, etc., and all sorts of value systems from all corners of the world. We have been ravished by the Portuguese, the Spanish, the Dutch, the Japanese, the Chinese, and other peoples, and for the last thirty years by international consumerism and greed-oriented multi-national enterprises, not to mention our own selfish people.

We are also known for our great syncretic powers. We accept the old and the new, and they exist together within our souls. We still pray five times a day, but also make sacrifices to Dewi Sri [Goddess of prosperity] or put flowers and incense under a sacred banyan tree. We go to church and afterwards go to a shrine and ask for blessing. One of our feet is still planted in our animistic culture while the other is in the modern age with all of its rapidly changing values, where we always seem to be at least twenty years behind. Between our two feet are alternating layers of ancient and modern influences. It seems to me that one of our weaknesses is that we lack the initiative to choose among these influences, resulting in their coexistence within us. Asking at the sacred tree or of Dewi Sri has no effect on our feelings as Moslems or Christians. Religious people do not feel awkward or irresponsible when they go to a faith healer or look to prophetic omens in stars, glasses of water, dreams, or prophecy.

For example, I was shocked to read that well-educated men like Sawito and Sujono¹ still look to the mountains or in the forests and caves for *wahyu* [messages from God] from heaven (where in the world is heaven?). After receiving this advice and guidance, they make decisions and take actions. Imagine what happens if our government policy is based on *wahyu* and irrational guidance. What a dangerous way to govern our lives!

What if my imprisonment during Soekarno's regime were based on the following incident: One night either Soekarno or his *dukun* [adviser in

¹In 1976 these men claimed to have received a message from God telling them that Indonesia's leadership should be replaced. So fervent was their belief that one of them, Sawito, drew up a petition to this effect which was signed by several influential men including the former vice president, Mohammad Hatta. This created a political incident which resulted in Sawito being jailed.

mysticism] had a dream that the president was climbing a high mountain. He climbed and then he slipped and fell. The next morning the *dukun* advised Soekarno to be wary of men of great height [like Lubis].

Views on man's existence are many and varied. Islam considers each baby to be a *tabula rasa* -- untouched and holy. Christians think man is born sinful and can only redeem his soul through prayer. Protestants or Calvinists go even further and feel that hard work should be a part of man's service to God. This work ethic is prevalent in European and American businesses. We now have thinkers who have the idea of establishing a *Pancasila* way of life. These people think that *Pancasila* values are all unearthed from our own cultural heritage; an all consuming belief in God Almighty, a just and cultured people, Indonesian unity, harmony among all peoples in our society, and democracy and social justice. Together these values would establish a standard of living which would allow all of the people to pursue their goals. It has been said that Indonesians who have already become Pancasilaists ardently promote both spiritual and physical developments in Indonesia. I hope and pray with all my might that we will succeed in developing these so called Pancasilaists by the year 2000. When this comes about Indonesia will surely be heaven, and each of us will lead a life filled with joy and happiness. But we are not there yet. On the contrary, we still have miles to go. In the meantime we must continue to exist together -- all of us here and all of those millions of people outside this building.

What are we really like today? Do we have the appearance of little monkeys or of Arjuna? Or, are we like Kalongwewel¹ or Princess Sinta²? Suppose that I were a powerful *dukun* who possessed supernatural powers and I could make a magic mirror. If it were put before the Indonesian people of today what would they see? I ask that you, with your very sharp eyesight, join me in looking through this mirror. I hope that you will correct me if I see less or more than is there.

We can generally say that our physical appearance is not disappointing. A great number of foreigners consider us a handsome people. There are plenty of admirers who praise our beautiful features: slender bodies, men with lithe, well muscled frames, cheerful faces, ebony hair -- straight or wavy --, and brown or cream colored complexions. Our women are lovely with refined voices, graceful movements and other attributes. Indonesian men are handsome enough. We can observe the success of the homosexuals in Jakarta selling their prime commodity. If you want to discuss Indonesian women, I would gladly say more about them. The magic mirror reflects no distortion whatsoever there. They are among the most beautiful women in the world.

But, I digress. Let us now use this mirror to examine our inner selves. Will we also see beautiful things there? Yes, we do indeed see some beauty within us. The artists' sensations are acute and

¹A repugnant ghost with long shaggy hair and pendulous breasts.

²Wife of Rama in *The Ramayana*, and a representative of the best qualities of womanhood.

these people are attuned to the environment around them. The artist lives with nature: trees, rivers, the sea, the sky, the stars, the moon, and things full of mystery which seem to escape our ordinary senses. I take great pleasure in observing all of these. The ever-present mystery makes our lives more challenging and interesting than if everything had already been explored, sorted out, charted, and catalogued.

In past ages our great artistic talent and beauty inspired tremendous creative expression throughout the archipelago. Witness the temples, sculptures, wood carvings, basketry, architecture, gold and silver art work, written and oral literature, proverbs, satires, symbolic writings, ceremonies, dance and music, and philosophy.

Due to foreign influence our present-day accomplishments have regressed from those ancient times, yet I feel sure that we still possess these talents and that they would emerge again given the proper artistic climate. Compared with the imaginative and creative expressions of other peoples in the world we have no need to feel inferior. We are their artistic equals.

Something happened, however, in the historical development of the Indonesian people. From the age now called the era of *Jahiliyah* [chaotic pre-Islamic period], when our forefathers still lived in a primitive fashion, Indonesians such as Bataks and Lampungs already had written languages. Several social systems existed then, too. Their values might now be considered unsuitable: for example, the old Batak attitude that enemies felled in a battle or condemned to a death sentence should be eaten by a gathering of all of the people. Consider also the Dayak and West Irian head-hunters. Many experts have conducted detailed examinations of the Batak head-hunters and have concluded that comprehension of legal Batak society is contingent on an in-depth understanding of cannibalism at that time. A person who was killed in a war, or who was executed because he broke the law, had to be consumed by the entire group in order to legalize the killing or the death sentence. In this way strength or supernatural power was taken from the sacrifices.

This is not to say that we uphold these ancient values. We would like to see, for example, the tyranny and slavery which were part of our past disappear entirely from our land. Nevertheless, labeling those times as totally *Jahiliyah* is less than fitting. For instance, during the same period the Javanese, who had not even yet embraced Hinduism, had already developed a society based on their own values, and we should also remember that in ancient times there were villages which were governed by the people -- units of small societies which met together and were ruled democratically. Witness the village system in Minangkabau and the government in Mandailing where the kings actually acted as the fathers of their subjects. Of course, charlatans could always be found among these rulers.

We must note the broadening of Indonesian artistic development during these ancient times. Creativity was given another thrust forward with the introduction of Hinduism which afforded new stimulation to the Sumatrans, the Javanese, and the Balinese. The influence of such religions as Islam and Christianity came later and drastically curbed that artistic creativity -- especially sculpture which had expanded under the ancient Indonesian religions. Take, for example, the attack

by the Paderis on the Tapanulis in Sumatra when the former wanted to spread Islam among the latter at the point of a sword. They destroyed the finest sculpture and forbade the creation of any new works. Later on this same policy was continued by the Christian church in Batak and Karo on the island of Nias, and several eastern Indonesian islands. With the spread of Islam on Java sectors of the population moved to Bali. In West Irian the Christian church also opposed the creation of new sculptures, but several of the American missionaries there, who were also talented traders, did not burn or destroy the existing sculptures. Instead, they sent them off to be sold in the United States.

The Indonesian's attitude toward sex experienced a tremendous change when it came under the scrutiny of Islam and Christianity. For the peoples of Polynesia and Indonesia sex had been very natural. This attitude is still prevalent in the sexual activities of various West Irian tribes which have not yet fully accepted Islam or Christianity. It can also be found in the customs and daily relationships between young men and women in Mandailing and Batak areas which have been labeled flirtatious [*mermayam*]. In some of these tribes even pre-marital relations were allowed.

The power of sexual attraction to Indonesians is reflected in the following poems.

Melayu:

Air dalam bertambah dalam
Hujam dahulu belum lagi teduh

The water continues to rise;
The rain from yesterday still
falls.

Hati dendam bertambah dendam
Dendam dahulu belum lagi sembuh

The yearning in my heart continues,
Even though yesterday's yearning
never ceased.

or:

Berbentung guruh di papan
Kilatnya sampai ke Selayang
Tujuh sorga di dalam badan
Itulah makna kasih sayang

The thunder resounds from the
planks;
The lightning reaches Selayang.
To feel in paradise
Is to be in love.

Sunda:

kamana hambirung jangkung
barang tuwar pilisungeun

Where is the tall *hambirung* tree?
Let me fell it and make a rice
mortar.

kamana nu hideung jangkung
urang syiar pibatureun

Where is the tall handsome man?
I want him for my lover.

ki ranca dijalan ka Kaduguling
pancuran awi sabebek

There is a swamp tree along the
Kaduguling Road;
There is a water fountain
fashioned from a piece of
bamboo.

nyii randa gulang-guling	The widow restlessly twists and turns,
lakian hayang ka dewek	She longs for me desperately.
ngala hunbut ngala jantung	Gather the heart of palm and the banana flower,
ngala ower dikojaan	Gather the banana flower sheath for making a fish net.
hayang imut jeung nu jangkung	I want to enjoy the tall handsome man,
hayang noel ngabogaan	I want to touch and possess him.

Jawa:

Jula juli sarung pekalongan	The <i>jula juli</i> sarong is from Pekalongan;
seringgiti selikur etje	It costs two and a half rupiahs.
dak perduli gendak colongan	It doesn't matter that I stole his mistress for myself;
tak anggit bojoku dewe	I now consider her to be my very own wife.

Melayu:

imbang-imbang di pintu kembang	The flower-covered door is symmetrical.
sayur bayam saya tumiskan	I prepared some stir-fried spinach.
bimbang siang boleh ditahan	In the daytime longing can be restrained
bimbang malam jadi tangisan	At night longing is unbearable.

Mandailing:

muda mandurung ko di pahu	If you net a fish in Pahu River
tampul si mardulang-dulang	You'd best be careful.
muda malungun ko di au	If you are yearning for me
tetep si tumondang bulan	Gaze at the moonlight.

Melayu:

Dimana kuang bertelur	Where does the forest hen lay her egg?
di atas lata di ruang batu	In the roots among the rocks.
Di mana abang nak tidur	Where does the lover sleep?
Di atas dada di ruang susu	Between the breasts of his love.

Minangkabau:

sirambah anak dari pakan
didabieh lalu dipanggangkan

Sirambah, man of the market place,
His body has been mutilated and
scorched.

hamba tidak lengah di adik
siang menjadi angan-angan
malam hari, masuk rasian

I will never forget you.
In the daytime you are my fantasy,
At night you become my dream.

As an example of sexual permissiveness in former times here is another verse:

Ke Teluk sudah, ke Siam sudah

I've been to Teluk, I've been to
Siam --

Ke Mekah saja saya yang belum
Berpeluk sudah, bercium sudah

I've not yet been to Mecca.
I've been embraced, I've been
kissed --

Bernikah saja saya yang belum

I've never yet been married.

Folk tales like the story of Kabayan¹ in West Java clearly show the Indonesian's sexuality and sensuality. The Javanese "drug store" provides a variety of aphrodisiacs and sex manuals. South Sulawesi has come up with some unique sexual paraphernalia, and the men of Kalimantan like to boast of what they call *pasak bumi* [a potion to increase male sexual prowess]. In olden times in some of our tribes men pierced their sexual organs with star-like devices, much as women do their ears, to enhance their partners' sexual pleasure.

