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The **Department of Political and Social Change** in the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies focuses on research in domestic politics, social processes and state-society relations in Asia and the Pacific. It has a long established interest in Indonesian affairs. Each year staff members of the department work with the Indonesia Project to plan and organise the Indonesian Update Conference.

INDONESIA A S S E S S M E N T

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Gavin W. Jones and

Terence H. Hull

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Contents

Lis	st of Tables, Figures and Appendices	v111
Со	ontributors	xiii
Αŀ	obreviations and Acronyms	xvii
Gl	ossary	xxi
Ac	cknowledgments	xxiii
Hi	pening Address is Excellency, Mr S. Wiryono, nbassador of Indonesia to Australia	xxv
1	Introduction Gavin W. Jones and Terence H. Hull	1
PA	ART A: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS	
2	Indonesian Politics 1995–96: The Makings of a Crisis	19
	Greg Fealy	
3	Recent Economic Developments in Indonesia: From Rapid Economic Growth to National Car Policy	39
	Anggito Abimanyu	
	ART B: POPULATION AND HUMAN RESOURCE EVELOPMENT	
4	Population and Human Resources: Indonesia's Demographic Place in the Larger Scene	59
	John C. Caldwell	

vi Contents

	Population Mobility and Urbanisation	
5	Changing Patterns and Processes in Population Mobility	68
	Graeme Hugo	
6	Patterns and Trends of Urbanisation: A Reflection of Regional Disparity	101
	Tommy Firman	
7	Migration and Urbanisation: A Discussion	118
	Peter Gardiner	
	Aspects of Human Resource Development	
8	Educational Developments, Achievements and Challenges	135
	Mayling Oey-Gardiner	
9	Women's Role in Demographic Transition and Human Resource Development	167
	Yulfita Raharjo	
10	Some Economic Demographic Aspects of Ageing	181
	Aris Ananta, Evi Nurvidya Anwar and Diah Suzenti	
	Public Health, Mortality, Fertility and Family Planning	
11	Health and Mortality	205
	Meiwita B. Iskandar	
12	Fertility and Family Planning: Prospects and Challenges for Sustainable Fertility Decline	232
	Sri Moertiningsih Adioetomo	
13	Mortality and Fertility: The Challenges	246
	Firman Lubis	
14	Health and Mortality, Fertility and Family Planning	256
	Gouranga Lal Dasvarma	

Contents

Looking to the Future	
15 Indonesia's Population Growth and Distribution in the 21st Century: Projections and Speculations	264
Geoffrey McNicoll	
16 Defining a Future for Population Data	285
Terence H. Hull	
17 From Fertility Control to Quality-Oriented Population and Human Resource Development Policies	292
Agus Dwiyanto	
18 Implications of Indonesia's Future Population	301
Aris Ananta, Evi Nurvidya Anwar and Diah Suzenti	
19 The Education Explosion	323
Mayling Oey-Gardiner and Peter Gardiner	
20 Letter from the Year 2020	334
Aris Ananta	
References	337
Index	361

LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES, MAPS AND APPENDICES

Tables

1.1:	Selected demographic and human resource	
	parameters for Indonesia	2
1.2:	Population of Indonesia, 1995	5
	Real growth in national output and expenditure	41
	Indonesia inflation rate, 1994-96	45
3.3:	Asian economies' export growth slowdown	46
	Growth and composition of 10 leading non-oil exports	47
	Imports by broad economic categories, Jan-June 1995-96	48
	Business performance rating based on 187	
	polluting facilities in Java and Sumatra, 1995	54
4.1:	Indonesia in perspective, 1995	60
	Mortality	61
4.3:	Fertility (total fertility rates)	62
4.4:	Contraception, 1994	63
4.5:	Marriage and early fertility	64
4.6:	Indonesia's comparative demographic rankings, 1995	65
	Measures of migration, 1971-90	71
5.2:	Number of persons per motor vehicle, 1940-93	72
5.3:	Changes in numbers involved in various	
	kinds of movement, 1968-92	73
5.4:	Estimated numbers of Indonesian workers abroad in 1995	75
5.5:	Population of Java and other islands, 1900-90	77
	Migration into and out of Java, 1971, 1980 and 1990	85
5.7:	Migration into and out of Java by urban-rural	
	destination, 1990	86
	GDP and labour force in agriculture	95
5.9:	Change in registered manufacturing enterprises,	
	Java and other islands, 1989-90 to 1992-93	97
6.1:	Urbanisation trends in some countries in Asia	
	and the Pacific, 1979-90	102
	Urban population in Java and the Outer Islands, 1980-94	107
6.3:	Cities in Java and Outer Islands with population	
	between 50,000 and 1,000,000, 1980 and 1990	110
6.4:	Gross city product per capita of selected cities, 1992	113

