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BUREAUCRACY AND NATION FORMATION IN INDONESIA*

Students of society engaged in the study of the 'new states' in Asia and Africa have often observed, not infrequently with a note of dismay, the seeming omnipresence of the government bureaucracy in these newly independent states.

In Indonesia, for example, the range of activities of government functionaries, the *pegawai negeri* in local parlance, seems to be unlimited. There are, first of all and certainly most obvious, the large number of people occupying official positions in the various ministries located in the capital city of Djakarta, ranging in each ministry from the authoritative Secretary General to the nearly powerless floor sweepers. There are the territorial administrative authorities, all under the Minister of Internal Affairs, from provincial Governors down to the village chiefs who are elected by their fellow villagers but who after their election receive their official appointments from the Government through their superiors in the administrative hierarchy. These territorial administrative authorities constitute the civil service who are frequently identified as members of the government bureaucracy *par excellence*. There are, furthermore, as in many another country, the members of the judiciary, personnel of the medical service, diplomats and consular officials of the foreign service, taxation officials, technicians engaged in the construction and maintenance of public works, employees of state enterprises, research scientists, and a great number of instructors, ranging from teachers of Kindergarten schools to university professors at the innumerable institutions of education operated by the Government in the service of the youthful sectors of the population. The listing is far from complete but it is sufficient to convey the diversity of activities carried out by personnel of the government bureaucracy in Indonesia.

* This article is a slightly expanded up-dated version of a section of a paper on *Nation Formation in Indonesia*, written for Professor Rupert Emerson's seminar on *Nationalism* at Harvard University in the Fall of 1965.

Emil Salim, Minister of Administration Reform reported the existence of 541,873 employees on the pay-rolls of the government paying offices in 1971.¹ Nearly 40 years ago, in 1932, when the Indonesian archipelago was still under Dutch colonial control, the personnel of the government bureaucracy was comprised of 103,619 employees, divided into 85,708 native Indonesians and 17,034 Europeans.² Thus, in about thirty-five years, the size of the government bureaucracy has multiplied by more than 5 times.

It is possible, of course, to view the continuing growth of the government bureaucracy as the development of instruments of power to secure an efficient and effective implementation of the goals of those who are in control of the Government. Alarm has been expressed to attract attention to the apparent fact of increasing domination in society of the state apparatus which seems to penetrate into all spheres of activity hitherto left in unaffected freedom. The government bureaucracy has been criticized for suppression of the freedom of activity of the private sectors of the society; it has been interpreted as an institution which sets boundaries for the growth of other institutions such as, for example, private enterprise, regarded by many as the backbone of economic development.

The same phenomenon has been subjected to criticism for its resultant inefficiency and waste of human resources. In the present stage of societal development, so it is observed, many members of the government bureaucracy are simply superfluous, having no real function in its structure. The size of its personnel makes the government bureaucracy unwieldy, cumbersome, resulting in unnecessary red-tape. Its internal division of labor, not infrequently subjected to great structural changes, has become extremely complicated, understood by only a few with the aid of charts which are supposed to describe the relationships among its many component parts but actually offer only a schematic description of the bureaucratic structure in its ideal form rather than in practice.

And, joining the critics, people concerned with the sorry state of government finance condemn the formidable size of the government bureaucracy which they see as putting an unnecessarily heavy burden on the state budget, already suffering annually from an enormous cut by the armed forces for its own maintenance and development. If

¹ Statement to the press, reported in *Pedoman*, October 7, 1971.

² P. J. Gerke, 'De personeelsvoorziening', in H. Baudet and I. J. Brugmans, eds., *Balans van Beleid* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1961), p. 183.

employment in all ministries is reduced, so the argument goes, the resulting smaller government bureaucracy would lessen the strain on the state budget and contribute to the development of a more rational economy which, in turn, would provide the condition required for the maintenance of a stable government.

The continuing growth of the government bureaucracy, however, can also be examined from another vantage point. The increase in the size of its personnel means, among others, that a greater number of people are given positions in the national bureaucratic structure, people who, in the Indonesian case, are recruited from a manifold of territorially based ethnic groups. These people, members of the expanding government bureaucracy, become absorbed, as it were, by an institution which is not based on any of the ethnic cultures, but rests on a new cultural foundation, the culture of a newly emerging Indonesian nation. Little attention, if any, has been given to the latent role of the government bureaucracy, as a national institution, in the formation of the Indonesian nation.