We all realize that sexual attraction is a powerful drive and affects any man's behavior. When he is so pressured, all sorts of psychological and complex situations arise. In this way we can see how the oppressive new influences inhibited the creative incentives of our people. There have been a lot of pressures and changes in the sexual activity of the individual Indonesian (at least it looks that way from the outside). Over and above this there were also greater and unfamiliar influences such as the waves of Westerners who came to our shores bringing the values and cultures of their own societies.

Our history is that of an oppressed people. The ancient Indonesian kings were despots who felt that their right to rule was given them by their idols or God. These tyrants could murder at will, and such evil was not considered to be a violation of the law. They held the people's lives in their hands. The kings were thought to have supernatural powers, and their belongings and clothes were possessed of these powers and as such could not be worn or copied by anyone. Our people believed that the kings' powers extended even further and that if they desired they could bring back the dead. They could also return from the grave themselves. In some areas they exercised the "right of the king," or as the French would put it *le droit du seigneur*, to deflower a young virgin who was about to be married.

¹A cunning folk hero who sometimes displays lecherous characteristics.

The old Javanese kings liked to watch fights as a hobby. These contests were usually between wild animals, e.g., tiger against tiger, tiger against water buffalo, but sometimes tiger against condemned prisoner. The arenas where these confrontations took place were surrounded with troops armed with spears four deep to prevent the beast's escape. The officer who opened the starving beast's corral was not allowed to dash to safety once the animal was free. He had to pay homage to the king, and then make a slow and polite exit. If the tiger left his enclosure too quickly and attacked the man, then that poor soldier suffered an unfortunate fate. He had, however, been killed in the line of duty, and perhaps a posthumous gift, a medal, would eventually be awarded to him. If the tiger attacked the guards surrounding the arena, and some of these men were knocked down and killed, that was of no great significance because they were performing their duty by guarding their king who was enjoying the entertainment.

Needless to say here, there were many types of labor which the king and other nobility forced on the populace with no remuneration, not to mention the confiscation of the people's water buffaloes and rice as later reported by Multatuli¹.

It was through various levels of influences, oppressions, and suppressions that we have developed into what we now call Indonesians. There were times during our revolution when we felt that we would be able to free ourselves and our souls from all forms of restriction, oppression, and various other suppressive influences and emerge as new men with spirits intact. In reality very few of us have indeed been successful in throwing off these shackles of the past few centuries.

A prominent Indonesian characteristic is hypocrisy. The man who pretends one thing to a person's face and says another behind his back has been around for a long time, ever since the Indonesians were subject to outside pressure to conceal their true feelings, thoughts, and desires for fear of catastrophic reprisals.

Our feudal system was one of such intense oppression as to stifle all initiative among the people and promote this terrible hypocrisy. In later years several religions were introduced which brought values that raised our spiritual standard of living, but in some sectors, because of the manner in which they came -- using force or power or in cahoots with the colonizers -- religion was never fully nor universally accepted as an element of power to free the Indonesians.

We can see this now in the hypocrisy of our attitude toward sex. Publicly we condemn open sexual activity. Foreign magazines and publications with pictures of nude, or partly nude, bodies must have such illustrations painted over with black ink before they can be sold in Indonesia. This is done to avoid the risk of offending the feelings of decent Indonesians. At the same time we have saunas and massage parlors. We regulate prostitution -- we protect it. We protect the girls and their customers in a variety of ways -- official, semi-official, or private.

¹Pen name of Eduard Dowes Dekker, author of *Max Havelaar*, a novel exposing conditions in Indonesia during Dutch rule.

Because of things like these, Indonesia is ridden with hypocrisy. In our own surroundings we pretend piety, but the moment an Indonesian gets off the plane in Singapore, Hong Kong, Paris, New York, or Amsterdam he hops into a taxi and looks for a night club or goes to a hotel where he orders a porter or a bellboy to find him a girl. He vilifies corruption, but he himself is corrupt.

We all damn corruption, or in the new terminology *komersialisasi jabatan* [bribery, favoritism], but we continue to act corruptly, and this despicable trait becomes more entrenched by the hour. The attitude of such hypocritical Indonesians is just the sort of thing that enabled the intense corruption of Pertamina, the national oil company, to go on for so many years. Although the facts in this case are clear, to this day no legal action has been taken against those important executives who were involved.

We never cease to proclaim that our laws apply equally to all people. In practice, however, the petty thief goes to jail, while the big-time thief is free or in jail for a very short time.

The consequence of this hypocrisy, which is rooted deeper than our colonial past, is that our present-day Indonesians become the practitioners of the ABS [*Asal Bapak Senang* -- a "yes-man" mentality] principle. This ABS attitude may be traced back to feudal rule when the lords oppressed the people and had no regard for Indonesia's values. The people hid behind figurative masks to protect themselves from the demands of these rulers. To protect their lives people were compelled to be dishonest with themselves by always saying, "Yes, Your Majesty; yes, Your Grace; yes, My Lady; yes, master; yes, boss; yes, sir; etc."

The hypocritical attitude, which was instilled in Indonesians by other Indonesians who were stronger and more oppressive and who squeezed, robbed, and violated our people, became further intensified by foreign powers. The Portuguese and Spanish, who were in turn followed by the Dutch, treated large sectors of our people with cruelty and harshness. This drove hypocrisy even deeper into the Indonesians. They behaved more hypocritically in order to "survive" -- a term popular today in our country. People have become continually more clever in hiding their true words, feelings, thoughts, and even convictions. We have begun to learn to say "no" in so many ways that the actual word "no" has become quite unfamiliar to us. This holds true with any kind of dissent. Disagreement and criticism are expressed in devious ways. Right up to this moment, and I don't know how long it's going to last, this attitude continues to exist in the hearts of the Indonesians. The leaders are eager to be praised and the followers eager to praise.

Our country's struggle for freedom brought the promise of democracy to glorify and maintain the people's freedom, dignity, equality for all, piety, and social and economic justice, yet the entire nation goes along with and takes part in this hypocritical farce. The sultan, whom we once glorified with the title Lord, we now address as *bapak* [originally father, now also means a higher ranking or older man]. In truth, this matter of the father-child relationship is not an element of democracy in our culture. The father is the authority figure and the child must obey, right? This attitude also encourages intellectual treason in our country.

Second Characteristic

The second characteristic prominent among Indonesians today is a tendency for "buck-passing." "I didn't do it" has become an all too common Indonesian expression. There is a shift of responsibility concerning errors, things inadequately done, and things done poorly. Blame for wrongdoing, irregularity, or failure is passed on to a subordinate who in turn passes it to another subordinate and downward a hundredfold. Throughout our history we can count on the fingers of one hand those leaders who were brave and moral enough to accept the responsibility for the wrongdoing which occurred under their reigns.

In dealing with the attitude of not wanting to take the responsibility for the things that go wrong, the subordinate also has an answer. He is always quick to defend himself with, "I only did what my boss told me to do!" In the final analysis the "I didn't do it" and "I only did what the boss told me to" attitudes leave no one responsible for failures.

We can use Pertamina as a prime example of this irresponsible attitude. Hundreds of millions of dollars of our country's wealth was corrupted and various violations of law and regulations were carried out by a variety of officials beginning with the director, Ibnu Sutowo, on down, and yet not one person has ever been prosecuted. According to *The Herald Tribune* of December 24, 1976, Ibnu Sutowo acknowledged to a court in New York, which was conducting a case against a Panama business managed by a Mr. Bruce Rappaport (a business associate of Ibnu Sutowo), that he had violated Indonesian law when he became a member of the advisory council of the Geneva Inter-maritime Bank. Rappaport held shares in that bank (and there is a good chance that Sutowo was also involved there). It was said that Ibnu Sutowo had signed 1600 promissory notes without first reading them. He gave them to Bruce Rappaport to soothe nervous business associates. He admitted also that he had asked Rappaport for a loan of two and a half million dollars and then put that money in a private bank account and never repaid the loan. How generous of Mr. Rappaport -- if Ibnu's story was true. But we can see here that the money must have been intended for distribution among those involved.

On the other hand, when there is a successful accomplishment, Indonesians are not reluctant to step forward and receive gold stars, applause, letters of praise, medals, etc. If, however, we examine a list of these gold star or even guerilla star recipients, we can see that the majority of those who were given this "Great Son" medal, and other similar tokens of their value, were members of the *bapak* class. The small time officials, or those of even lower rank, who diligently endure all sorts of life's difficulties seldom get the rewards which are due them.

Third Characteristic

The third main characteristic of Indonesians is a feudalistic mentality. Although one of the aims of our revolution was to free our people from feudalism, new forms of it are constantly springing up in our society. This feudalistic attitude can be seen in our official state ceremonies and in the relationships within civil servants' groups. These relationships are clearly reflected in the leadership of women's organizations. In military or civil servants' women's associations, for instance, it is the wives of the top men who are elected to be leaders. The commander's wife and the minister's wife automatically become chairmen, not because of their abilities, leadership talents, knowledge, expertise, or even their devotion to their groups.

The development of the feudalistic spirit sparkles and grows in high as well as low circles. In high circles it carries the connotation of the English word "expect." Thus it contains an element of compulsion in that it calls for people to be beneath the feudalistic person. It is all a matter of rank, power, and position which are closely tied to one's level in the system or to wealth. The vassals serve the lords for a number of reasons and in a number of ways; they show obedience, respect, fear; they humble themselves, are overly polite, know their places and accept them; and they never miss an opportunity to please the *bapak*. In short, they must behave with an ABS mentality and suppress any activities which might displease *bapak*. Obviously, feudalism is a two-way street.

There is nothing more ridiculous than the role of telephones in Indonesian society. Once a friend told me this story. He wanted to telephone a bigwig. A secretary answered his call and he asked to speak with her boss. She replied, "Do you have an appointment?" He was amazed and said, "What, you mean I need an appointment for a phone call!" The problem is that many people feel that a direct telephone call to a person in an important position smacks of discourtesy. Our feudalistic mind dictates that the ease of using a phone indicates a diminishing of respect. The polite way to contact a VIP is to go in person to meet him. The waiting may take from several days to several weeks. The longer one waits, the more prestigious the person who keeps him waiting. A secretary would proudly announce that if you want an appointment with *bapak* so and so it won't be easy. The shortest wait is two weeks. He is busy all the time and works tirelessly.

We say that we want modernization, we want to implement modern technology, we want to make more use of the Palapa Satellite¹, we want more telephone communications, and yet to place a phone call to an executive or an official in a higher position is considered disrespectful. Ridiculous, isn't it?

The civil service in Mentawai orders young men to cut their hair short as part of the process to modernize the Mentawai tribe. At the

¹Advanced communications satellite purchased by the Indonesian government.

same time the men, young and old, in Jakarta are wearing their hair long. In Fiji students attend school half-naked. That's modernization. In West Irian the loincloth is no longer worn, but in Jakarta nightclub strippers are featured attractions.