6.5: Contribution of urban sector to GDP	116
7.1: Population ratios (2020/1990) for total and	
working-age population for Inner and Outer Islands	
based on alternative migration scenarios	121
7.2: Decomposition of growth rates in four major	
metropolitan regions, 1980-90	125
8.1: Growth in numbers of students (in thousands)	
by educational level, 1969-92/93	143
8.2: Sex ratios (females/100 males) of students by level,	
1976-93	149
8.3: Sex ratios (females/100 males) of Grade 1 primary school	
students, and continuation rates from primary to lower	
secondary and from lower to upper secondary, 1983-93	150
8.4: Age-specific (AS) and net (N) enrolment by gender and	
N/AS ratio, 1992-94	151
9.1: Selected HRD indicators, 1980-90: selected	
ASEAN countries	169
9.2: Indonesia: illiteracy and education indicators,	
for males and females	172
9.3: Key health indicators in selected Asian countries	173
10.1: Percentage of elderly and children under five	
by province, 1990 and 2020	183
10.2: Ageing and the economy: a crude comparison	
10.3: Proportion of elderly and children under five,	
1990-2020 (per cent)	186
10.4: Life expectancy of females and males at birth (e ₀)	
and at 60 (e _{ss}) by region, 1990-2025	191
10.5: Educational attainment of females and males,	
aged 60+, 25-59 and 25+ by region, 1990	194
10.6: Educational attainment of females and males	
aged 60+, 1990, 2005 and 2020	195
10.7: Population aged 60 and over by educational	
attainment, 1990-2020	199
10.8: Participation in labour force of elderly by age	
and sex, 1995-2020	200
10.9: Population aged 60+ by age and place of residence,	
1990, 2005 and 2020	202
11.1: Infant mortality rate (IMR) in selected Asian	
countries and per cent decline in 1960-80	
compared to 1960-93	211

11.2a: Life expectancy at birth by sex in Indonesia, 1967-93	213
11.2b: Per cent increase of life expectancy at birth, 1967-86	
compared to 1967-93	214
11.3a: Estimated death rate per 1,000 population by age-group,	
1980 and 1986	215
11.3b: Proportionate distribution of deaths by sex and age,	
1992 and 1995	216
13.1: Mortality indicators and GNP per capita,	
selected countries	249
15.1: World Bank population projections (in millions)	
and projected population increase (per cent),	
Indonesia and selected other countries, 1995-2050	267
15.2: Population growth rates of 20-year age groups,	
Indonesia, decade averages 1950-2050, according to	
UN medium-variant projections (per cent per year)	273
17.1: Demographic indicators of Indonesia, 1993-2013	293
18.1: Nitisastro's population projections for	
Indonesia, 1961-2001	302
18.2: Iskandar's population projections for	
Indonesia, 1971-2001	303
18.3: Indonesia's population according to various	
population projections, 2005 and 2020	305
18.4: Four projections by Lembaga Demografi for	
population growth in Indonesia, 1995-2025	306
18.5: Rate of growth of working age population,	
labour force and employment: Indonesia, 1990-2020	310
18.6: Projection of educational attainment, 1990-2020	312
18.7: Index of wage differentials by schooling and	
gender, 1977-90	312
18.8: Gross out-migraproduction rate by province,	
1975-80 and 1985-90	316-17
18.9: Projected urban and rural populations and	9 0
rate of urbanisation, 1990-2025	320
18.10: Labour force participation rate (per cent)	322