The territorial boundaries of the Republic of Indonesia are of relatively recent origin, established when political boundaries in Asia and Africa were fixed in international conferences by the participating delegates of colonial governments without much regard for the social, cultural, economic and political institutions of the indigenous population in the areas concerned.³ At that time, to facilitate the drawing of boundaries, convenient geometrical devices, such as lines of latitude, longitude, arcs or circles, had been employed, apart from watersheds, bodies of water, and some vaguely identified landforms and other natural features whose location on the maps was frequently in discord with reality.⁴ The various areas which came to be recognized at such conferences as parts of the territory under the jurisdiction of a given colonial power, and the population inhabiting these areas, came to be regarded as parts of one political unit as the result of the extent of military, political and economic penetration of the colonizing power, various compromises among the competing colonial governments and, in some cases, as the result of territorial exchange.

The Government of the newly independent republic inherited its

³ With respect to Indonesia, a case study on the formation of a boundary line, that of the eastern border of West Irian (New Guinea), appears in H. W. Bachtiar, 'Sedjarah perbatasan timur Irian Barat', *Indonesian Journal of Cultural Studies*, Vol. I, No. 1 (April 1963), pp. 65-78.

⁴ See J. V. Minghi, 'Boundary studies in political geography', *Annals, Association of American Geographers*, Vol. LIII, No. 3 (September 1963), pp. 407-428.

territorial boundaries from the disintegrated Dutch colonial Government. In conformity with this, the population within the territorial boundaries of the former Netherlands Indies, the new Indonesian state, are considered by the promulgated laws of the land to be members of one polity, citizens of the Republic of Indonesia. Unfortunately, the acquisition of full citizenship does not necessarily mean that with it the focus of high priority loyalties essential to the maintenance of a societal community is henceforth the newly emerged Indonesian nation. The focus of high priority loyalties of many an Indonesian citizen is still his own territorially based ethnic group.

The population of Indonesia, counting more than 120 million people in 1971, is comprised of a relatively large number of territorially based ethnic groups, some numerically as large as some nations in Europe, if not larger. When the 1930 population census, used here for lack of more recent figures on the relative strength of the various existing ethnic groups, showed a total population of about 60 million people, there were 27,808,623 Javanese, native inhabitants of the central and eastern parts of the island of Java, smallest among the five largest islands in the Indonesian archipelago. Nearly a million Javanese were reported living in areas outside their own home land. The Javanese ethnic group was, and still is for a long time to come, the largest ethnic group in the archipelago. The Javanese constitute a single people, with distinct racial characteristics, living from time immemorial in their own home area, speaking a common language all their own, possessing a distinctive culture, and 'shaped to a common mold by many generations of shared historical experience', as many an anthropologist could testify.⁵

The same characteristics are also manifested by the other ethnic groups, including the Sundanese, the second largest ethnic group in Indonesia. The Sundanese are native inhabitants of the western part of the island of Java and counted 8,594,834 people in 1930. The Madurese, who have their home of origin on the island of Madura but also live as people native to the land in some areas of East Java, comprised the third largest ethnic group, being an ethnic group of 4,405,862 people. Then, following these three largest ethnic groups,

⁵ The 1930 census figures have been obtained from the volumes of *Volkstelling 1930* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1932-1936). Perhaps indicative of the general attitude toward the significance of ethnic group differences in Indonesia current among government officials is the absence of figures about the relative strength of the various ethnic groups in the *Statistical Pocketbook of Indonesia 1963*, cited above. Only a geographical distribution of the population is given.

in descending order in accordance with their numerical size, are the Minangkabau of West Sumatra (1,988,648 people), the Buginese of South Celebes (1,533,035 people), the Batak of North Sumatra (1,207,514 people), the Balinese of the well-known Bali-Hindu island east of Java (1,111,659 people), the native population of the capital city of Djakarta (980,863 people), the Malays of East Sumatra (953,397 people), the Bandjarese of South Borneo (898,884 people), the Atjeh-nese of North Sumatra (831,321 people), the Palembang indigenous inhabitants of South Sumatra (770,917 people), the Sasaks of the island of Lombok (651,391 people), the Dayaks of Borneo (651,391 people), and the Makassarese of South Celebes (641,720 people).⁶

There are a much larger number of numerically smaller ethnic groups, not necessarily less important in political matters than the large ones. Among the smaller ethnic groups which have asserted themselves as active participants in the social and political life of Indonesian society as a whole, mention should certainly be made of the Ambonese and Menadonese, both, together with a great part of the Batak ethnic group and parts of other ethnic groups, being Christian ethnic groups in contrast to the majority of the population who are adherents of the Islamic faith.