This feudalistic mentality has always exerted pressure on the Indonesian attitude toward authority. In ancient days the king's power was believed to be an extension of God's power. In those times Malay people were forbidden to wear anything yellow because that color signified the king's power. This sacred yellow quality applied not only to the king, but to his entire family and even to his possessions such as his sword, his kris, his clothes, and his *destar* [Malay or Sumatran head-dress]. It was believed that the Javanese kings had God-given vision, and therefore, they could do no wrong and all that they spoke was truth. As long as they adhered to these divine revelations their actions and words would always be correct. This held true for all Indonesians throughout our archipelago. The kings of ancient Java, Bali, Sumatra, Sulawesi, and the Malay Peninsula all had this type of ruler-subject relationship. It continues right up to today. The king's title has given way to president, minister, general, secretary general, director general, university president, governor, president or director of a large privately owned business, plantation manager, etc. Although their forms have changed, feudalistic relationships are alive and well in Indonesian society.

Those in power do not like to be criticized, and their subordinates are very reluctant to criticize them. The result is the same as before. The power center maintains very little communication with the common people. Their relationship is from top to bottom, and is strictly on a one-way street.

A situation like this complicates the development processes of our people and our society in today's world since the well being of a people or a society depends heavily on how ineptly or how efficiently a country absorbs economic, political, technical knowledge, etc. The outlook for correcting this lord-vassal relationship either from the top down or from the bottom up presents a rather bleak outlook. If the person in power feels that something which he considers displeasing is taking place, he will normally take repressive action. The efforts and processes involved in preventing the development of an undesirable situation, however, seem to be thoroughly understood by each sector, yet it is virtually impossible to change anything in this feudalistic-type situation. The underling is afraid to suggest new and different ideas which might contrast with those of the "establishment." He lacks the courage to express criticism or reminders to a superior that that person is proceeding on the wrong track. Likewise, he lacks the nerve to present any facts which might displease the *bapak*. The *bapak* is content with the feudalistic attitude that power is synonymous with wisdom and ingenuity -- all-knowing and all-perfect.

Fourth Characteristic

The fourth main Indonesian characteristic is belief in superstition. Not only in early days, but now as well, there are those of us who still believe that stones, mountains, beaches, rivers, lakes, coral, trees, statues, buildings, kris, knives, and swords all have mysterious powers. Man must somehow establish a special relationship with these things. In order to please the spirits and prevent their alienation, they must be worshipped and offered sacrifices. Graves must be sprinkled with water and flowers, covered with yellow, red, or white cloth, and someone must read a prayer, bring a tribute or sacrifice, and ask for a blessing.

Indonesians believe in auspicious and inauspicious times. They believe, too, in a variety of nature's omens. If a crow circles above a house everyone within is terrified since it is supposed to mean a death will occur in that home. It is tabu to pass under a clothesline. If it is unavoidable, the person going under the line must throw a stone over it. Tigers are sacred. There are those among us who believe that their forefathers were tigers, and if these people are in the forest they dare not utter the word "tiger." In Minangkabau the tiger is called "Granny," because these people are afraid of possible retaliation if the animal is referred to otherwise.

The kris is considered very sacred. It is carefully washed, bathed in incense vapors, and given sheaths of silk or velvet. Many people are afraid to hold a kris, let alone to possess one. If the holder's personality and that of the kris are not in harmony, the kris will bring trouble to the holder. There are, however, good luck kris which can guard souls and wealth. There are kris which can cause their owners to be invulnerable and invisible in battle. There are also kris which can fly from one place to another. In addition to kris, there are other weapons and objects which are considered to be sacred, supernaturally powerful, and can protect or betray a person.

Indonesians believe in all sorts of ghosts, monsters, genies, and supernatural beings. We also believe in the sacredness of gamelans and gongs which can be played only at certain times.

Lycanthropy, the belief that man can change his physical appearance into that of an animal, is commonly accepted throughout our country. On Java, the Sundanese believe in *ngepet*, that is, a belief that people change into pigs, dogs, or other animals in order to become rich [for instance, by stealing money from others]. In Sumatra, too, people believe that human beings have the ability to change their physical appearance.

These beliefs lead Indonesians to become expert symbol-makers. Many believe in amulets and magic formulas. We put offerings and flowers in the four corners of our yards to chase away ghosts. To avoid bad luck or disaster we throw seven kinds of flowers into the middle of a crossroad. We compose incantations and recite them, and, along with the amulets, they make us feel that we have done our best to insure our good health and happiness.

Even now modern, educated Indonesians still make talismans, repeat incantations, and create symbols. One of our country's most powerful

symbol-makers was none other than the late ex-president Soekarno. During the Japanese occupation his chants of *Amerika Kita Seterika* [Flatten America] and *Inggeris Kita Linggis* [Gouge the British] caused many Indonesians to become intoxicated with the idea that we were indeed powerful enough to do these things. Later, under his own rule, his mantras became even greater, e.g.; Nekolim¹, Vivere Pericoloso², Berdikari³, Jarek⁴, Usdek⁵, Resopim⁶, and so on, until we came to a time when we were free of his visions and realized that all of his incantations and amulets were void of meaning.

Later we made new slogans and sayings -- new talismans; Tritura⁷, Ampera⁸, the new order, rule of law, fight against corruption, prosperity and justice for all, and intellectual development. Indonesians are very much inclined to believe in symbols, mottos, and sayings which they themselves create. Our country is based on *Pancasila*. We all say this and then we stop and smugly sit back fully satisfied that, having expressed it, we have therefore created a *Pancasila* society. It is no different from a magician who says abracadabra and pulls a rabbit from his hat. Yet *Pancasila* has still to be reflected in our country's legislation as far as taxes on wealth and inheritance, guarantees for social welfare, guarantees for the sick and the old, and laws requiring equal educational opportunities for rich and poor alike are concerned.

¹ Acronym for *Neokolonialisme* -- neo-colonialism.

² To **Live** Dangerously -- from the title of Soekarno's speech of August 17, 1965.

³ Acronym for *Berdiri di atas Kaki Sendiri* -- Standing on one's own feet, from Soekarno's August 17, 1965 speech.

⁴ Acronym for *Jalannya Revolusi Kita* -- The March of Our Revolution.

⁵ Acronym for *Undang-Undang Dasar 1945, Socialisme Indonesia, Demokrasi Terpimpin, Ekonomi Terpimpin, Kepribadian Indonesia* -- The 1945 Constitution, Indonesian Socialism, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy, Indonesian Identity.

⁶ Acronym for *Revolusi, Socialisme (Indonesia), Pimpinan Nasional* -- Revolution, (Indonesian) Socialism, National Leadership. Title of Soekarno's 1961 Independence Day address.

⁷ Acronym for *Tri Tuntutan Rakyat* -- The Three Demands of the People. These demands which were made in 1966 were: 1) Demand to ban the Communist Party, 2) Demand to reconstitute the cabinet, and 3) Demand to lower prices.

⁸ Acronym for *Amanat Penderitaan Rakyat*, Message of the People's Suffering. Title of a speech Soekarno delivered to the cabinet in July 1966.

Indonesians are inclined to believe that if these things have already been thought of, discussed, and agreed upon then the result of the plan is already realized. I am convinced that drawers in government offices and private organizations are filled with documents and reports of decisions arrived at in meetings, committees, and councils which have never been executed.

We now create superstitions from a variety of things in our modern world. Modernization is a new superstition, as is economic development. Models from industrial nations are held up as superstitions and as such are new symbols with all the attending amulets or mantras which are associated with increasing the gross national product or the gross domestic product. Yet all the time we fail to see the damage to our values and our well being. We are blind to the ruining and poisoning of our environments and our natural resources by the progressive economies and technologies of the developed countries. Technology, modernization, planning, industrialization, production, modern science, and multi-national corporations are our new mantras and symbols today. We say little about just and equal distribution and fail to examine closely the negative side of all that we wish to imitate and bring into our society.

If we say the word "modernization," a picture usually comes into our minds. We visualize large factories with tall chimneys which belch thick, black smoke into the atmosphere, cars and trucks zig-zagging on infinite freeways, and giant cities filled with skyscrapers. Who wouldn't like to brag about the Wisma Nusantara as the tallest building in Southeast Asia? In our mind's eye we see TV sets, electronic devices, and a variety of small appliances for home and office. We also visualize every Indonesian owning a car, a motorcycle, an air-conditioned house, and so on. We imagine these things because we are exposed to international consumerism through advertising in newspapers, TV, movies, and billboards. Take for example that brewery ad which tries to persuade us that the modern man drinks beer. If this is our dream of modernization, then we had better wake up quickly because, for us, it is not within the realm of possibility. Even if it were possible, it would bring disaster to each and every Indonesian and lead our society up a blind alley as it has done to the rich, industrial, progressive nations.

Think about these statistics. At present 1/3 of the people living in luxury-oriented, progressive, industrial nations consume 3/4 of the crops harvested in the world. Agricultural science and technology were developed in these rich nations. In the United States the farmer actually receives a subsidy for not planting certain crops in order to maintain high market prices. In that country people throw food away while in other countries people are starving. Ironically, we don't talk much about the fate of human beings. We get used to not practicing what we preach.

All of this is reflected in our language. It would be very interesting, for example, to conduct an examination of the Indonesian pattern of reactions to various incidents, words, and symbols. S.I. Hayakawa calls this reaction pattern "semantic habits." Usually semantics and vocabularies are accumulations of all of our education, both good and bad, beginning with parental reactions since earliest childhood. Our education includes all that they taught us, all of our

formal education, and all of the lectures, speeches, and conversations we have heard. It also takes in radio, TV, movies, books, newspapers, picture books, magazines, and all conversations with our friends and acquaintances and draws from all of our experiences.

The dictionary defines semantics as the science of word meanings. Hayakawa agrees that this definition is satisfactory provided that we do not consider that looking for the meanings of words begins and ends in the dictionary. Semantics is not looking for the meaning of words which are made clearer by using other words. As Nobel Prize winner Bridgeman, a nuclear expert, wrote, "A word's meaning can be found only in examining what a person does with that word and not what he says with it." For example, if I say that this table weighs 30 kilograms, then what I say can be proven on a scale. But, if I say that I am going to establish the "rule of law," or develop people's values or human independence, or that I am going to create a *Pancasila* society with equal prosperity and justice for all, or say that in our country we have a responsible free press, how would you measure or investigate the truth of what I say? You cannot measure it with a scale or a meter box.

Here is another illustration. An executive examined a job application. Under education the applicant had written LLB. The executive immediately threw the application into the wastebasket. He was turned off by the symbol LLB, because in his opinion an LLB was worthless. He had a semantic reaction to the words and toward the sign and slogan. He displayed a human response to language.

According to Hayakawa a basic premise of semantics is that the meanings of words and symbols are not found in the words themselves, but rather in our semantic reactions to those words.

How do people respond to the words *Pancasila*, democracy, new order, Ampera, Tritura, abolition of corruption, justice, freedom, rights of man, rule of law, police, public prosecutor, judge, director general, minister, general, top executive, and oil? Upon reading or hearing these words do people react by discarding the newspapers they are reading or turning off the radios and TVs to which they are listening?

Will Indonesians continue as a people of mantras, slogans, and symbols or as a people who can accomplish and create things? Will we remain a nation of people who play with words which eventually cease to have any meaning for both speaker and listener? Again, I leave it to you.