Figures

5.1:	Overseas workers processed by the Ministry of	
	Manpower, 1979-95	74
5.2:	Major interprovincial migration according to province of	
	previous residence statistics from the 1990 census	79
5.3:	Average annual growth rate by province, 1980-90	80
5.4:	General and spontaneous transmigrants,	
	Repelita I-Repelita V	83
5.5:	Origin and destination of transmigrants, 1968-93	84
5.6:	Major interprovincial migration streams,	
	1975-80 and 1985-90	88
8.1:	Indonesian education system	138
8.2:	Growth in numbers of students by educational level,	
	1969-92	141
8.3:	School attendance ratios by age, 1961-90	145
8.4:	Crude continuation ratios from primary to lower	
	secondary school, 1974-93	146
8.5:	Male and female school attendance ratios by age,	
	1971, 1980 and 1990	148
8.6:	Age-specific enrolment rate by per capita expenditure	
	quintile (per cent)	153
8.7:	Age-specific enrolment rates by sex and per capita	
	expenditure quintile (per cent)	153
8.8.:	Urban enrolment ratios by age, 1961-90	156
8.9:	0 0 1	
	rural residence, 1961, 1971, 1980, 1990	157
	Number of elderly population: Indonesia 1990-2020	186
10.2	Age pyramids of Indonesia, Yogyakarta, South	
	Sumatra and East Nusa Tenggara, 1990	189
10.3	: Age pyramids of Indonesia, Yogyakarta, South	
	Sumatra and East Nusa Tenggara, 2020	190
	Rate of population growth: Indonesia, 1995-2025	307
	Indonesia's projected population, 1990-2020	325
19.2	: Population aged 15+ with upper secondary	
	education or above	327
19.3	Population aged 15+ with upper secondary	
	education or above	328
19.4	Population 15+ with tertiary education or above	330

M	21	n	c
TAT	a	μ	J

7.1:	Examples of administrative divisions in Jabotabek	127		
7.2:	Metropolitan Jakarta (Jabotabek), base map	128		
7.3:	Metropolitan Jakarta (Jabotabek), urban desa, 1980 and 1990	129		
7.4:	Metropolitan Jakarta (Jabotabek), population growth, 1980–90	130		
7.5:	Metropolitan Jakarta (Jabotabek), medium to large-scale industrial employment, 1995	13		
7.6:	Population of Jabotabek, 1980, 1990 (actual), 2000,			
	2010 (projected)	132		
Ap	pendices			
Pop	ulation of Indonesia by province 1971,			
	1980, 1990, 1995 (Table Å1.1)	1		
Pop	ulation growth by province (Table A1.2)	1		
Offi	cial estimates of total fertility rates			
	(TFR) by province (Table A1.3)	1		
Infa	nt mortality (IMR) by province			
	1967, 1976, 1986, 1994 (Table A1.4)	1		
The	impact of the 27 July riot on the economy	55		
Excl	nange rate of Rupiah against the US dollar before			
	and after 27 July (graph, Figure A3.1)	50		
Cun	nulative Stock Price Index on Jakarta Stock Exchange			
	before and after 27 July (graph, Figure A3.2)	56		
Assı	umptions on educational achievement	333		
Fact	ors for the education projections: females (Table A19.1)	332		
Fact	Factors for the education projections: males (Table A19.2)			

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABRI Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia

[Indonesian Armed Forces]

APBN Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara

[national development budget]

ARI acute respiratory infection

ASEAN Association of South East Asian Nations
BAPEDAL National Pollution Control Agency

Bangga Suka

Desa Pembangunan Keluarga dengan Suasana

Perkotaan di Pedesaan

[Family Development with Urban Context in the

Rural Area]

BAPPENAS National Development Planning Agency

BI Bank of Indonesia

BKKBN National Family Planning Coordinating Board

BKPM Coordinating Agency for Investments

Botabek Bogor-Tangerang-Bekasi region

BPS Biro Pusat Statistik

[Central Bureau of Statistics: CBS]

CBZ Centrale Burgerlijke Ziekenhuis

[Central Civilian Hospital - see also RSUP]

CDR crude death rate

CEDAW Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of

Discrimination against Women

CPR contraceptive prevalence rate

DPK Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan

[Ministry of Education and Culture, MOEC]

DPR Dewan Perwakilan Rakiat

[National Parliament]

EPTE Entreport Produksi Tujuan Ekspor

[export processing zone]