Each of these ethnic groups, then, has its own language, its own well-defined home territory, its own values and normative system (*adat*), its own indigenous political structure, its own architecture, dances and songs, literature and philosophy, its own distinctive native religion, and in some cases even its own native script.

Except for the influence of their respective colonial heritage, the native population of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia is actually indistinguishable from the people in the neighboring countries, such as Malaysia and the Philippines. The native inhabitants in these areas are of the same racial stock, speaking languages of the same linguistic family group. Kinship ties between the various population groups have been established and are still being maintained; while trade and commerce across the political boundaries are carried on as

⁶ The characteristics of the Javanese ethnic group and any other ethnic group in Indonesia conform, as can be seen, to R. Emerson's characterization of the ideal model of a nation: '... a single people, traditionally fixed on a well-defined territory, speaking the same language and preferably a language all its own, possessing a distinctive culture, and shaped to a common mold by many generations of shared historical experience'. See his *From Empire to Nation: The rise of self-assertion of Asian and African peoples* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962), p. 103.

a continuation of activities already carried on long before the territorial boundaries had been established.

In addition to the indigenous population, the total population of Indonesia also includes three so-called minority groups, namely people of Chinese, Dutch and Arab descent, a legacy of colonial rule in the Indonesian archipelago. A major factor which differentiates these so-called minority groups from the indigenous ethnic groups is the fact that they do not have their own territory in the archipelago, territories that they could claim to be their homeland and not to be the land of any one else.

Only since the beginning of our century is a new societal community, the Indonesian nation, emerging from this ethnically heterogeneous population. The new societal community is not associated with any particular ethnic group as is the predominantly Anglo-Saxon American nation or the predominantly Burmese Burman nation. In fact, its language of communication, the Indonesian language, is neither the language of the former colonial power, Dutch, nor the native language of the largest ethnic group, Javanese. The Indonesian language is a language based on the native language of a small politically insignificant ethnic group, the Malays of Sumatra, a people which through its active traders succeeded to make its language the *lingua franca* of the archipelago. As a national language, the Indonesian language has developed into a modern language capable of being used, a.o., in political communication and in scientific discourse.

The Indonesian nation emerged in the first decades of our century as a small collectivity which very rapidly increased in size. It has recruited its members from various ethnic groups within the territorial boundaries of the Indonesian republic in such a manner that at present nearly each ethnic group has part of its members regarding themselves as members of the newly emerged societal community, as being Indonesians in contrast or in addition to being members of any given ethnic group. The proportion of individuals who regard themselves as members of the Indonesian nation varies from one ethnic group to another.

The process of nation formation in Indonesia should be regarded as the process of inclusion of more and more individuals who are legally citizens of the Indonesian republic into the new societal community, a process which could only be regarded as completed when all Indonesian citizens consider themselves to belong to the Indonesian nation. This major social transformation, from an aggregate of distinctly different ethnic local societies to a single new nation, is facilitated,

among others, by the impact of the existing government bureaucracy on the personality of its members.

The primary function of a government bureaucracy is to mediate between the interests of the Government, comprised of a number of persons authorized to make decisions binding to the citizens of the state, and the interests of the population who inhabit the territory of the state; in Indonesia, its ethnically heterogeneous population. The decisions made by members of the Government cannot be implemented without the existence of such a bureaucracy and the cooperation of those individuals who occupy positions in its various parts and branches.

S. N. Eisenstadt aptly described the function of a government bureaucracy as that of regulating the differences among the various groups of people in the society concerning the priority of goals and competition among these groups for the acquisition of scarce resources. This is especially true with respect to the government bureaucracy in newly developing countries such as Indonesia where different ethnic groups, rooted in their respective home territory which varies with respect to natural wealth in comparison with the other ethnic home territories, have different interests, each demanding that the government bureaucracy would implement policies in accordance with its own particular interests. A similar view prevails, quite naturally, among the larger social categories in which the population can also be divided: the Islamic, the Christian, the more secular oriented socialists of various shades, the nationalists, and other such ideological groupings.