Fifth Characteristic

A fifth prime characteristic of the Indonesian is that he is artistic. Because his life is closely attuned to spirit, soul, and the supernatural power of things around him, the Indonesian is virtually united with nature. He lives by instinct, feelings, and sensuality, all of which develop an astute artistic ability. This ability is evidenced in all sorts of beautiful creations and handicrafts which the artist produces in a multitude of forms, colors, and variations. For hundreds of years right up to present times, Indonesian artistic creations have been going out of our country. Museums in the United States, Europe, and other countries proudly collect our copper work, weaving, batik, stone and wood statues, wood carvings, Lampung, Batak, Toraja, and Sumba weavings, Balinese carvings, and intricate gold and silver work from the Moluccas and Kalimantan.

Our music, dancing, and folklore reveal the rich and fertile imagination of our people which results in tremendous creativity. To me the artistic characteristic of Indonesians is the most interesting and fascinating of all. It is both a resource and a focus for the future of Indonesia.

Sixth Characteristic

The sixth Indonesian characteristic is an indecisive disposition. This type of person lacks strength in defending and fighting for his beliefs. He is rash and is prepared to alter his convictions, especially if pressured. In this personality we can clearly observe the symptoms of the prostitution of our society.

Such behavior occurred during Soekarno's reign of madness, when he disregarded all scientific principles in order to achieve his "revolution," and again during the Japanese occupation. Soekarno once said that inflation was good as long as it was for Indonesian revolution. At the time he fell from power our country's rate of inflation had reached 650% per annum. Our nation was bankrupt and our populace disorganized. During those years, when Soekarno commented on the value of inflation, our economic experts applauded and approved our great revolutionary leader's brilliant idea. There was also an economist then who praised Marxist principles (of which he himself was not convinced), but later when Soekarno fell this same economist spoke highly of the "free market" economy -- a way to avoid saying capitalist economy.

During the Japanese occupation the late Dr. Prijono¹ allowed himself to be exploited. He put together a propaganda booklet for the Japanese Army to use in their deception of the Indonesians. The professor wrote for a military publication....."The Emperor feels toward the people as a father feels towards his children. A father would truly seek happiness and safety for his children not only with kind words but with sincere honest feelings borne out in his character and behavior..." Prijono continued that throughout Japanese history, which goes back 2604 years, there never was an emperor nor a Japanese nobleman who used his authority to oppress his people or to attain his selfish desires as sometimes happened in other countries, especially in Europe, and also in Asia.

This is totally false. The Japanese authors themselves write much about Japanese rulers' abuse of power toward their own people. One of their main themes is the samurai terror tactics used against the people and the noblemen's struggle for power at the sacrifice of the common man. Scholars of Dr. Prijono's caliber should have known better than to have produced such a fabrication.

Characteristic instability such as Dr. Prijono displayed is a product of our feudalistic society. It presents a different side from the ABS mentality -- keeping those in power happy while saving one's own skin. For keeping Indonesians happy today we have a new outlook called *tepo sliro* [knowing one's place]. It is no different, however, and creates instability on both sides -- the strong and the weak.

Other Characteristics

Regarding other characteristics, let me start with another of the undesirable ones. The Indonesian is wasteful. He is not an "economic animal." As a matter of fact he is very good at spending money he has not yet received, or that which he never will receive. He is inclined to be extravagant. He enjoys dressing well, displaying his finery, and partying. Today this tendency is manifested in luxurious houses, cars, big parties, exclusive use of foreign-made products, playing golf -- in short anything which indicates wealth.

Today's Indonesian shuns work except when necessary. There is a tendency now for everyone to aspire to become an instant millionaire -- much as Americans make instant tea. He wants so much to get an academic degree that the Indonesian is willing to forge or buy a diploma which will in turn lead to his promotion to a higher level and eventually

¹Early nationalist who held various high government positions including that of Minister of Education.

put him in a position that will enable him to get rich.

Becoming a white-collar worker or a civil servant is the Indonesian's goal because government affiliation is such an important status symbol to him. People do not become civil servants because of any desire to serve the common people, nor to help society progress. We can witness both high and low officials' distaste for being transferred from Java or from large cities. We now even have symbolic terms for this; *kering* vs. *basah* and *kurus* vs. *gemuk* [hard vs. easy money-making locations].

With few exceptions there is currently a lack of interest in entering private business. As a matter of fact, what the Indonesian is striving for today is to become a composite of three P's; 1) to be a *penguasa* [a man of power within the government], 2) to moonlight as a *pengusaha* [a business man], and 3) where possible to have *pengetahuan* [to be knowledgeable in what he does]. These three P's are our present ideal. This relationship pattern between authority and the entrepreneur had been in our culture before the advent of the Dutch East India Company. During Dutch rule it was further strengthened when the colonizers cooperated with the Chinese businessmen rather than with the native merchants.

The younger generation is no exception. They all want to get rich quick, have high-ranking positions, be topnotch journalists, become class A authors, well-known artists, or become champions of this or champions of that. They want to accomplish this with very little effort and no time spent suffering.

Our people have become much less patient. The complainer has become a common character in our society. He is not, however, brave enough to complain openly, but only in his home or among those friends who are sympathetic to his feelings.

The Indonesian is also jealous of those who seem to be more successful than he is. He looks unhappily on those who have progressed farther, are richer, have a higher position, have more power, are brighter, and are more famous. The result here is the emergence of the "cheap detective." He appears on every street corner, and his reports are used to bring about the downfall of those whom his employers dislike or of whom they are suspicious.

When men and women are chosen to be included on a list of well-dressed people they are very proud. At the same time they know that such a choice is without any basis at all. There are 130 million people in Indonesia and say half of them are adults. How could it be possible to choose from so many those who are the best dressed? But the winners are proud and happy to be famous.

To feel happy and proud about such meaningless things forms a part of all of our unfulfilled symbols and slogans. Pearls of wisdom are to be found in Indonesian ethnic literature, knowledge, and our own high standards. It is a pity they were never adhered to -- in old times or now. Ki Hadjar Dewantara¹ never tired of saying:

¹ Founder of the Taman Siswa educational system which emphasized that students learn about their Indonesian heritage.

It is better to live as a syrup vendor, but happy, than as a rich man, but suffering.

Who wants to hear Ki Hadjar Dewantara now? Doesn't our slogan today advise, "You would be a fool to waste an opportunity. If you don't take it now, then when?"

Once a minister told me that today's philosophy is that of *kebeneran* [to be in the inner circle, in the right place at the right time]. Even if you are *benar* [correct], but not *kebeneran*, then you will be considered wrong. On the other hand, if you are wrong, but *kebeneran*, you will be considered right.

The Indonesian can also be said to be easily carried away with his success. If he has power, he easily becomes drunk with it. If he is rich, he becomes drunk with wealth, and greedy. To be specific take the case of the *Dolog*¹ in Kalimantan. When he was at the height of his glory, he became cocky and acted as though he were the most extraordinary man in the world.

The Indonesian is also a copier. His individuality is weak, and he copies any foreigner who catches his fancy. Many Indonesians became whining cowboys when this American prototype was in style, and others became wistful hippies when it was the season for flower children. Outside influences have a strong effect on us. Imported products are always more appealing than our own.

I feel that we must be honest in admitting that the Indonesian possesses various undesirable traits. He can be cruel, fail to control his temper, run amok, commit murder, commit arson, commit treason, oppress others, blackmail, deceive, steal, be corrupt, be malicious, and be hypocritical. In bringing out these miserable characteristics I feel that the Indonesian appears no better nor worse than peoples of other nations in the world.

The Indonesians' traits which differ from other peoples' are an inclination toward laziness because of his natural surroundings, living only from day to day, and a laxity in saving for tomorrow or giving much consideration to the future. However, to say that the Indonesian lacks an understanding of practical things is untrue, as evidenced in this Malay proverb that goes:

berdandang biduk hilir,
sedang berdiang nasi masak.

Going downstream on a boat we sing,
warming up our bodies while cooking.

The Indonesian is logical enough. If we study the adages of our ancestors we see that their thinking was indeed sharp and logical. It is because his animistic beliefs weaken his scientific inquiry that the Indonesian ends up applying his logic to the wrong premises. For

¹Refers to Budiadji, a chief, who was prosecuted for the embezzlement of six billion rupiahs.

example, when Mt. Merapi erupts the Indonesian believes the gods are angry and he must make offerings to quiet the active volcano. In an eclipse he must beat a large drum, a pregnant woman must hide under her bed, and incantations must be chanted and then the sun will reappear. If there is an epidemic it is because demons or other evil spirits are angry, and again the Indonesian gives offerings. The problem here is not that the Indonesian lacks logic, but the premises on which he bases his conclusions are wrong. Cause and effect are confused. Our society is still influenced by "left-over attitudes," and they make us slow to understand the relationship between cause and effect.

This is all reinforced by an acquiescent attitude; belief in predestination, in fate -- God has predetermined everything. This deters the Indonesian's acceptance of logic. Thus, if the people suffer from a yearly flood, they will merely heave a sigh and piously accept the trials put upon them by God Almighty. Only a few people take into account the possibility that the flooding could have been a result of mistakes or carelessness on the part of the persons whose duty it was to protect and clean the estuary, river, and dike or those who should have conserved the forest rather than cut down all the trees.

Another Indonesian characteristic is the "I don't much care what happens to others as long as it doesn't affect me or those close to me." A person looks upon himself as uninvolved and, as such, a disinterested party. It is as though he lacks a real interest in anyone else's existence. We can see this in practice. It is not unusual for the authorities to arrest someone and detain him for a long time before bringing him to trial. When the detainee finally appears in court the judge may decide to drop the whole matter, neglecting to take into account the fact that the man has already spent time in jail. There is no way the detainee can touch the official responsible for his false arrest.

Those men, especially in the Indonesian bureaucracy, are so entrenched in the bureaucratic system that they seem to have lost all interest in humanity. If by contrast, however, a petitioner knows an official personally, or he is a friend or relative, then the bureaucrat can be understanding and change the situation completely.

If we look at the real characteristics of the Indonesian people, we will see that this could not always have been the case. Indonesian society is one which developed from rice production based on the technology of a crop grown in a wet paddy. This required an elaborate irrigation system which had to be both regulated and protected and which consequently called for great cooperation. There was mutual aid, everyone looking out for everyone else with all of society's structures rooted in the tribe. The tribes subscribed to exogamous marriage systems (marriage was strictly forbidden within the tribe). Because marriage was based on the exchange of men and women between tribes, more intimate tribal relationships were fostered. The foundation of the tribal intermarriage system kept our ancient society from developing a power center, simply because each tribe wanted to retain its own autonomy.

With the advent of Hinduism, feudalism got a big boost. Hinduism brought in a more regulated life-style, "socio-cosmic dualism," a relationship between micro and macro cosmos. In the macrocosmos the god Indra was in the center flanked by four other gods located at the

four points of the compass. They were surrounded in turn by thirty-two other gods. Hindu-Javanese society reflected this macrocosmos by placing the king's palace in the center of the grounds. The king (who held the power of a worldly god) was in the palace flanked by four ministers and thirty-two officials from all corners of the country.

When Islam was introduced, Hindu-Javanese feudalism changed very little. The Javanese king who represented a god remained in the center of the society, but was now given the title of Sultan and the additional title of *Khalifah'tullah*, implying that he held a mandate from God. Thus the Islamic kings, in Java and elsewhere, were also sacred. There was no real change from the previous era.