ESCAP Economic and Social Commission for Asia and

the Pacific

FP family planning

GBHN	Garis Besar Haluan Negara
	[Guidelines of Basic State Policies]
GDP	gross domestic product
GNP	gross national product
GOI	Government of Indonesia
Golkar	Golongan Karya [the state party]
HHS	Household Health Survey
HRD	Human resource development
ICD	International Classification of Diseases (WHO)
ICMI	Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslimin se-Indonesia [Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals]
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development (1994)
IDHS	Indonesian Demographic and Health Survey
IDT	Inpres Desa Tertinggal [Presidential Instruction for Assistance to Backward Villages]
IFLS	Indonesia Family Life Survey
IDI	Ikatan Dokter Indonesia [Indonesian Medical Doctors Association]
IKIP	teacher training institutes
ILO	International Labor Office
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMR	infant mortality rate
IPD	infectious parasitic disease
IUD	intra-uterine device
Jabotabek	National capital region comprising DKI Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang, and Bekasi
JMDPR	Jabotabek Metropolitan Development Plan Review
JPKM	Jaminan Pemeliharaan Kesehatan Masyarakat
KAMI	Indonesian Students Action Front
KB	Kawasan Berikat [bonded export processing zone]
KBPN	Kantor Badan Pertanahan Nasional [National Land Administration Office]

KIPP Komite Independen Pemantau Pemilu

[Independent Election Monitoring Committee]

Kopassus Red Berets [military]
Kostrad Green Berets [military]
KTP Kartu Tanda Penduduk

[Residency Card]

LD Lembaga Demografi

[Demographic Institute, Faculty of Economics,

University of Indonesia]

LEB Life expectancy at birth
MARI Majelis Rakyat Indonesia

[Indonesian People's Council]

Masyumi Baru Majelis Syarikat Umat Muslimin

Indonesia — a new quasi-party

MCH Maternal and Child Health [program]

MOEC Ministry of Education and Culture (see DPK)

MOH Ministry of Health

MORA Ministry of Religious Affairs
MMR maternal mortality rate
MPR Majelis Perwakilan Rakyat

[People's Consultative Assembly]

NGO non-government organisation
NHU non-gonococcal urethritis

NRR net reproduction rate [population]

NU Nahdlatul Ulama

[Muslim scholars' organisation]

OTB organisasi tanpa bentuk

['formless organisations']

Parkindo Partisipasi Kristen Indonesia — a new quasi-party

PCPP Persatuan Cendekiawan Pembangunan

Pancasila

[Association of Pancasila Development Intellectuals]

PDI Partai Demokrasi Indonesia [Indonesian

Democratic Party]

Pepabri [Association of Former Armed Forces Officers]

PHC primary health care

PJP	Pembangunan	Jangka Panjang

[Long-Term Development Plan or Phase]

PKI

Partai Komunis Indonesia [Indonesian Communist Party]

PLKB [family planning field workers]

PMA Penanaman Modal Asing

[foreign investments]

PMDN Penanaman Modal Dalam Negeri

[domestic investments]

PNI or

PNI Baru Persatuan Nasional Indonesia — a new quasi-party

PPM Pemenuhan Permintaan Masyarakat

ppp purchasing power parity
PPP [United Development Party]

PRD Partai Rakyat Demokratik

[The People's Democratic Party]

PROPER Program for Pollution Control, Evaluation

and Rating

PTN higher education public institutions

PUDI Partai Uni Demokrasi Indonesia

[Indonesian Democratic Union Party]

Repelita Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun

[Five-Year Development Plan]

RSCM Cipto Mangunkusumo Hospital

RSUP Rumah Sakit Umum Pusat

SBSI [unofficial trade union]

SD Inpres primary school special program STDs sexually transmitted diseases

Susenas Survai Sosial Ekonomi Nasional
[National Social and Economic Survey]

SUPAS Survai Penduduk Antar Census

[Intercensal Population Survey]

SVRP Sample Vital Registration Project

TBAs traditional birth attendants

TKBK/TMK [mobile family planning teams]

TFR total fertility rate

U5MR Under-5 mortality rate

UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund

[orig. United Nations International

Children's Emergency Fund]

UNFPA United Nations Population Fund

[orig. United Nations Fund for Population Activities

WHO World Health Organisation
WTO World Trade Organization

YKPK Yayasan Kerukunan Persaudaraan Kebangsaan

[National Brotherhood Reconciliation Foundation]