With all these differences in material possession and differences in knowledge and ideology, it is only to be expected that differences of interests, if not real conflicts of interests, are bound to persist in their existence, with the government bureaucracy acting as mediator and, if necessary, as regulator.

In seeking popular acceptance as a truly national Indonesian Government, the nationalist leaders who proclaimed the independence of the newly established Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 1945, were confronted with what S. M. Lipset has called the 'crisis of legitimacy'.⁷

The collapse of the Dutch colonial Government when the Japanese armed forces succeeded to occupy the archipelago in 1942, followed three and a half years later by the disintegration of the Japanese military occupational Government, brought about the elimination of the set of beliefs and values which until then had legitimized the existing authority

⁷ S. M. Lipset, *The First New Nation: The United States in historical and comparative perspective* (New York: Basic Books, 1963), p. 11.

structure in the archipelago. The general support given to the Government which the nationalist leaders instituted as the legitimate source of authority in the whole area of the former Netherlands Indies was to a large extent due to the charismatic authority of Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta who were widely acclaimed as the leading figures of the Indonesian nationalist movement. But not entirely.

The relatively unruffled process of legitimizing the authority of the new Government as the government of an ethnically heterogeneous society, still being in the first stages of unification as one nation, was facilitated greatly by the ethnic composition of its first Cabinets. In such a time of crisis, in the absence of continuity in what had previously been acknowledged as the source of legitimization, it was especially important to include as many leaders of politically significant population groups as possible as members of the Government. In this manner, mobilization of support from the population could be secured through the political power and influence these leaders were able to exert on their respective followers. Territorially based ethnic groups constitute one of the most significant types of population groups, since their possession of a home territory, all their own, permits each of them to withhold support while being able to continue to live on their own in their own home territory.

Accordingly, members of the Cabinet are always recruited from a diversity of ethnic backgrounds. The ethnically heterogeneous composition of the Cabinets not only provides satisfaction to the ethnic groups which the Ministers are affiliated with, but, paradoxically, also gives the Government the image of being a national Indonesian Government where ethnic background has no place. Characteristically, the ever present ethnic factor is never publicly recognized as such. Members of the Cabinet are usually identified only as representatives of political parties or professional groupings, never officially as representatives of ethnic groups or regions. Nevertheless, there is general agreement that political party representation and expertness are not the only factors to be considered in the formation of a Cabinet. The ethnic group factor exercises its influence by setting its own limits on the freedom of choice in the selection of Ministers who as a group must be ethnically heterogeneous.

The very first Cabinet, however, had a special task to perform. Its main function was to incorporate the personnel of the already existing government bureaucracy centered in Djakarta, still under the control of the Japanese military occupational forces, as members of the national

bureaucratic structure under the authority of the newly instituted national Government, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia. It was therefore a matter of expedience to select the members of the first Cabinet 'from among those men who were already placed at the top of the departmental hierarchies ... In this way, the downward channels of command could be controlled, and the Japanese could easily be set aside'.⁸

Since during the period of Japanese military occupation in World War II the government bureaucracy in Djakarta was maintained mainly to administer the inhabitants of Java, the chief functionaries were primarily recruited from among its own native population, the Javanese and the Sundanese. Hence, the relatively large number of members who originate from these two ethnic groups in the first Cabinet. The first Cabinet, designed for a specific task, lasted only about two months; it consisted of the following persons:

Minister of Foreign Affairs :	Achmad Subardjo, a Javanese
Internal Affairs :	R. A. A. Wiranatakusuma, a Sundanese
Justice :	R. Supomo, a Javanese
Economic Affairs:	Surachman, a Javanese
Finance :	Samsi, a Javanese
Education :	Ki Hadjar Dewantara, a Javanese
Social Affairs :	Amir Sjarifuddin, a Mandailing Batak
Health :	Buntaran Martoatmodjo, a Javanese
Communication :	Abikusno Tjokrosujoso, a Javanese ⁹

⁸ Muhammad Hatta, 'Isi proklamasi', in *Fakta2 dan Dokumen2 untuk menjusun buku 'Indonesia Memasuki Gelanggang Internasional'* (Djakarta: Kementerian Penerangan, June 1958), Supplement I, p. 2.