Deep in the Indonesian's soul, however, there still exists a harmony of human relationships that existed in those ancient times. For example, when the newspaper *Indonesia Raya* asked for contributions to aid a Chinese youth who had had hydrochloric acid thrown in his face, the response was tremendous. Within a short time several million rupiahs flowed into the editor's office. When the paper wrote about a student who could not walk because of a severe beating, a generous Indonesian donated a wheel chair to him and Merpati Airlines flew the chair and a reporter to Kutaraja at no charge. Social agencies and newspapers could cite many more similar examples.

Another characteristic basic to our Indonesian culture is the love of parents for their children and vice versa. This love, as long as it is not overshadowed by one's outside interests, is a fragile Indonesian value which we must maintain. The Indonesian is basically soft-hearted and peace-loving. He also has a good sense of humor and is able to laugh in the face of trouble and suffering. The Indonesian is quick to learn and is observant. He is easily trained in those skills requiring the use of his hands. He is also a man of unbounded patience, which can sometimes be a fault. Therefore, besides the ugly face which I have drawn, it is also true that the Indonesian possesses model qualities which can be further developed.

After we have gazed at our reflection to our satisfaction, let's see if what we observe in the mirror compares with our own view of ourselves as Indonesians. Our personalities, characteristics, attitudes, and values are all molded by the surrounding society and various symbols. These influences result in an Indonesian who shows one face to the world and another, which he often denies, to himself. For example, a man of power likes to appear as a servant of the people, a lover of the common man, a supporter of human freedom and the rule of law, honest, and in favor of all things which are good for the general welfare of all people. But suppose this leader is actually malicious, selfish, power-hungry, egotistical, and cowardly. He would certainly not want the public to see this undesirable side of his personality. Many people manage to hide such vices and keep their constituents unaware of them. All of such a person's actions and attitudes, however, will be influenced by both faces whether or not he denies or suppresses one of them.

Let us start our comparison with the ideal Indonesian according to the Javanese philosophy. One of the main goals in life here is to follow the principle: "Hard work with no thought of profit will better the world." This is personified in the wise knight, people who have already controlled their own *jagag cilik* and themselves, the commander

who acts as a dispenser of wisdom, the scholar who understands the secret of life -- man's beginning and end --, and those who live in the world and yet continue to consider themselves apart from it. Thus, the pure man goes through life as a divine messenger, indeed a great messenger of God. This is an Indonesian face which clearly does not agree with what we have been scrutinizing in the mirror. It is actually a face of man that appears only in dreams -- one he will never truly achieve. It is that conceited pretense which is unattainable.

Man is shaped by his surroundings, his society, the nature of his life and various standards encouraged by society, the people in his community, education, and models which are picked up at school, at home, and from friends. Can people exist in the great world and still dominate their own small worlds while from day to day they face all sorts of persuasive influences such as a thousand Chinese merchants who offer chests of money and gold, bank accounts everywhere, Mercedes Benz 350s or Rolls Royces? Such influences could also include a woman in Hong Kong, New York, Paris, or Geneva, cooperation with multi-national businesses, luxury homes with imported Italian marble floors, thousands of hectares of land with livestock, golf with the international jet-set, waves of advertising and commercial propaganda, and international consumerism which comes to us through the press, radio, TV, and movies and which spreads from the large cities into the interior areas, the mountains, and the valleys.

How can people change themselves if their surrounding society does not change, if their values do not change, and if their symbols and mottos are not fulfilled? In short, if our feudal, semi-feudal, and neo-feudal societies, with all the attending characteristics which I have mentioned, are not consciously altered, then it will not be possible for the Indonesian to change and develop, to become a man of strong personality and character with the values and attitudes which he needs to face today's world in order to save his country and continue into the next century. With fluctuating personalities, as well as all of the characteristics we saw reflected earlier, I am seriously concerned that our people will be left behind. What is more unfortunate is that we will become victims in the development of the modern world.

Our syncretic upbringing, which is partly caused by "knowing one's place," means that we easily accept all sorts of paradoxes which have ambiguous meanings. We do not like to look at each other's opposing characteristics, but are inclined to look for each other's complementary characteristics. As a result we feel happy and comfortable discussing one thing and later doing the opposite of what we just said. We accept all sorts of things which are contradictory. For example, we say that we obey the rule of law, but at the same time we blithely break it. This is reflected in our languages, especially Javanese and Sundanese which have honorific levels, etc. In other ethnic groups this is reflected in such feudalistic holdovers as: "My Lord," "His Majesty," "Your slave," and also in colors and clothing which were reserved exclusively for royalty.

Our language has already absorbed words which were used during the Japanese occupation to address the emperor or Japanese military leaders. Take for example the word *berkenan*, which literally means "to be pleased" but came to be used only when referring to people of higher levels. Thus we would say, "The Emperor *berkenan* to announce this or

that," or "The high military official *berkenan* with this or that." We go blindly on still using such words. Now, the president *berkenan* to open such and such a factory or the minister *berkenan* to open a conference, as if the leaders who are carrying out their duties and obligations, were doing their jobs as favors and out of kindness and generosity for the people.

The very use of these words alone has a damaging effect on our understanding concerning the relationship of the governor and the governed in the democratic society which we are trying to establish. In the use of Indonesian we now see reflected our dislike and fear of clarity and openness. We no longer "raise" but now "adjust" a price. A newspaper wrote in large-type headlines about a non-bloc high-level conference in Colombo: ACCOMPLISHMENTS NOT DISAPPOINTING BUT NOT SATISFACTORY EITHER.

We are diligent in asking VIP blessings for anything that we do.

We have changed the word prison to Rehabilitation Center. In practice we have only made a new empty symbol. Ah, how beautiful the words Rehabilitation Center. It is as though, while in there, those evaders of the law and wrongdoers were undergoing a rehabilitation process for educating them to return to the outside world as good and useful members of society. But is that what actually happens? There is no rehabilitation process going on during detention in our prisons. Prisons, or Rehabilitation Centers, are one and the same, and as such form a cadre for performing all sorts of evil doings. Apprentice pickpockets, leaving the prison in four or fourteen months, have become superior pickpockets. A robber, or home or store burglar, comes out with new technology and more skill. The con man will be more clever and deceitful. We have, therefore, only changed a name, and not done anything to fulfill the promise of that new name with any insights encouraging the inmates to become good citizens and thus be more useful to themselves and to society. We do not create a new and fresh climate in our prisons and we totally fail to present any new opportunities. On the contrary, the prisons of the free and *Pancasila*-oriented Indonesia are more foul than they were during Dutch colonization. This holds true whether one is talking about food, treatment, or attention to detainees or prisoners. We sorely need reform and change in this matter.

Under the Dutch Colonial Civil Service, when the wind of Holland's ethics blew strong, a moral attitude was urged based on ethical values for serving society and government. The ideal was once again the Javanese slogan, "Work hard with no thought of profit and the world will become better." The Dutch awarded yearly gold and silver stars to loyal and hard-working civil servants. Besides these civil servants, however, there was another group whose members were also products of Dutch education and learning. Although they, too, went through the Dutch educational system, they were disliked by the colonials and were classified by the Dutch Secret Police as half-wits, sly dogs, reprobates, and argumentative and quarrelsome brawlers. This group included people like Soekarno, Hatta, Sjahrir, Mangunkusumo, Ki Hadjar Dewantara, and thousands of others who were exiled to Boven Digul and Tanah Merah and other remote places.

Nowadays, in addition to the Communist Party, those who are considered the people's enemies are those who are labeled as the "new left," "subversives," those who oppose law and order, those who disturb

peace and security, and international humanists. This attitude encourages the "cheap detectives" to go on making their ABS reports.

The names change and the symbols change, but in actuality little else changes. We are still chained by the old fetters, but with a new label. As a result we are incapable of looking ahead to the future, and we lack a clear perception of what is happening in the world around us. We are still unsure of what national goals we wish to pursue, apart from the casting of abstract slogans like *Pancasila* society, *Pancasila* men, etc. We remain tied to our mantras and symbols. We are either spellbound or weary, but powerless to face up to expressions like "common people," "people's struggle," "spirit of the 45 revolution," "independence," "sovereignty of the common people," "freedom of mankind," "glory of mankind," "human rights," "justice," "prosperity for all," "*Pancasila* democracy," "unity," and "freedom of expression."

We are confused in using words like *bapak*, *ibu* [mother, respected woman], *bung* [brother, friend], *abang* [elder brother], *kakak* [older sibling], *oom* [uncle], and *tante* [aunt]. To call our superior *bung* is now considered disrespectful. We must use *bapak*, although the VIP has just turned twenty and the speaker addressing him is over sixty. *Saudara* [relative, friend] and *bung* were popular words spoken proudly during our struggle for freedom and through the revolutionary years. In the past ten or twenty years, however, they have come to be no longer considered respectful forms of address. Is it possible to save the Indonesian language from all sorts of jargon, symbols, futility, staleness, imprecisenesses, evil, and disorganized semantics?

The higher-ups have aspirative, ideological, patronizing, and authoritarian attitudes toward their subordinates. In public Indonesians use masks to hide their true identities. They are anxious and terrified to strip off these masks simply because underneath are their ugly, frightening, real faces -- which scare even themselves!

Granted, we are unafraid to face reality and admit to a slackening of our revolutionary spirit of 1945. That spirit has already fallen into a process of degeneration, and its traces have almost vanished from our society. This catalyst, which once united both important and common people, was one which struck us all with the same force. It lightened the load we carried. It was a spirit filled with bravery and willingness to sacrifice, our lives if necessary, for the independence of our country. The sacredness of the struggle, willingness to forget our individual as well as group interests, preparedness to forget ungrounded jealousies and prejudices, a fight for our own power, the desire to gather as much wealth as possible in the shortest time [probably to support the revolution], and a spirit of mutual aid, mutual assistance, and a give-and-take spirit for all are now weak and being obliterated.

Our elite live happy, comfortable, and luxurious lives. They wear the clothes of Paris designers like Yves St. Laurent, Dior, Balmain, Nina Ricci, Balenciaga, and Cardin. Their shirts, jackets, and other attire are from Paris, London, and New York, and their shoes are from Rome. They take vacations in Nice, France, Mexico, and Switzerland, and they go on safari in Kenya. We have long since abandoned the old worn outcars that we were once delighted to have and that we gave such tender loving care to during the revolutionary years. Ordinary cars are no longer good enough for us. We must now drive Mercedes 350s,

Rolls Royce Silver Ghosts or Streaks, or Cadillacs. Lately, championed by the "haves," we have begun to enjoy playing golf, and we give golf prizes to the Japanese, for example. We even hear stories of Indonesians who have mansions in Costa Brava, Florida, San Francisco, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Amsterdam.

We also hear of Indonesians who own race horses in Paris and London and of other countrymen who gamble in Las Vegas, in the United States, and lose tens of thousands, or even hundreds of thousands, of dollars in one night of playing without batting an eye. They merely smile and play again the next day. We hear of Indonesians who keep mistresses in foreign countries where they set them up in luxurious apartments with all sorts of clothes, jewels, cars, and money.

Year by year we allow our elite to increase their riches and continue their corruption, robbing the people of Indonesia of their rights and wealth. Take for example what happened with the oil company Pertamina, the tin company PN Timah, Dolog Kalimantan, and several others which have as yet remained uncovered. These elite who pretend to be leaders because of what they do grow further from the people, and communication between the two groups becomes more difficult every day.