GLOSSARY

abangan nominal Muslim

aliran school of thought or beliefs
ani ani small blade (used in harvest)
asas tunggal sole ideological basis [refers to

Pancasila]

Bandung Raya Metropolitan Bandung

bidan desa midwife

Bupati head of a kabupaten

calo recruiter

Camat head of subdistrict or kecameaan

desa village

dosenteaching staff of universitydua anak cukup'two children are enough'GerbankertasusilaMetropolitan Surabaya

golput golongan putih [lit. 'blank group'-see

Chap. 8]

Indonesia Bagian Barat Western Indonesia Indonesia Bagian Timur Eastern Indonesia

KB Mandiriself-reliant family planningkabupatenadministrative regionskelompok pelangi'rainbow' organisations

keluarga sejahtera family welfare

kelurahaanlowest administrative unitkesempatan kerja[lit.] 'employment opportunity'kotadesasiprocess whereby geographical areas

have mix of urban and rural activities

(after McGee 1991)

kotamadya municipality

kuningisasi [lit.] 'yellowisation' (painting objects yellow, the

colour of Golkar)

makar anti-government unrest

mandor foreman

Mebidang Medan-Binjai-Deli-Serdang

[Metropolitan Medan]

organisasi tanpa bentuk

(OTB)

Nomor Induk Penduduk national population registration number
Pancasila State ideology based on five national guiding

'formless organisations'

principles

pesantren Islamic boarding school

posyandu health posts

puskesmas community health centre

puskesmas pembantu health sub-centres

ramah dan manusiawi to be treated friendly and humane

santri devout Muslim

setan gundul [lit.] 'bald devils'

skripsi thesis

swarkasa self-sponsored [migration]

swarkasa spontaneous

taikong agents

tidak mau tahu 'don't want to know'

warung trade store

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As in past years, many people and institutions have contributed in various ways to the success of the *Indonesia Update* conference and to the subsequent *Indonesia Assessment* volumes. Financial support was provided by the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID), which has made a special grant to support the *Update conference series*; the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (through its annual grant to the Indonesia Project); and the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies (RSPAS) at the ANU. Special mention this year should also be made of the Research School of Social Sciences, ANU, which supported our collegial involvement in organising this conference for RSPAS.

We greatly appreciate the willingness, indeed enthusiasm, of the Indonesian Ambassador to Australia, Mr Wiryono, to give the opening address at the conference; his speech is presented here as a foreword. We also thank the Director of the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Professor Merle Ricklefs, and Professor Ross Garnaut, Convenor of the Economics Division, for their personal support for the conference. This year more papers were presented by Indonesians, we believe, than at any previous *Update*, and we are grateful to these colleagues for making the journeys from Jakarta, Yogyakarta and Bandung to brave the cold of the Canberra winter. We would also like to thank them, as well as other authors, for their prompt attention to our queries at the revision stage. This enabled the volume to be published in a timely fashion.

Many colleagues deserve thanks for their contributions in organising the conference and preparing the manuscript for publication. Bev Fraser and Alison Ley from the Department of Political and Social Change and Donna Reed, the Indonesia Project administrator, played major roles in ensuring that the conference ran smoothly. Wendy Cosford, Donna Reed, Beth Thomson and Lulu Turner each played an important and distinctive role in the editing and formatting work, thus ensuring the early publication of this volume. Other Project members, Liz Drysdale and Lynn Moir, were also very supportive, and several graduate students gave up some of their precious time to help with running the conference.

We are grateful for the contributions of the Head of the Indonesia Project, Dr Hal Hill, and Dr Harold Crouch of the Department of Political and Social Change, who were always ready with advice and guidance, yet gave us considerable freedom to organise the conference and prepare this volume. Dr Ross McLeod and Dr Colin Barlow, who convened the 1994 and 1995 *Updates* respectively, provided us with helpful assessments of their own experience in running very successful *Updates* and issuing timely publications.

From its humble beginnings in 1988, the *Indonesia Assessment* volume is now well established as a major annual publication. Since 1994, it has been published jointly by the Department of Political and Social Change, ANU, and by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore, enabling it to reach a wider audience—especially in the Southeast Asian region—than when it was published in-house at the ANU. Our thanks go to the Institute, and particularly the Managing Editor, Triena Ong, for their co-operation in bringing out this volume quickly and in handsome format.