⁹ For a listing of the composition of Indonesian Cabinets, but without information concerning the ethnic affiliation of the Ministers, see *Almanak Indonesia 1968*, Vol. I (Djakarta: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1969), pp. 86-148. It should be admitted that in Indonesia itself a discussion on the ethnic composition of the Government would in general be regarded as somewhat suspect. Individuals participating in politics on the national level and a great many people in the capital city of Djakarta and some of the other major urban centers tend already to be part of the newly emerging Indonesian nation, here defined sociologically, with respect to specific values, perception and attitudes. They tend to believe that all Indonesian citizens are similarly conscious of being part of the Indonesian nation and that therefore such 'primordial ties' as ethnic affiliation are regarded as of no real influence on politics in their own country. Any discussion on the subject of ethnic representation in the Government or in any other institution would only be an acknowledgement of the continuing existence of ethnic ties, and with them: ethnic loyalties. However, among people of the same ethnic origin matters of ethnic representation do receive attention and are being scrutinized and evaluated in the open.

In order to avoid the image of being a Government of Javanese, in addition to the persons mentioned above, the Cabinet also included a number of persons who did not actually head any executive department but sat in the Cabinet to represent certain categories of people who, through these persons, could be persuaded to lend support to the new Government. These persons were given the position of Minister of State and were: Mohammad Amir, a Minangkabau who was held to represent the inhabitants of the island of Sumatra; Wachid Hasjim, a Javanese religious leader; Sartono, another Javanese but one who represented more secular interests; A. A. Maramis, a Menadonese who was held to represent the inhabitants of the island of Celebes; Otto Iskandar Dinata, a prominent Sundanese leader; and Sukardjo Wirjopranoto, a Javanese leader.

It should be emphasized that although the indigenous population of Indonesia is divided into different ethnic local societies, each with its own territory, unlike the Government of Burma in its first years of independence, no position in the Cabinet has been created with the specific authority to serve the special interests of particular ethnic groups. Every member of the Cabinet has a sphere of jurisdiction that encompasses the whole country and is not limited to any specific region, such as the sphere of authority of Minangkabau, or Karen, Kachin, Shin Affairs, and the like, in Burma.¹⁰

The integrity of the Cabinet, the central Government as a truly Indonesian national governing council in the context of the formation of a new nation is enhanced by the fact that the position of Head of the Government has been occupied by persons recruited successively from a diversity of ethnic groups. According to the Constitution of the Republic, promulgated one day after the independence of the new state was proclaimed, the Government should be headed by the President. In practice, however, in the first years of the Republic, the President delegated his authority as chief of the Cabinet to others who therefore assumed the position of Prime Minister. The Prime Minister was usually the person who, at the request of the President and with

¹⁰ During a period of existence of nearly 22 years only one exception has occurred in the Indonesian Government, namely when Slamet Bratanata, a Sundanese engineer, was appointed Minister of the Trans-Sumatra Highway on May 28, 1965. But the sphere of authority of the Minister was very specific: although he dealt with only one region, Sumatra, his task did not stretch out beyond the task of constructing the planned highway. Even this ministership did not lose its national character because the Minister was himself not of Sumatran origin.

the approval of Parliament, selected the members of the Cabinet.

After the short-lived Cabinet of President Sukarno resigned, the succeeding chiefs of the Cabinet, or Prime Ministers, were successively Sutan Sjahrir (1945-1947), a Minangkabau (West Sumatra); Amir Sjarifuddin (1947-1948), a Mandailing Batak (North Sumatra); Mohammad Hatta (1948-1950), a Minangkabau; Mohammad Natsir (1950-1951), a Minangkabau; Sukiman Wirjosandjojo (1951-1952), a Javanese (Central Java); Ali Sastroamidjojo (1953-1955), a Javanese; Burhanuddin Harahap (1955-1956), a Mandailing Batak; and Djuanda Kartawidjaja (1957-1959), a Sundanese (West Java). On July 9, 1959, President Sukarno resumed his position as chief of the Cabinet, a position which he retained until General Suharto assumed leadership of the Government on October 11, 1967 with the so-called "improved Ampera Cabinet".

An examination of the above list of chiefs of the Government shows that in the first years of the existence of the Republic, the Prime Ministers were selected from among political leaders hailing from the island of Sumatra rather than from Java, both the Minangkabau and Mandailing Batak, as indicated, being ethnic groups which are based on Sumatra. Since the Chief of State, Sukarno, was a Javanese, it was politically expedient, at least in the critical first years of the existence of the new independent state, to have a non-Javanese as head of the Government in order to secure the confidence and participation of political leaders who received their political support from indigenous population groups outside the island of Java, especially Sumatra. The fact that the Prime Minister was a person from their 'own people' gave the politically aware sectors of the population in Sumatra confidence in the newly established Government. Not only the Vice-President, Mohammad Hatta, was of Sumatran origin but also the Prime Minister.

