

## Madjelis Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia: The Role of National Scientific Institute amidst the Cold War

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**Abstract:** After gaining Independence from the Dutch in 1945, Indonesia urged to found its national research institute. Therefore, the government launched Indonesian Science Council (Madjelis Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia/MIPI) in 1956. MIPI was established based on Act. No 6/1956 and acted as the highest national scientific institution with research activities covering the natural sciences, cultural and social sciences. Meanwhile, following the Cold War between the Communist (Soviet) Bloc and the Capitalist (US Bloc), the 1950s saw the rise of communism in South East Asia. The situation worried Americans who, under President Eisenhower, were active in fighting against the spread of communist ideology by giving aids to the countries in the region. Using the history of knowledge as the perspective and employing primary sources, namely Bulletin MIPI, Berita MIPI, this article depicts scientific activities conducted by MIPI in rivalries between the Soviet Bloc and US Bloc during The Cold War. Having good American connections, Madjelis Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia had proved to be an eminent actor to promote, produce, and distribute scientific knowledge in the country's history.

**Abstrak:** Setelah memperoleh kemerdekaan dari Belanda pada tahun 1945, Indonesia perlu segera mendirikan lembaga penelitian nasional. Oleh karena itu, pemerintah mendirikan Madjelis Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (MIPI) Indonesia pada tahun 1956. MIPI didirikan berdasarkan Undang-Undang. no 6/1956 dan bertindak sebagai lembaga ilmiah nasional tertinggi dengan kegiatan-kegiatan yang meliputi ilmu alam, budaya dan ilmu sosial. Sementara itu, dekade 1950-an merupakan periode kebangkitan komunisme di Asia Tenggara. Situasi itu membuat pemerintah Amerika khawatir. Di bawah Presiden Eisenhower mereka aktif memerangi penyebaran ideologi komunis dengan memberikan bantuan kepada negara-negara di kawasan itu. Menggunakan sejarah pengetahuan sebagai perspektif dan memanfaatkan sumber-sumber primer yaitu Buletin MIPI, Berita MIPI artikel ini menggambarkan kegiatan ilmiah yang dilakukan oleh MIPI dalam konteks persaingan antara Blok Soviet dan Blok Amerika Serikat dalam periode Perang Dingin. Memiliki koneksi yang baik dengan Amerika Serikat, Madjelis Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia pernah menjadi aktor utama dalam mempromosikan, memproduksi dan mendistribusikan pengetahuan ilmiah dalam sejarah negara ini.

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### INTRODUCTION

MIPI was established based on an Act. No 6, 1956 and acted as the highest national scientific institution with activities covering the natural sciences, cultural and social sciences. According to article 3 of the statute, the tasks of MIPI were to promote the activities in the field of science, to serve the interests of the nation particularly, and to advise the government on problems as well as activities relating to science. According to Goss (2011), as an institution, MIPI epitomized the optimism of an independent scientific community. While its colonial forerunners *Natuurwetenschap-*



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*pelijke Raad voor Nederlandsch Indies* (Natural Science Council/NSC) had affirmed to try to such beliefs, MIPI was anticipated to be more than a window dressing for a government research institution, as happened during the Dutch colonial period.

Meanwhile, since the second half of the 1940s, communism had advanced in Korea, Indochina, and mainland China. The following decades, the 1950s and 1960s, saw the rise of communism in South East Asia. Within the halfway of the 1950s, the Soviet Union set out a new approach to giving financial help to developing countries. At that time, Soviet foreign policy underwent a crucial change in which, under the leadership of Nikita Khrushchev, the communist government enlarged its political, economic, and cultural ties with the newly independent states of Asia and Africa (Singh, 1994). Indonesia was one of the leading countries to get expansive amounts of Soviet aid. From 1945 to 1965, the Soviet Union shared more funding to Indonesia than to any other underdeveloped nations, including North Vietnam, a Communist state, that received less than half the amount given to Indonesia (Boden, 2008).