Opening Address

His Excellency Mr S. Wiryono Ambassador of Indonesia to Australia

Professor Hal Hill, Fellow Speakers, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Before anything else I would like to thank Professor Hal Hill for inviting me to address this 13th annual ANU Indonesia Update, a forum which traditionally assesses various aspects of life in Indonesia, including political, economic, security and other specific developments of the previous year. May I also take this opportunity to congratulate the Australian National University on its 50th Anniversary. As you know, it was only last week that Indonesia celebrated its 51st Anniversary—which means that the Australian National University and Indonesia have grown up together and it is therefore altogether appropriate that they should take a great interest in each other.

Over the years, the ANU Update has provided insightful and valuable contributions to the study of Indonesia. It has promoted better understanding in Australia of its neighbour to the near north, which seems to be always an enigma. As former Prime Minister, Paul Keating has said, '... Australians fail to understand Indonesia in all its complexity'. That might have been stated in terms that are too abso-

lute, but I feel there is some degree of truth in it.

As the theme for this year's Update is 'Population and Human Resources', I would like to share with you some background on this topic as well as a few thoughts on Australian-Indonesian relations.

Among the many things that have been achieved in the course of Indonesia's national development, none have been considered more important than improvements in the quality of life, education and employment opportunities of its citizens. Certainly none has been more dramatic than the drop in the percentage of the population living below the poverty line, from 70 per cent two and a half decades ago to a little over 13.5 per cent today.

From the early days of the republic, Indonesia's leadership realised that a steadily broadening education base and sound health practices were necessary foundations for modern nationhood. While nation-building was the primary focus of the nation's leadership's efforts at that time, before the advent of the New Order, during the past 25 years the government endeavoured to strengthen the economic and social foundations of Indonesian society in order to maintain and strengthen national cohesiveness. It has been our experience, however, that whenever a problem is resolved, new challenges arise in its place. There will always be those second-guessing the government's system of priorities. Whatever policy the government adopts, there will always be those who gain more and those who will be less fortunate.

Naturally, those who are left behind have a tendency to complain and even become impatient. Not only are these processes of nation-building, economic development and democratisation replete with pitfalls, they also exact a social and political cost that many developing nations cannot afford, but sometimes cannot avoid. Indonesia is fortunate that by following a policy of maintaining political stability, promoting economic growth as well as equity, it has so far been able to surmount these challenges, albeit not without the occasional hiccough.

The Indonesian government is constantly identifying areas that have to be addressed in order to ensure steady social and economic development. Always of high priority are measures towards the eventual eradication of poverty among the so-called 'left-behind communities', both in the cities and in the villages. For this purpose, the Indonesian government has mustered massive resources to provide quality health care as well as expanded educational opportunities and training to improve the quality of the country's human resources which is absolutely necessary for further development. This creates a new pressure on the government; for those who have acquired an education now clamour for an appropriate place in the economic development process and this is not always possible. What needs to be done is to not only improve the quality of human resources, but also match these human resources with the requirements of economic development. This is one aspect of population planning that the government is now giving more attention to.

All our endeavours at development have been guided by a basic philosophy which is often enunciated by President Soeharto, the 'Trilogy of Development'. The three elements in this trilogy are stability,

economic growth, and equitable sharing of the fruits and responsibility for economic growth. There has to be stability for economic growth to be possible; there has to be economic growth so that there will be fruits of development available for sharing out; and the sharing of the fruits of development as well as the responsibility for it has to be equitable—so that the people's common sense of social justice is satisfied and thus stability is maintained. The trilogy works like a spiral and its three mutually reinforcing elements are regarded with equal importance.

When we in Indonesia speak of stability, therefore, we do not mean imposed or enforced stability, but one that is based on the strength, resilience and creativity of the nation. To maintain that kind of stability, we must see to it that more and more Indonesians share in the responsibility for and the fruits of development. This means wider and more intensive participation in the decision-making processes which affect their lives and their future so that they acquire and maintain a sense of control over their own destiny. In a word, democratisation.

This we are determined to achieve, not at a pace that is dictated by external influences, nor as demanded by a vocal minority in the country, but one that is comfortable to a majority of our people. I am confident that it will be achieved—for the experience of many nations has been that as people attain prosperity, as the middle class grows and the people no longer have to worry about their day-to-day basic needs, they tend to grow more politically active. We just have to make sure, however, that political activism is neither a mask nor an excuse for anarchy and gross irresponsibility.