With a non-Javanese as chief of the Cabinet, the Government could not be reproached for being a political agent of the Javanese, the largest and most developed ethnic group in the Indonesian archipelago, in an effort to gain political dominance and therefore to cause the political subordination of the other ethnic groups. With the variability in the ethnic affiliation of the successive occupants of the position of Chief of the Cabinet, the position could not be associated with any specific ethnic group, and consequently assumed the character of a truly national Indonesian political position.

The inclusion of foremost political leaders of Sumatran origin in

the highest political decision body of the nation was, perhaps, one of the main reasons why the people of Sumatra were ready to give full support to the newly established Republic of Indonesia and why the returning Dutch colonial Government did not have much success in creating new states in Sumatra as part of a federal system of government it intended to establish in the Indonesian archipelago after the end of World War II. Already in its first agreement with the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, in the Linggardjati agreement which was signed in March 1946, the Dutch assented to recognize the Government of the Republic as 'the *de facto* authority in Java and Sumatra', but not in Borneo, Celebes, and the other islands.

The Dutch succeeded to re-establish their own authority in the other islands of their former colony where they did receive sufficient support from local native political leaders in their endeavor to create their federal system of government.¹¹ Nevertheless, in the end the federal organization of newly created native states, cut along major ethnic divisions and brought under the control of the Dutch Government in the classical manner of *divide et impera*, eventually failed to maintain its existence. The details about the rise and fall of the Dutch created post-World War II federal system in the Indonesian archipelago is of no concern in the present discourse. It is very suggestive, however, and very likely in conformity with reality, to note a close correspondence between ethnic representation in the Government and ethnic political support given to the state structure which the Government is associated with. The native population of both Java and Sumatra readily lent support to the Government in which they felt to be represented through their 'native sons', while those of the other islands were somewhat hesitant and thus more susceptible to rival claims for political support.

If the ethnic affiliation of the successive heads of a given Ministry is examined — any Ministry — the same pattern, already observed with respect to the position of Prime Minister, is manifested. It would be sufficient to demonstrate this assertion by referring to two of the most important ministerships, that of the Minister of Internal Affairs and Minister of Finance.

The position of Minister of Internal Affairs has been occupied

¹¹ For an account of the establishment of a federal system of government in Indonesia by the Dutch, see George McT. Kahin, 'The strategy and tactics of indirect rule', in his *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1952), pp. 351-390. A purely legalistic account appears in A. Arthur Schiller, *The Formation of Federal Indonesia, 1945-1949* (The Hague/Bandung: W. van Hoeve, 1955).

successively by R. A. A. Wiranatakusumah, a Sundanese (West Java); Sutan Sjahrir, a Minangkabau (West Sumatra); Sudarsono, a Javanese (Central Java); Muhammad Rum, a Javanese; Wondoamiseno, a Javanese; Sukiman Wirjosandjojo, a Javanese; Wongsonegoro, a Javanese; Susanto Tirtoprodjo, a Javanese; Anak Agung Gede Agung, a Balinese; Assaat, a Minangkabau; Iskaq Tjokrohadisurjo, a Javanese; Hazairin, a Bengkulu (South Sumatra); R. Sunarjo, a Javanese; Sanusi Hardjadinata, a Sundanese (West Java); Ipiik Gandamana, a Sundanese; Sumarno Sastroatmodjo, a Javanese; Basuki Rachmat, a Javanese, and Amir Machmud, a Sundanese.

The position of Minister of Finance has been occupied by Samsi Sastrawidagda, a Javanese; A. A. Maramis, a Menadonese (North Celebes); Sunarjo Kolopaking, a Javanese; Surachman Tjokroadisurjo, a Javanese; Sjarifuddin Prawiranegara, a Sundanese; Lukman Hakim, a Javanese; Jusuf Wibisono, a Javanese; Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, a Javanese; Ong Eng Die, an Indonesian of Chinese descent; Sutikno Slamet, a Javanese; Notohamiprodjo, a Javanese; Djuanda Kartawidjaja, a Sundanese; Sumarno, a Javanese; Suharto, a Javanese; Frans Seda, a Floresian (Lesser Sunda Islands), and Ali Wardhana, a Sundanese.