The situation worried Americans who were active in fighting against the spread of communist ideology in the region. After 1945, American foreign policy was typically in favor of reposing an effective capitalist world economy, whereas it is evident that communism interprets an anti-Americanism as the ideology confronts the free market, private property, limited government, and individualism (Roadnight, 2002; Parmar, 2012, p. 118). The United States had launched its foreign aid programs for emerging nations in the late 1940s (Boden, 2008). In that decade, the Cold War situation paved the way to 1965, a year that dramatically started the New Order in Indonesian History (Wardaya, 2008; Fakhri, 2014). Being the largest country in Southeast Asia both in size and population, Indonesia was a strategic prize during the Cold War years for the Soviet and the United States (Ang, 2018, p. 64). American elites aspired to make sure that Indonesia would join the American circle, which was open to economic relations with the Western Bloc and detached communist powers in the global arena. As a result, an American state-private network emerged to learn about Indonesia through their financial aid in order to intercede in the country's affairs and to control its political and economic development (Parmar, 2012)

Little has been done on the study related to the history of knowledge in Indonesia, particularly involving state institutions as important actors. Fu-

ady (2012) explains the educational background and life experience of the elites responsible for economic decision-making in Indonesia and Nigeria are important factors to see the policy contrast between the two countries during 1966-1998. Most decision-makers in Indonesia were connected to Institute of Economic and Social Research, University of Indonesia (LPEM UI), and Faculty of Economics, University of Indonesia. LPEM UI was a part of American networks in Indonesia and set up by Prof. Sumitro Djojohadikusumo and funded by the Ford Foundation. It was a center for research and a training place where young social scientists were able to get practical works by being apprentices in the *Badan Perantjang Nasional* (National Planning Body/BPN), in which Sumitro was also the founder (Fakhri, 2015).

In 1951, as an adviser to the Ministry of Economic Affairs, Prof. Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, who was a prominent name in Indonesia economic development and served as the ministers several times under both presidencies, Sukarno and Suharto traveled to Europe and the United States to seek for foreign experts to help the economic development in Indonesia. Initially, being trained as an economist in the Netherlands, Prof. Sumitro wanted to acquire Dutch scholars, but his efforts were in vain. Nevertheless, his trip to the States met with success. In the same year, he signed an agreement with the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) to provide US economists to teach at FEUI (Fakhri, 2015). ECA was an agency directed by both the Department of Commerce and the State Department. It was abolished in 1951, and through various forms, it would later become the International Cooperation Administration (ICA) in 1955.

Taking the same historical time during the New Order, Amir (2012) tracks the creation of a technological state in Indonesia by examining technological institutions owned by the state. They are the Agency for the Assessment and Application of Technology (BPPT) and *the Nusantara Aircraft Industry* (IPTN). In an earlier period, Fakhri (2014) investigates the production of managerial state in Indonesia from overseas graduates and foreign aid during early Independence. The action generated new ideas, including scientific management and American modernization within government institutions, mainly the National Planning Body (BPN), the then National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas), in the 1950s and early 1960s.

Some publications related to MIPI are already published by Abdullah (1964), Goss (2011), and Neelakantan (2019). From the late eighteenth

century until the mid-twentieth century, Goss argues that because of too much state intervention and the lack of popular support, enlightened knowledge regarding Indonesia's nature and society was never developed. He claims that government research institutions, including MIPI, were adjusted by a complex and rapidly changing of elites after decolonization. The scientific establishment, eventually, remained a tip-top attempt in the country.

Neelakantan (2019) shows that science and medicine were significant discourse during President Sukarno's presidency to bring in the President's idea of 'Rakyat Sehat Negara Kuat' (healthy people, strong nation). Despite the number of foreign aids supported by the era's geopolitical superpowers, the Indonesian managed to keep their Independence during the Cold War. According to Neelakantan, in his earlier publication (2015), President Sukarno envisioned that science was an imperative component of nation-building. Thus, it was conceptualized as a program to solve fundamental social issues in early Post-colonial Indonesia, such as severe malnutrition, high unemployment rate.

Moreover, Neelakantan reveals that the Chairman of MIPI, Prof. Sarwono Prawirohardjo, emphasized that differences from the situation in Europe, Indonesia and other newly independent states in Asia were at a disadvantage on the scientific and industrial revolutions to spur economic growth. Thus, these countries were needed to utilize innovation developed by Western countries to build industry sectors that may stimulate the economy. This was driven to a state of scientific and technological neo-colonialism. That means Indonesia and those new emerging states had to depend on the West for the transfer of scientific knowledge. Therefore, Neelakantan is convinced that while Sukarno intended to arouse national pride among Indonesians through science, it was also a tool in Indonesia's international relations with both the US and the Soviet. The President was attentive to science in connection with Indonesia's national needs and the Cold War geopolitical ambitions between the two power blocs. This is in line with Abdullah (1964), who got a scholarship from the Ford Foundation and later became the Chairman of Indonesia Institute of Science (LIPI) that the foreign aid and cooperation carried out by MIPI were based on government policy that was accepting assistance as long as it did not harm the ideals and politics of the country.