Meanwhile, through a national policy that has dedicated every means available both to increase national wealth and to ensure its equitable distribution, poverty is being systematically eradicated in Indonesia. World Bank statistics indicate that Indonesia has demonstrated the highest annual reduction in the incidence of poverty over the past two decades. Some 25 years ago, the population of Indonesia was 145 million, 70 per cent of whom lived under the poverty line. Today the population of Indonesia has increased to 195 million but the percentage of the population living below the poverty line has dropped sharply to 13.5 per cent. This is no less than a two-thirds reduction of the incidence of poverty—but what makes it particularly impressive is that a large part of Indonesia's poor started at levels close to the subsistence level. As people rise above the poverty line,

they are on their way to joining the middle class. This means that we are now developing a broader, stronger middle class. The American economist Edwin Mills once observed that Indonesia's middle class '... is stronger than that in many countries in its stage of development, but fairly typical of South East Asian societies. The benefits of such rapid growth are not shared equally in any society, but all major groups have benefited greatly [in Indonesia]'.

In relation to health services, the government continues to upgrade hospitals and other public health facilities all over the country and to establish new ones where needed. Through these medical and health facilities, most Indonesians now have access to basic medical care, immunisation and vaccination, treatment of common diseases and nutritional guidance. During the past decade, the number of medical professionals in Indonesia has more or less doubled.

In the field of education, Indonesia's highest priorities today include the expansion of the educational system, particularly at the junior and senior elementary levels, and the upgrading of its teaching staffs, keeping in mind the requirements of economic growth and the realities of the job market. As a result of the government's determined endeavours in education, the national literacy rate has greatly increased during the past two decades. University enrolments have also grown rapidly, and the government predicts that by the year 2000, each year, some 3.9 million students will be earning college degrees.

In the early 1990s a key concern among government planners and private business people has been how the country could train a sufficient number of skilled workers to meet the growing requirements of the rapidly growing economy. They knew that if the country could not provide the employee skills at a quantity and quality that matched demand, there would be a tremendous loss in terms of economic opportunities and competitiveness in the international market on which much of Indonesia's prosperity depends.

In response to this challenge, Indonesia's policy-makers have begun to redefine the role of government in education: no longer would it serve as the sole provider of education but would now also assume the role of catalyst for training programs initiated and maintained by the private sector. So we now have a situation where an array of increasingly sophisticated skills-training programs are being developed by the private sector and more imaginative and focused programs are being developed by the government. Once these advanced and refined social infrastructures are firmly in place, Indonesia should be well on its way to acquiring a work force that is more capable of meeting the challenge of global competition.

New jobs created for some 15 million workers during the past decade have been the result of policies of sound economic management, leading to robust economic growth. Such growth indeed has been especially marked by rapid job creation in the manufacturing and service industries. Also emblematic is the increasing importance of private enterprise—as distinguished from government or state-owned enterprises. The private sector has now truly become the engine of economic growth and as such the chief provider of new jobs. Over the past two decades, we have seen a greater number of women enter the work force, rises in the level of the minimum wage and a general improvement in labour conditions. The labour laws of Indonesia are now being codified in conformity with ILO standards in order to ensure that the rights of labourers are exercised and respected.

Although the achievements of Indonesia in economic development have sometimes been described as 'miraculous', we have no illusions that we have solved all our problems. We know, for instance, that some 25 million Indonesians still live below the poverty line, that we have to watch our current accounts deficit and our external debt level carefully. We know only too well that Indonesia has indefatigable detractors waging a relentless propaganda campaign against the country in international circles. It is therefore vital to Indonesia that it is perceived for what it actually is, rather than as it is variously and simplistically imagined by both detractors and friends.

Indonesian society is complex enough to start with: we are 195 million people living in an archipelago of 17,000 islands, with more than 300 ethnic groupings speaking more than 200 different languages. Apart from that, we are also trying to achieve two objectives which, at least at the beginning, could and often do contradict each other: economic development and democratisation. Indeed these twin objectives have been the subject of continuing debate which will, I suppose, go on for a long time. One view, propounded by former Prime Minister and now Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, is that democratisation should not be a priority in a developing country, as discipline rather than democracy is what is needed to achieve economic growth and social progress. A contending view, held by Madam Aung Sang Suu Kyi of Myanmar, is that the length of time it took Western countries to achieve democratisation should not be used as a valid reason for Asian countries to be slow in its implementation.