The pattern of ethnic heterogeneity, and thus of Indonesianness, is also manifested in the composition of the leadership group within each Cabinet whenever the Government is faced with a legitimacy crisis. Immediately after the overthrow of the Communist Party for example, the leadership group, the Presidium, was comprised of a Chairman and four Chief Ministers, the group as a whole being ethnically heterogeneous. The Chairman of the Presidium was Lt. General Suharto, a Javanese professional soldier who emerged as a national hero after he successfully quelled the attempted coup d'état staged by the so-called 'September 30 Movement' in 1965; the second Chief Minister was Adam Malik, a Socialist political leader who is a Mandailing Batak from Sumatra; the third Chief Minister is K. H. Idham Chalid, a leading political figure in the largest Islamic political party in the country, the Nahdatul Ulama, and a Bandjarese from Borneo; the fourth Chief Minister is Sultan Hamengku Buwana IX, a much respected modern Javanese traditional ruler; while the fifth Chief Minister, Sanusi Hardjadinata, is a political leader of Sundanese origin.

With such an ethnic composition in the leadership of the Cabinet, the Government could not be regarded as being partial to the interest

of any particular ethnic group. This national character of the Government, then, pervades its entire bureaucratic structure and cannot but influence the formation of a consciousness of being part of a supra-ethnic societal community, the Indonesian nation, among members of its expansive bureaucracy.

It is not difficult to understand that a government bureaucracy in an ethnically heterogeneous society can become the cause of a sharpening of ethnic differences if, for one reason or another, it is felt that its personnel are recruited from one or a few favored ethnic groups. In such a case the values of the culture of the ethnic group which dominates the bureaucracy will be regarded by members of the national bureaucracy — perhaps inadvertently — to be identical with the national values, a view which may be received with resentment by members of other ethnic groups who may see no reason for adopting the values of any other ethnic group to replace their own cherished cultural values, not to speak of 'real' conflict of interests.

Within the Indonesian government bureaucratic structure, innumerable rules and regulations, all in the Indonesian language, have been promulgated to coordinate the activities of its personnel in the performance of their tasks. Members of the bureaucracy are expected to conduct their activities as officials of the Government of Indonesia in conformity with these non-ethnic oriented, impersonal rules and regulations. In order to legitimize their positions as members of the government bureaucracy, as agents of authority, each member is given an official letter of appointment in which his specific task is formulated. With the acceptance of such a letter of appointment, the person concerned has committed himself to function as a government official, occupying a particular position in its hierarchy of authority.

In Indonesia, all government officials are formally arranged in a hierarchy of official ranking, the various levels of the hierarchy being designated by Roman numbers and the first letters of the alphabet, from I to VI, and from a to h. A given position is first assigned to a Roman numeral group, and then more specifically ranked in terms of letters. Senior officials occupying positions in the IV group (about 1 % of the total number of civil servants), for example, are subdivided into IVa, IVb, IVc, and so on. Members of the Cabinet are not regarded as government officials.

Since the bureaucratic rules and regulations are of an impersonal character, the specific position of each government official is largely, although in reality not solely, dependent on his own achievement.

There are, as is usually the case, rules which specify the various criteria to be fulfilled to get appointed to a specific position or to get promoted to a better one. The factor of ethnic affiliation which might have determined the allocation of positions and tasks in the bureaucracy to be performed by its members is to a great extent suppressed by the existence of these publicly known rules and regulations. It should be admitted, however, that in the first years after the establishment of the new state, as a conscious effort to promote nation formation, the appointment of personnel to positions in the national government bureaucracy — especially in the upper levels — is not only carried out on the basis of expertise and experience, but also on the basis of ethnic affiliation; this, paradoxically, to guarantee an acceptable representation of each sizable ethnic group in the bureaucratic structure. Thus, in quite a number of cases, ethnic affiliation does influence the appointment of new members of the bureaucracy in a discriminatory fashion, not as a form of exclusion but, on the contrary, as a form of inclusion. In the general endeavor to fashion a national bureaucracy, persons affiliated with ethnic groups not yet represented in the bureaucracy are frequently given a better chance of getting accepted or promoted than others.