We lack a conception of time -- something that will never come back once it is gone. For us time is always there. Our attitude toward time is: why do it today if you can do it tomorrow? We certainly are slow, but not necessarily sure.

One of our popular new words is *dalang* [puppeteer, mastermind]. When there is a student movement it is followed by the accusation, "Who is the *dalang*?" or, "Surely it was masterminded." If a wave of criticism appears in the press, the same question is soon asked, "Who is the *dalang*?" This is also true in many other instances: If something does not please a certain group, then that thing must have been masterminded. We do not seem to believe that our students can think for themselves, gather information and collect their own data, make their own analyses and conclusions, and decide on a course of action. Aren't universities established and developed to make people think?

According to the experts' statistics, during the last ten years as much as 200 billion rupiahs domestic capital (U.S. \$4.5 billion) and an additional 850 foreign investments (U.S. \$6.5 billion) have been invested in Indonesia. With all of this investment capital we have only been able to open 1.2 million jobs. In our country every year 1.1 million people enter the job market looking for work. We must fully grasp the implication of this development.

Gandhi once said, "Earth provides enough for everyone's need, but not enough for everyone's greed." Oh, how true the late Gandhi's words of warning are. If we were to fulfill our desire to have a high standard of living, as in the United States today, with cars, TVs, electronic equipment, lavish food, all sorts of luxuries in abundance, telephones in every room, air-conditioners and central heating, electric toothbrushes, shoe polishers, hair clippers, saws, etc., then all the copper, aluminum and what have you which is now produced in the world would not be sufficient for all of us. That route is a dead-end street. It would mean that we would have to compete and struggle for raw materials with the rich countries, the industrial giants, capitalistic giants, power giants, and the economically and militarily powerful

giants. We should never even dream of being able to compete or fight with them. We must use our intelligence to look for other aims for happiness, peace, and for vitalizing our country.

If an Indonesian sits on the shore and looks out at the Southern Sea what goes around in his head? Is it an image of Nyai Loro Kidul [legendary queen of the South Sea], or is it thoughts of riches of the sea waiting to be mined? For the latter we must control science and technology, but we must be careful. Science is powerful, and power is never neutral. Are science and technology neutral? Or do many scientists say this in order to reassure their own peace of mind and accuse those who use science and technology for purposes of war or making all sorts of terrifying weapons. These weapons **vary** from gases which affect the nerves or which stay in the atmosphere and continue to kill people to bacterial or viral warfare to chemicals which cause the leaves to fall from trees thus killing the trees and wiping out the jungles (such as the defoliants used by the American military forces in Viet Nam). Science and technology which do not have positive uses can ruin a society.

People in ages past controlled technology cleverly. During the reign of Ptolemy, in Egypt, a steam engine was developed for pumping water to the top of a lighthouse on Pharos Island. Not long after its installation they stopped using it. It was thought that it made people lazy and unwilling to work. This also happened with a mechanized wheel that the Romans used to grind wheat.

We now claim that we want to create jobs, but at the same time we allow the entry of foreign capital which brings with it a capital-intensive technology.

Several years ago a speaker in Cibulan said that man's ultimate goal is to serve God. He claimed that God created both men and demons to serve Him. What is the nature of this service to God? Do we attend church and pray at the mosque as laid down by the laws of Christianity and Islam? Do we execute all the laws and obligations of our religions? Is that all it means to serve God?

Social supervision of our natural resources, our capital, our manpower, our science and technology, our country's ecological balance, and the prevention of environmental disaster needs to be institutionalized. We must realize that people's freedom can only develop if there are people who are brave enough to want to be free. The sky must always be the limit for opportunity, chance, and new prospectives for Indonesians.

Some time ago Chris Siner Key (at that time he was the leader of the Catholic Student's Association) painted a picture of the students' world as follows: widespread apathetic feelings, loss of motivation, hazy orientation, shrinking vision, absence of idealism and spiritual values, identity crises, decreasing creativity, and lack of critical thought. Students also are without the wit to think logically. He said that these things were caused by fear, apathy, frustration, powerlessness, and the students felt that they were always too closely watched and pursued. Can we possibly say that this type of indication applies not only to the students' world but also to our society in general?

Christians want to look for a way out of all this based on an affinity to Christianity. The Bible teaches that Christ, not man, is

the center of everything, and a world without Christ is meaningless and has no future. They espouse the theme that all Christians sin, and therefore they must pay for their sins.

Time, in Javanese thinking, is circular, returning repeatedly like a wheel going around. The new is also old, and the old is also new. Because of this philosophy, people still look to the *wayang* stories which were written thousands of years ago as priceless links of wisdom to the past.

Islam teaches that people's security in this world and the world hereafter is achieved through service and obedience to Allah's laws and those of His prophet Mohammad and by entirely surrendering themselves to the strength of Almighty God.

Tonight we must not speak too much of religion, because it leads us to many other sensitive topics, and too, because we can never agree. Each religion claims to be the true one.

We have to admit to ourselves that, at least since Indonesia's recognition as a sovereign state, a gap has appeared and has been widening between our national pretensions (*Pancasila*, *Pancasila* society, maintaining the rule of law, equal justice and prosperity, guaranteed freedom of rights, the glory of mankind, and other high sounding cliches) on the one hand, and our individual as well as our group behavior on the other hand.

Today's World

A sign of the times today is the ever-widening gap between rich industrial nations and poor developing ones. The measurement used for determining which countries are developed and which are underdeveloped or developing is based entirely on those economic indicators used exclusively by Western economic experts. Such measurements affect many people in countries which are labeled as developing. This method gives a false impression, since it easily leads many people to believe that rich countries are more advanced in all fields of civilization and culture, and that developing countries are inferior in all respects.

If we compare values outside the economic sector, we will see that many cultural and social values in the less-developed societies are superior to those in the developed ones. Even in these cases, we still have to define what is meant by developed, rich, and poor countries.

Do we want to be like Japan, the United States, and the Western European countries, or like the U.S.S.R. and Communist China? In progressive, rich countries like America, Japan, and Western Europe there are many clear-thinking people who would like to see their societies do an about-face and change the directions of their lives from the pursuit of profit and materialism. The world has already been brought to the brink of disaster by the ruthless consumption of its natural resources, the disruption of the ecological balance, and the poisoning of our surroundings by technological giants, machines,

computers, automation, and robotization, all of which have caused man to fall from his place in the center of the universe. He has become just an unimportant appendage and button-pusher for all types of machines and electronic tools. Today these tools determine the life or death of the technologically advanced societies. They defeat human considerations and rob mankind of the right to determine its own fate by maintaining or increasing Gross National Products or Gross Domestic Products, which have become indicators both for the developed as well as the developing countries. How primitive and backward such thinking is!

These attitudes are rooted, among other things, in the doctrine of Francis Bacon, one of the founders of modern science. Bacon said that the ultimate aim of science was to give man new discoveries and enrichment. He further said that man must be the conqueror, not the conquered, of the world.

In developed countries, with technology which demands all sorts of calculation processes -- to project into the future, to gather and disseminate data, to execute and supervise production, etc. --, things must be done most efficiently, most expediently, and most economically. According to this line of thinking, man would be considered not only as a subsystem within the whole system, but also the most ineffective one. He would be most inclined to make mistakes and have shortcomings. In brief, he is not "foolproof" like the machines and electronic equipment available today.

Concerning man's intellect, although he has the ability to remember vast amounts of data, his abilities are far below those of a computer when it comes to the technological know-how to organize data, to process it speedily, and to recall it accurately.

Man's position in the world is already slipping. The symptoms can be seen in the societies of several progressive countries. Feelings of apprehension, doubt, unhappiness, extreme isolation, and now the weakening of intimate relationships between a person and his family cause many of these people to yearn for and to seek other values and to look to other societies for their spiritual fulfillment and their subsistence.

In the United States gurus from India have come to be very popular. Everywhere we go we see young men and women with shaved heads dressed in yellow cotton robes. They dance while beating drums and chanting, "Hare Krishna!, Hare Krishna!" Also popular is the Transcendental Meditation theory of Mahareshi Yogi, who distributes mantras at a price in excess of \$100 each. This philosophy has spread throughout the world, even to Indonesia, as if here, too, the sick symptoms of the rich societies have caused many Indonesians to develop all sorts of doubts, fears, high-blood pressure, and the inability to find contentment. The Pak Subud retreat in Cilandak is filled with foreigners who come here looking for tranquillity and inner peace.

The experts from the countries with extensive scientific knowledge and modern and powerful technology now come here and tell us that the problems which we face, such as overpopulation, poverty, disruption of the ecology, education, etc., can be overcome through technology. Technology can solve them all. Overpopulation can be taken care of by the pill, IUDs, and condoms. As a matter of fact, it is currently claimed that there is a kind of vaccination to prevent pregnancy, and,

if all else fails, non-surgical, safe abortions can now be performed. A new technique has already been discovered, using an instrument which sucks the fetus from the mother's uterus and appears to present no complications.

Many people now believe that technology is the other side of the modernization coin. If we fail to use modern technology, then we cannot enter the modern age. Again, we must clearly define the meaning of modernization for the sake of our country and our society. Is modernization something which can only be reflected in the latest technological equipment, like computers, giant steel factories, rockets, etc., or by modernization should we mean rational thoughts, and minds which are always striving to seek realistic and total solutions to mankind's problems? Perhaps the demand to discard various technologies, which can now be perceived as ecologically damaging and wasting the world's natural resources, will be considered a modern attitude in the next ten to twenty years.

An example close to all of us is the automobile. The carbon monoxide emitted from a running car in a closed garage can be lethal. In addition to this danger, the amount of carbon dioxide in the air increases every year, and it is predicted that in time it will alter the pattern of the world's climate.

We once considered things like automotive technology development as extremely helpful in solving the problem of transporting people and things. Possibly in twenty years it will be in vogue to demand that trees no longer be cut for lumber and jungles no longer be arbitrarily cleared. In many sections of the world where jungles have been destroyed the results have been disastrous. Pouring rains have brought floods, soil erosion, etc. This has already happened on Java. We do know, however, that the very technology which permits large-scale jungle clearing helps people find work, encourages the lumber industry, the lumber-shipping companies, and the construction companies. We see, thus, that technology can solve one problem, but sometimes create another more serious than the first. The pollution of the Great Lakes in the United States is a good example. The industries surrounding the lakes have carelessly spread their wastes and poisoned these waters, killing the life within them. This has happened, too, to the Rhine River in Western Europe and in various places in Russia and Japan. This is why in the long run a piecemeal application of technology to our problems is not only inefficient but also ineffective and results in more dangerous and more destructive problems. The outcome does not affect just one place, one city, or one group in society, but our entire world.

In the final analysis our world is a closed system -- up until now a self-sufficient space ship -- except that we need sunshine. What happens in one section of the world will affect another. Although this is clear, nevertheless, we must be cautious and aware that not all countries have a similar understanding that our world is a closed system -- like a space ship. As a matter of fact, there is as yet no country which has based its internal and foreign policies, its way of life, its goals, and the reconciliation of its values on the concept that our world is a space ship.