Indonesia has chosen to take the middle path towards democratisation, as we are aware of the complexity of the effort in realising these twin objectives. If an observer takes into account the complexity of Indonesian society and the complexity of what we are trying to achieve, perhaps a less judgemental view might emerge from our friends and neighbours. Certainly, oversimplifications and stereotypes shed no light and will not help bring about mutual understanding and goodwill.

As to Indonesia's relationship with Australia, it has often been said that no other two countries could be so geographically close to each other and yet be so vastly different from each other. This I do not dispute, for we differ in our historical experiences, in our political system, and in our cultures and social structure, as well as in many other ways. And although we are neighbours, we do not really know each other very well, a state of affairs which I feel needs rectification. This feeling is shared by many Australians, many of whom have gone beyond merely lamenting it to doing something about it, by going to Indonesia and investing there or simply enjoying themselves there. In this respect, the role played by the Australia-Indonesia Institute, and the soon to be announced Indonesia-Australia Institute in Jakarta, is very important in contributing to the promotion of mutual understanding. The organising of the visit by Australian editors to Indonesia a few months ago is an example of a useful and constructive activity initiated by and involving Australians who desire to strengthen our existing bilateral ties.

Australian economic interest in Indonesia has over the years grown tremendously and can be seen from the fact that last year alone, the investment flow from Australia to Indonesia amounted to A\$3.7 billion involving 38 projects, thereby making Australia the ninth largest investor in Indonesia. The number of tourists from each country visiting the other has been constantly on the increase and there appears to be a growing number of Australians who have finally realised that Indonesia has a great deal more to offer for the wholesome enjoyment of the traveller than the beaches of Bali. The number of Indonesian students choosing to study in Australia is continually growing. At any one time, there are some 15,000 Indonesian students enrolled at various educational institutions all over Australia. In addition, I am pleased and impressed by the enthusiastic effort among Australian schools—primary and secondary, as well as tertiary institutions— to teach Bahasa Indonesia. To me, this bespeaks a keen

desire to promote the relationship between our two countries and educate students so that any remaining barriers of ignorance can be broken down.

On the other hand, Indonesians feel a growing need to know and understand Australia better. In this, it has been of great help that there are a growing number of literary publications on Australia now circulating in Indonesia. The translation of these reading materials into Bahasa Indonesia has been initiated but needs to be expanded.

What is important is that we should not let the differentiations between our two countries become obstacles in the growth and flourishing of a mutually beneficial relationship. The differences between our systems, our cultures and our respective situations are real and are not easy to bridge, but it may rightly be pointed out that these differences are precisely the ingredients for a synergistic relationship, an effective partnership for economic and social development, as well as a sharing of responsibility for the maintenance of regional peace, security and stability.

Indonesia is a country in transition: economically, it is moving towards industrialisation; politically, it is moving towards greater democratisation. And the nation-building process goes on. We are, of course, already a nation but, given our problems and our aspirations, not yet the nation we wish to become.

Indeed, after almost 30 years of rapid economic development and six Five-Year Plans which have brought the Indonesian economy to the take-off stage, and with the rise of a new generation that experienced neither the throes of revolution nor the upheaval of the mid-1960s, Indonesia would seem to be entering a new era. Both forces of continuity and the forces of change are interacting in Indonesia and their interaction should be managed in a creative and constructive way if the future of Indonesia is to be more secure. To be able to do so, we need to share the objective observations and the useful insights that can be provided by solicitous friends such as the Australian National University. That is why it is very important for me, as Indonesia's Ambassador to Australia, to be here listening to and exchanging views with you.

Let me also say this in conclusion: my country is grateful for the attention, patience and understanding, as well as co-operation extended to it by its friends and neighbours. It is also eager to prove that it is worth all that attention, patience, understanding and co-operation, not only by reciprocating bilaterally but, most importantly, by

contributing as much as it can to regional and global peace, stability and equitably shared prosperity. That is the constitutional mandate of the Government of Indonesia. That is also the sentiment of the Indonesian man in the street.

Thank you.