Not unlike in most contemporary independent states, the Indonesian government bureaucracy is structurally differentiated into a number of departments, all having their central offices in the capital city of Djakarta. Since Djakarta offers the best facilities for nearly all kinds of activities, especially in the field of education, trade and commerce, the city has attracted a great diversity of people, of various ethnic origin, coming from nearly all parts of the country. The multi-ethnic character of the population in Djakarta permits the recruitment of personnel of different ethnic origin by the central offices of the government bureaucracy which therefore assumed the character of genuine Indonesian offices.

In the regions outside Djakarta, most of the ministries are represented in the capitals of each of the provinces and, in many cases, in smaller towns as well. In even the smallest town, the presence of the government bureaucracy is visible in the form of the lowest government territorial administrator, the officials of the Ministries of Education and Culture (the school teachers), Agriculture, Information, Religious Affairs, Finance, Health, Social Affairs, Public Works and Defence and Security (soldiers and police). The Ministry of Education and Culture has the largest number of employees (1971: 162,747), followed

by the Ministry of Religious Affairs (159,646), Health (40,000), and Finance (33,563).

The geographical spread of the offices of the government bureaucracy — over the whole of the Indonesian territory — facilitates the recruitment of new government officials from among members of all local communities. Once a member of the government bureaucracy, the new recruit is subjected to the transformative forces which are inherent in this institution and soon acquires those specific personality traits which give the government officials their distinctive orientation as members of the Indonesian nation.

Assignments to specific positions in the bureaucratic structure based on considerations of ability, specialized knowledge and experience, and the necessary interdependence of the constituent offices, contribute to the assimilation of individuals who are of different ethnic origin within the government bureaucracy.

Ambitious members, interested in career opportunities offered by the bureaucracy, can apply for transfer to offices located in other areas where trained personnel are scarce and promotion therefore much easier, whenever vacancies occur. In fact, since in many regions the material conditions for living are much inferior compared to conditions in the capital city of the nation or the other major towns, the Government provides special incentives to motivate part of its trained personnel to take up assignments for a given number of years in offices located in less attractive regions. One of the unforeseen results of the application of this pattern of placement is the intensification of social intercommunication among people of diverse ethnic origin within the government bureaucratic structure.

The elaborate division of labor within the government bureaucracy naturally offers a wide range of experience to the different individuals who occupy positions within its structure. The tax collector obviously has not the same experience in the performance of his tasks if compared to that of the administrator of social welfare programs who deals with neglected children. Their professional training is different, their activities are different, and the social situations they respectively work in are different.

Furthermore, individuals occupying similar positions may not have the same personalities, each possibly being different with respect to attitudes, interests, and values, not to speak of more psychological entities such as *id*, *ego*, and *superego*. Then, of course, ethnic differences *per se* are manifested in the personalities of the members of the govern-

ment bureaucracy. It should be noted that when anthropologists do field work in Indonesia, they usually apply their concept of national culture or national character to ethnic groupings rather than to the Indonesian population as a whole.

Nevertheless, in spite of all these factors, continuing participation in activities within the institutional framework of the government bureaucracy does necessarily change some of the underlying personality patterns of its personnel, if they are not already in conformity with the structural demands of the organization. The government bureaucracy is only able to function as such if its personnel performs its tasks in conformity with the prescribed rules and regulations which have been instituted in order to maintain some kind of order in its internal division of labor. Since no position in the bureaucracy is held to be dependent on ethnic affiliation, the entire personnel is oriented towards the performance of its individual tasks in its respective sphere of jurisdiction as defined by the set of norms governing the bureaucracy.

The ability of the government bureaucracy to function properly requires particular perceptions, values and attitudes which are not oriented toward any specific ethnic group but to the Indonesian nation as a whole. Its members have to define the particular roles that are assigned to them in such a manner that they perform their tasks with a full awareness of their function as agents of a national institution. They come to identify themselves, and are so identified by others, as Indonesian nationals rather than as members of their respective territorially based ethnic groups. And in the process of becoming socialized as members of the government bureaucracy, as Indonesian nationals, they develop vested interests in the form of job security, possible promotions, future pensions, habits, etc., unwittingly strengthening their ties to the government bureaucracy, the pillars of the newly emerging Indonesian nation. As members of the government bureaucracy they become, in short, conscious of being members of the Indonesian nation; they become, indeed, an important section of the emerging Indonesian nation.

This, then, is the result of a positive function of the otherwise too extensive and perhaps rather inefficient government bureaucracy in the ethnically heterogeneous Republic of Indonesia.

Djakarta

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