Rich countries want to stay rich and get richer. When the Arabs implemented their oil boycott against the United States and the Western European countries in order to urge them to become more active

in seeking a solution to the Palestinian problem that was fair to the Arabs, many Americans realized just how dependent their prosperity and happiness were upon the oil producers in the developing countries. This led them to become more prudent in their use of oil. For example, in the United States cars were not allowed to travel faster than 55 miles per hour, and people were urged to join car pools to save gas. Less heat was used in large buildings and homes, unnecessary lights were turned off, and other fuel-saving measures were taken. As soon as the Arabs called off the boycott people forgot all about this. The number of automobiles in the United States, Western Europe, and Japan increased tremendously. On the main German freeways there is now no speed limit. In the industrial countries oil consumption continued to climb.

In 1976 America imported 42% of its necessary oil, and in 1977 the need for imported oil will increase to 46%. Throughout the rich countries oil use continues to increase, with United States consumption climbing the fastest.

Inflation runs rampant throughout the industrialized nations. Everywhere the prices of manufactured goods are increasing from 8 to over 10%. But, as soon as the OPEC countries said that they planned to raise the price of gasoline, a great war of nerves was waged against the oil-producing nations, and the rich countries protested that the 10% or more rise in oil prices was without foundation. They said that this move would hamper the restoration of the development of their economies, and as a result the rich countries would be unable to help the poor countries. The United States was successful in its attempt to break the alignment of poor countries with the OPEC nations. In the end the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia subscribed to a different policy than did the other OPEC members.

A Dutch newspaper told of Dutch housewives who, in 1973, threw out more than 79,000 tons of bread, and in America 100,000,000 loaves, at 53¢ a loaf, were discarded. How many hundreds of thousands of tons of food are thrown away? If the amount of meat, fish, bread, etc. thrown out in enormously rich societies like Japan, Western Europe, and the United States were known, we would all be astounded.

When I was in Holland last year, a Dutch man questioned me about my opinion of OPEC's plan to raise oil prices.

"What if it ends up disturbing the rich countries' development?" he asked.

"That's all right," I answered.

He looked at me in amazement.

I told him, "On the contrary, it will be good for you and the world. if OPEC raised oil prices so that oil becomes even more expensive to burn than it is now. If you had ten or even twenty percent less wealth it would not be a disaster for you, and if oil is too expensive to burn, then the whole world will look for a new energy source, like the sun, ocean tides, wind, geothermal energy, etc., and oil would be used in the production of other

things more valuable to mankind."

The quality of life for these people would not decline if each family had only one TV set, or one telephone, and not like it is now where there are telephones in almost every room, even in the bathroom and kitchen. There should also be just one car per family rather than two or three, and new models need not be purchased every year.

This brings us back to the necessity of defining for ourselves what is meant by "economic progress." Is economic progress for Indonesians what we really want to strive for as it is defined by the rich countries today with all the attending negative aspects and disasters which seem to occur to people, nature, society, and man's values? Or is economic progress for us a desire to have no Indonesians hungry, enough housing, a chance to go to school and study either formally or informally, have suitable job opportunities, and to have a guarantee of birth and death not becoming a luxury or too expensive?

If the initial aim of our economic development is to fill the minimum requirements of nutritious food, adequate clothing, satisfactory housing, appropriate jobs, and equal educational opportunities for everyone, then the list of our priorities is more modest than that of the rich countries. The capital and technology which we wish to mobilize would also be different from that which we would need to imitate and pursue the "economic development" of the wealthy nations.

Perhaps we should concentrate our interests and capital investments in villages or interior areas. Expanding agricultural industries means the development of small industries making all sorts of farming tools, improvement of seedlings and organic fertilizer, tackling insects and plant diseases by using more vegetable-based substances and thus developing the agricultural production of mainly food materials like rice, corn, beans, vegetables, fresh and salt water fish, and fruit. This would not be just for us to eat, but also for export.

With decrease of available farm land in various parts of the world, due to industrialization and the increase of the world's population, food production will be a most important industry in the future. Given the incentive and the leadership along with the appropriate technology, Indonesia, with her fertile land and with her tradition of an agriculturally oriented people, could become one of the most important food-producing countries in the world. The industrial-agricultural sector of our economy is one which we must never disregard; in fact, it should be given first priority in our economic development. It is said that 100,000,000 people will suffer from hunger in the next twenty-five years. If things continue as they are, 100,000 people could die of starvation every day. I do not see any reason why Indonesia could not produce her own food, and even export some.

Besides, certainly we can use other types of modern technology for meeting our needs. For example, our requirement of steel for the construction of bridges, housing, large buildings, automobiles, trucks, trains, and airplanes, among other things should not encourage us to build a steel factory. Technology has already produced new materials which are cheaper and do not require the heavy equipment needed to produce steel. Man can now produce material just as good, if not stronger. It is made of carbon fibers and it can replace steel in the manufacture of cars and trucks and in several kinds of building

construction which up until now have required steel. The cost of molding car and truck frames from this material would be cheaper, and the process easier, than using steel. We must always be cautious with the technology which we use.

In several fields what we probably need is what is referred to as intermediate technology. An example of this would be to redevelop the use of water and wind power for turning water wheels to grind rice, pumping water for irrigation, cutting quarry stone, developing electric power, etc. In short, we must develop intermediate technology using natural power like water, wind, and the sun for various small needs within the reach and skill of the common man.

Because of the tremendous amount of money which the developed countries have already spent on certain of their industrial sectors, they have been more or less forced to go on doing things the same way they started. Take for example, their continued use of steel and the internal combustion engine in their automobiles. We, as a developing nation, may find it advantageous to skip over this outdated technology and bypass the developed countries.

Once we define for ourselves what economic development is, and once we succeed in achieving the minimal requirement for it, then we have arrived at the moment when we should consider our future development. Our needs can be identified as 1) sufficiency needs and 2) growth needs.

We can observe the world as follows:

1. Countries which are rich in natural resources and are wealthy, for example the United States and Canada.
2. Countries which are poor in natural resources, but have industry and wealth, for example, Japan.
3. Countries which are rich in natural resources, but poor, for example, Third World Countries, including Indonesia.
4. Countries which lack natural resources and are poor, now called Fourth World Countries.

A problem we Indonesians should consider is why countries like Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and the Netherlands, with poor natural resources, can become rich, while we are rich in natural resources, but remain poor.

Meantime our world remains one filled with danger which has the potential to erupt at any time. The demand for a new international economic structure is still unsettled. The Paris meetings between the North (rich countries) and the South (developing countries) have made no appreciable progress. The recent 5% oil price increase by Saudi Arabia was tied into the North-South Conference progress in order to foster peaceful and satisfactory settlement of the Middle East question. The problem of whites and blacks in South Africa and Rhodesia, United States' relations with Russia and China, China's relations with Russia, China's future attitude toward Asia, North Viet Nam's plans, Indian development, French Canadian separatists' movements, disagreements in Spain and Portugal, the Italian Communist Party's progress, developments

among the Arab countries -- Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia --, contests between Iran and Saudi Arabia, Japan and China, Japan and Russia, and activities of the Russians, the Chinese, the Americans, and the Japanese in Southeast Asia are all factors which could change the big power balance. A climatic change which could cause a poor grain harvest in America, Australia, India, Russia, or China would present terrible hardships, for example, for people in various parts of the world.

We need to examine the trade patterns between the countries that produce raw materials and the rich industrial countries. For hundreds of years the wealthy nations have bought materials produced by the efforts of people in poor countries like ours for low prices which they set. They purchased rubber, sugar, coffee, tea, cacao, spices, and natural riches like iron ore, oil, tin, etc. In exchange they sold us things we had very little use for at very high prices. We bought these things because their propaganda and consumer-oriented advertising deceived and entranced us; luxurious cars, TV sets with twelve-channel selections while our country has only one network, and all kinds of other things without which we would have been just as well off and happy.

The people in the United States make up less than 6% of the total number of people on earth and they occupy 6% of the world's land, yet they use almost 50% of the world's resources. In order to maintain the high level of existence in that country each American every year needs:

- 1,300 pounds of steel
- 23 pounds of copper
- 16 pounds of tin
- 3.5 tons of stone, sand, and gravel
- 500 pounds of cement
- 400 pounds of soil
- 200 pounds of salt
- 100 pounds of phosphate

In aggregate this amounts to 20 tons of material which must be taken from the earth.

Suppose that all of the people in the world, including us, lived at the same standard of living as the Americans do. Then the world would need, among other things, the following raw materials:

- 18 billion tons of iron
- 300 million tons of copper
- 200 million tons of zinc
- 30 million tons of tin

According to the world experts' statistics this total is more than 100 times the world's current production. The total amount of iron, copper, zinc, and tin needed is said to be far in excess of the supply now known to be on earth. This is for our current world population totaling four billion people, and the experts predict that by the year 2000 world population will reach six billion.

Not only are there not enough natural resources for each person to have the luxurious life that has been carried to an extreme in America, but the rich countries will be unable to maintain their standards. In twenty or thirty years they will come to a standstill. Even now they steadily increase their dependency on raw materials coming from other countries. Just with the oil problem, the United States now

depends on imports for approximately 30% of its oil, and Japan depends on them for more than 90%.

During the years from 1900 to 1961 the import of minerals into the United States increased ten times from \$323 million to \$3.6 billion. Iron ore, copper, tin, zinc, bauxite, columbium, chromium, and cobalt were imported in increasingly large quantities. As far as columbium, chromium, and cobalt are concerned, America is now 100% dependent on imports. Only four of the five minerals found in America now are in adequate supply to last her until the year 1984. There are, however, fourteen of them in large enough supply to last after 1984 in the rest of the world. By the year 2000 there will be only three minerals which will remain in sufficient supply in America, and only ten types of minerals in the world, and by 2038 there will be an adequate supply of only eight minerals left on earth. The United States will become a "have not," and her position will be shared by other industrial countries. France, for example, in 1961 imported 40% of her metals, and around 1985 it is calculated that she will need to import 80%. The Western European economy will be in a similar position. Japan will be in an even more difficult situation because almost all of her needed raw materials must be imported now, beginning with oil, iron ore, copper, tin, rubber, and others.

One day, not far in the future, the rich societies will have their backs against the wall and they will be faced with the choice of either maintaining their luxurious, extravagant life-styles by forcing their wishes on the countries which possess the valuable natural resources that they need or changing their life styles and reverting to a more simple existence. If their attitudes remain the same as now, being arrogant with their materialistic wealth and strength, industry and technology, and political and military power, they will bring various parts of the world to a dangerous level of confrontation. Billions of poor and starving people will face them, and it is not difficult to imagine the resultant disorder and destruction to all things on earth.

There are people in the rich countries who have been thinking for the past five or ten years that they must change the directions and aims of their societies to avoid entering that blind alley and the confrontation between the rich and the poor which would result. The problem is whether changes in consciousness and values in rich societies can occur quickly enough -- before we arrive at the final stoplight.

A main characteristic of rich industrialized nations is the large amount of things which people discard, including all types of packaging, starting from cases, paper, plastic, cartons, bottles, porcelain and ceramics and continuing on through machinery, automobiles, and other consumer items. In unique American terms this is called "built-in obsolescence." Each year automobile and motor companies come out with newer models forcing people who are addicted to the "new model craze" to buy still newer cars even though the ones they have still function perfectly well. In 1966 alone American statistics indicated that more than \$16 billion was spent for packing, wrapping, and storing all kinds of things, and 90% of these materials were later thrown away. Imagine, \$16 billion times 415 rupiahs = ??????