Considering the aforementioned background, this article aims to enrich the study of the history of knowledge in Indonesian historiography.

The article specifically focuses on the knowledge produced and transmitted by Madjelis Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (MIPI) in the context of rivalries between East (Soviet Bloc) and West (US Bloc) during The Cold War. Therefore, I would like to write a descriptive article based on these questions: 1) How did MIPI play the role of the highest national scientific institution in Indonesia?; 2) To what extent did the American anti-communist movement in South East Asia influence MIPI?

## METHOD

The approach of this article is the history of knowledge by employing primary sources stored at National Library Jakarta, mostly Berita MIPI and Buletin MIPI and other secondary sources. At the beginning of 1957, MIPI began publishing Berita MIPI, a periodical with news of scientific information in Indonesia and foreign countries, the projects of MIPI as well as other institutes, and individual scientists. Bulletin MIPI was an irregular English publication on a problem that is not specifically for the scientific purpose, such as reports, communications, and information connected with the activities of scientific institutions in Indonesia. The Bulletin No. 3 was issued in 1959 under the title of "Directory of Scientific Institutions in Indonesia."

In his book, *What is the History of Knowledge*, Peter Burke (2015), a prominent British Historian, writes that the history of knowledge might be a shift from the history of science. August Comte, a notable French Philosopher, and Sociologist introduced an approach to the history of science in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. A century later, the history of science was taught in some universities in the United States and Europe. According to Burke, the history of knowledge is more general, while the history of science is more academic.

Furthermore, in his other publications, Burke (2007; 2018) makes clear what differs the history of knowledge from the history of science and intellectual history. He notes that the history of knowledge encompasses more kinds of knowledge, including practical skills, and focuses on the history of the institutions that include research and teaching management. Similarly, Renn (2015) argues that knowledge incorporates the history of institutions in which knowledge is produced and transmitted.

## THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MIPI

Long before the Independence, there were already several scientific organizations in Netherlands Indies. The oldest one was *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (The Royal Batavi-

an Society of Arts and Sciences) which was erected in 1778 as the *Bataviaasch Genootschap der Konsten en Wetenschappen* (Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences). Later several research organizations were founded such as, *Herbarium Bogoriense*, *Koninklijke Natuurkundige Vereeniging in Nederlandsch Indië*. The absence of universities in the Netherlands Indies, which was capable of doing research, caused the colonial government to set up an official scientific organization that could be considered as the research council. *Natuurwetenschappelijke Raad voor Nederlandsch Indies* (Natural Science Council/NSC), a colonial government research institution, was inaugurated in 1928. The tasks of NSC were to coordinate research, to act as a liaison between scholars in the Indies and abroad, and to advise the colonial government regarding scientific matters (Abdullah, 1964; Messer, 1994; Goss, 2011).

During the Japanese Occupation, there were hardly any science activities in the Netherlands Indies because most Dutch scientists were imprisoned at the internment camps. The few scientists who could stay in their positions had to deal with minimal substances and budget (Messer, 1994).

Following the decolonization right after Independence, the new republic could not manage to put attention on the science field. However, during this period, the Dutch Administration founded the *Organisatie voor Natuurwetenschappelijk Onderzoek* (Organization for Scientific Research) in 1948. Along with the Transfer of Sovereignty, *Organisatie voor Natuurwetenschappelijk Onderzoek* changed its name to the *Organisasi Penyelidikan Ilmu Pengetahuan Alam* (OPIPA/ Natural Sciences Investigation Organization ). Messer (1994) contends that as a consequence of the Indonesian National Revolution and the Transfer of Sovereignty, Indonesia's scientific research capacity deteriorated. Economic hardships frustrated many research institutions as government budgets were meager, hence could not allow for much research. This is contrary to the scientific atmosphere before World War II when there was an active research establishment in the Netherlands Indies, which substantially contributed to many fields of basic and applied sciences.