We haven't said anything about other kinds of waste in rich societies, nor have we talked about the great powers' multi-billion dollar budgets for arms races. Although they have SALT I and SALT II,

Russia and the United States still compete for military superiority all the time, and each year billions of dollars are spent in the manufacture of all sorts of terrifying weapons.

We have made ourselves followers of the rich consumer-oriented nations. The more we depend on them, be it for capital or technology, the more we rely on their weapons for our safety. This tends to make us further unable to protect our identity as a nation.

If the oil-producing countries are accused of using oil as a tool to blackmail concessions from the **rich countries**, then we can also accuse the wealthy countries, America for example, of having hundreds of millions of people in a stranglehold due to dependence on the United States' surplus wheat, rice, corn, and other foodstuffs. The food-producing countries now make life or death decisions. The starvation or survival of hundreds of thousands of people is in their hands. If they do not want to sell rice to Indonesia, millions of Indonesians will starve. There is also a dependence on imported food in India, China, even Russia and many other countries. There is no other way open to us. We must free ourselves from dependency on foreign food products. This is the first step we must take. It is our first priority, and we must be thoroughly devoted to it and direct our financial resources and manpower to it. We must be totally dedicated to this goal.

The number of ocean fish caught throughout the world shows a decline because areas have been relentlessly fished-out with no chance to restock. We know that fish are a basic source of high protein food for human beings. Why haven't we developed the technology to breed fish in the oceans or intertidal zones or bays like we breed cattle on land? There are already people who breed shrimp and oysters!

Facing a world like this, it is very important for us Indonesians to fully develop our capabilities so that we can understand and keep up with all the developments and happenings in the world around us now and in the years to come. We need to gather all sorts of information and data concerning world events, not just in science and technology, but also in societal changes, values, and human attitudes.

The developments in communication, data storage, and information retrieval systems in the world will surely change man's perceptions in the social, economic, political, and artistic fields. This will certainly bring about changes in the relationships of man with man, man with his country, man with nature, man with society, and country with country which will all change man's understanding of power, "developed economy," and values.

Toward the end of 1976 six American steel mills raised their prices 6%. Iran reported that the price hike, and the costs in the developed countries, resulted in a 25% increase in the cost of her steel imports. According to the American experts' own calculations the 10% rise in oil prices will push the American inflation rate from 6% to 6.5% and this will result in a 1¢ per gallon increase in gasoline prices and fuel oil. It will decrease the rate of economic development in the United States by 1% in 1978. Must the raw-material-producing countries give subsidies to the rich countries in order that they may stay wealthy or add to their riches? It is the rich countries that refuse to be economical. The United States, which imported only 33% of her necessary oil before the oil boycott in 1973, now imports 44%. The price of gasoline in

America is still 60¢ per gallon -- below the world price.

International financial experts are now beginning to worry as they see an increase in money lending throughout the world. They are concerned that a time will come when many borrowing countries will be unable to make interest and debt payments. According to the calculations of the Morgan Guarantee Trust Company, England owes the most money, as much as \$45 billion including both national and private debts. Other European Common Market countries and the Soviet Union follow, with the other Eastern European communist countries owing more than \$40 billion. Brazil, Mexico, and Italy hold places in the \$20 billion category, and they are followed by France, Finland, and Indonesia who are in the \$10 billion category. The other developing countries together have reached a combined debt of \$150 billion. A large part of these giant debts are owed to the European money market through the banks of Europe, the Bahamas, Canada, Panama, the Cayman Islands, Japan, Singapore, and Hong Kong. In 1970 Euromarket banks had loaned \$70 billion, and in 1976 the amount owed them reached \$275 billion. If just a few countries that owe money were to go bankrupt and be unable to pay their debts, the effect would be tremendous and possibly destroy our entire international monetary system.

The scenario set forth by the international financiers and economists today is this: The key to the preservation of economics and finances lies in the economic progress of the United States, West Germany, and Japan. If a recession in these countries cannot be overcome because, for example, the price of oil is too high, then a world recession could not be stopped and all the world would suffer. The poor countries again would suffer most because of their dependency on foreign aid. Therefore, the raw material producers (including the developing countries) must not demand price increases for their materials. The nations with resources must give the rich countries the chance to redevelop their economic growth. This will enable the wealthy nations to buy more products and materials from foreign countries and thus will increase the poor countries' foreign exchange revenues.

There are also experts who say that the rapid economic development rate in rich countries will speed up inflation and this in turn will threaten the international economy. Such experts do not say so, but, in short, the world today is caught up in a vicious circle brought about by the rich countries themselves.

How do we get out of this? We must try hard not to be too dependent on others. We must mobilize our manpower along with our finances. We must be extremely economical, penny pinching if necessary, totally eliminate corruption, and concentrate all our effort and dedication to the improvement of our standard of living. We certainly cannot entirely free ourselves from an international system, an economic network, finances, and trade to which we have already opened wide the door of our land. We can, however, continue to make the effort to cushion any possible fall.

If we go on like this, not altering our way of thinking, acting, and doing things, and not changing the values which guide our lives and our actions, then I am deeply concerned that we will become merely cheap laborers in our own land for the multi-national businesses of Japan, the United States, Germany, Holland, France, England, etc. Are we willing to see our grandchildren experience this fate in their own

country?

Now allow me to draw several general conclusions. First, besides the ugly face which we earlier saw in the mirror, there are still many Indonesian characteristics which give us hope. As long as we are completely aware of this we can weaken our bad traits and enhance our good ones. Second, we must create conditions whereby our people and our society can mature and free themselves from the image of an immature neo-feudalistic continuation of our feudalistic past. Third, we see now our need to learn to use the Indonesian language in purer and more precise ways. In short, we should not verbally beat around the bush, but speak our minds. Fourth, we should not continue to turn our backs on ancient Indonesian artistic expressions. They still hold great wealth as a source of inspiration, and they can encourage and develop imaginative spirit and a creative, artistic Indonesian people of today. A statue or piece of copperware from Nias, a drum from Flores or Sumbawa, a Batak or Dayak sculpture, or one from West Irian, woven materials from Lampung, Toraja, Sumbawa, or Timor, a kris from Java, a statue from Mt. Dieng, or an old painting from Bali must at least be considered parallel to the modern works of Affandi, Popo Iskandar, Picasso, or Henry Moore. If you carefully examine Dayak paintings of the worlds above and below, they resemble the imaginary world of Paul Klee. They seem, as a matter of fact, even more interesting and mysterious.

In this connection we need to build museums which will become living museums where we can associate with the world of our forefathers. We desperately need to watch over our ancient treasures and not allow them to be taken from our country as they are now.

I would like to propose that handicrafts like braiding, weaving, embroidery, carving, batik making, etc. be carefully and systematically taught in our elementary schools. This would form a basis for redeveloping and restrengthening our artistic creativity.

I propose that we stop using the word *bapak* for all officials and administrators and that we address each other as *saudara*. Isn't it more pleasant and accurate to say *Saudara* Minister, *Saudara* President, *Saudara* General, *Saudara* Director General, *Saudara* University President? It will not eliminate the close relationship which we wish to maintain.

I propose that we liberate ourselves from feelings of fear and insecurity in expressing what we believe.

I propose that several plans be instigated to stimulate our culture and arts because these fields will develop our pride and enrich our civilization, and, too, because through artistic conversation we can reach the absolute truth.

I propose a closer association between private businessmen and those in the arts. An exchange of ideas would be beneficial to all, tempering strong views with humility.

I propose that we redevelop the power of Indonesians who in ages past, as sailors, carried our people on shipboard to the west as far as Madagascar and Africa and to the east as far as the Polynesian islands. It is even said that we went as far as Christmas Island and to the eastern shores of Africa. We must again awaken that Indonesian spirit of ancient times that developed a spice trade through Africa to Rome or across Asia and through the Arabian peninsula to the Mediterranean Sea. We must relive the practices and the bravery of the Buginese sailors

who controlled the Indonesian Seas before the arrival of the Portuguese, the Spanish, and the Dutch East India Company.

We must redevelop that incentive that once brought us to the peak of our country's artistic success in dance and music, carvings and sculpture, architecture like Borobudur and other temples, ornamental art, gold and silver work, creations in copper, weaving, and basketry. I am convinced that great artistic talent is still buried within us Indonesians. We must use art and culture as the tools to liberate our country from the grip and shackles of a value structure which has long inhibited us and resulted in Indonesians appearing insignificant in creativity and inspiration. We must encourage artistic expression in order to re-establish our self-confidence. From ancient times Indonesia has had an affinity with that same culture that spread across the eastern European continent from the Balkans to the Middle East, to the Indian sub-continent and across the Asian continent. This cultural sphere extended throughout the archipelago and the surrounding islands. Indonesians crossed the Indian Ocean to Madagascar, went on to East Africa and eastward to cross the Pacific Ocean and reach the western shore of the Americas.

I propose, ah.....what do I wish to propose??? I propose that we, Indonesians, act in a more humanitarian way toward other creatures in the world.

I propose that we develop greater and increasingly lucid understandings about ourselves and that we strengthen our abilities to handle our country's problems by ourselves, think for ourselves, and be capable of doing things for ourselves.

I propose that we increase and restrengthen our ethics, that we develop a value structure which can add to our abilities to differentiate between right and wrong, between the appropriate and the inappropriate, between self-interest and that of the society, and between what is just and what is despotic. We must not only make these ethics materialize for our equals, but for all of those who live together with us -- for all of the children of man who suffer, and who are oppressed, and who live in infinite misery on the face of the earth.

I propose that we extend this attitude to include God's other creatures and creations -- all wild animals and plants, mountain forests, water, air, land, and our islands, which we must guard and protect in order that they not be annihilated or wiped out.

This is my blueprint to be used for extending solidarity to the unborn Indonesian generations in order that they may also enjoy our land, which is still green and fertile and full of all kinds of fascinating and beautiful life, and that they may also continue to exist.

We need to bring life again to our people's creative arts and crafts. How wonderful it would be if, from elementary school on, children were taught crafts from their respective regions. For example, the schools could give classes in basketry, weaving, batik making, stone and wood carving, etc. Batik and woven materials coming from several areas in our country are twice as lovely as machine-produced textiles. To revitalize our country we must give it color and design with an Indonesian flavor, and it follows naturally that this will help us find ourselves and our identity in today's world.

We must also reach the conclusion that it is now vitally important to develop an educational system which can answer the challenges of

today's world. Try to imagine the myriad fields of science and technology where every year in every field tens of thousands of reports and articles are published in dozens of languages. In America, for example, the number of publications is tremendous, and they duplicate publications in Russian, French, and German as well. All of their scholars and other interested people are unable to keep up with this amount of printed matter so a special service is needed to summarize the information. Even with such a service there is still too much to handle, and more sorting and condensing is necessary in order for people to get the picture of current developments in their fields.

It is clear now that there are vast amounts of information which we must continuously pursue, gather, scrutinize and be aware of, and for this we need knowledgeable people who are understanding, sympathetic, honest, and dedicated.

In closing I offer a Minangkabau proverb:

Tambilang di bawah langsek	I have told you all I know;
Tasisik di bawah lantai	The rest, that I know not,
Dibilang sado nan dapek	I must leave to others --
Nan tingga untuk nan pandai	To those who know more than I.

And also a word of advice for the "cheap detectives" who are among you -- the essence of high Javanese philosophy:

Sing ana, ora ana, sing ora ana, ana.

What you are after is not available,
What you are not after is everywhere.