In the early 1950s, a majority of the Natural Science Council's executive board was still Dutch, while the Indonesians had a majority on the various boards of the OPIPA, albeit the operating staff was still primarily Dutch (Sutter, 1961). In 1949, the OPIPA governing board had two Indonesian and twelve Dutch members, then in 1953, it had six Indonesian and only two Dutch members. Patriotism propelled the institutions of science in early Indo-

nesia (Goss, 2011; Anderson & Pols, 2012). As Indonesian researchers and institutions were unwilling to work on those colonial legacies owing to the entirely different situation in science institutions after Independence, scientific organizations originated from the colonial period were found not to be suitable to deal with the problems that the news was encountering (Prawirohardjo and Luhulima, 1975, p. 7). Therefore, the Indonesian government decided to install a government research institute without Dutch influence among its members.

In 1951, the Indonesian government formed a preparatory committee led by Prof. Sarwono Prawirohardjo for the establishment of a National Council for Sciences. By 9 October 1954, this committee presented a draft of a bill to establish a National Council for Sciences and a draft regulation on the execution of the bill, to be enacted by Ministerial decree. On 8 March 1956, the bill was accepted by parliament and approved by President Soekarno (Russel, 1960). Indonesian Council for the Sciences (Madjelis Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia/MIPI) was established based on Act. No 6, 1956, as an effort to realize Article 40 of the 1950 Provisional Constitution. Hence, it was essential to found a council that would act as a central coordinator and promoting activities pursuing the advancement of research and science in Indonesia.

MIPI was a semi-government organization and an autonomous community of scientists (Goss, 2011). The organization received subsidies granted by the government through the budget of the Ministry of Education and Culture. The promulgation of Act No.6, 1956 automatically dismissed the two former official science coordination bodies, Natural Science Council for the Netherlands Indies NSC) and OPIPA. To run the management of MIPI, Prof. Dr. Sarwono Prawirohardjo, Indonesia's first obstetrician and gynecologist and the founder of the Department of Obstetrics and Gynaecology, Faculty of Medicine at the University of Indonesia (UI), was appointed as the first Chairman (Adam, 2009; Neelakantan, 2015)

#### **PROMOTING SCIENCE AND DISSEMINATING SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE**

In January 1957, MIPI held its first scientific conference in Bandung. The conference that was also sponsored by UNESCO attended by more than sixty representatives from scientific and educational institutions. In his working paper regarding MIPI's tasks and duties and its relationship to the scientific institutes, the Chairman, Prof. Sarwono Prawirohardjo, explained that MIPI operated in scientific

organization theoretically, would not itself carry out scientific projects which involved conducting research, managing institutes. He also announced that MIPI would become a center for scientific documentation and information (*Berita MIPI*, 1957, p. 17).

At the first scientific conference in Bandung, the Director-General of BPN (Badan Perantjang Nasional /National State Body), Mr. Ali Budiardjo, also delivered a speech concerning the basics of the First Five Year Plan 1956-1960 and the important relation between state economic planning done by BPN and science as follows:

From the above mentioned, it is turned out to show how significant the role of science is in restructuring the country's economy. Our country's natural development needs to be estimated at its best as an absolute condition for further development. After being investigated for their possible development, the uses of natural resources need to be studied in the depths, so that their use can be carried out with the highest possible results. The gathering of statistical facts and the use of these facts to obtain a picture of the possibility of further development require a thorough investigation. At this time, there was a lack of these things.

Also, to get a picture of the possibilities in our society, it is necessary to know the reactions of the groups in that society to the government's rules and actions. Hence, the conclusion of what is mentioned above is that in order to make a careful plan, there needs to be a close relationship between science, both natural science and social science, with the National State Body.

(*Berita MIPI*, 1957, pp. 14-15)

A year after the first Indonesia scientific conference in Bandung, MIPI organized the first national science congress in Malang. The congress was held in August 1958 and attended by the President of Republic Indonesia, Ir. Sukarno. The first national science congress was a great success. According to the chairman of the committee, Prof. Dr. Sardjito, the first Rector of Gadjah Mada University (UGM), 452 scientists from natural and social sciences, including 49 foreign scholars who were in Indonesia, took part in the congress. The vast attention was also proved by the congratulatory messages that had been sent from scientific assemblies and other bodies that were directly or indirectly engaged in the field of science. They were the National Science Foundation of United States, American Academy of Sciences, John Hopkins University, UNESCO, Ford Foundation, and so on (*Berita MIPI*, 1958).

The second national science congress in 1962 was also successful. MIPI was actively participating in regional and international scientific meetings, selecting research proposals and other scientific activities to be given fund, having regular talk show program in the government radio broadcast, organizing seminars and symposiums, as well as scientific exhibitions.

Manifesting one of MIPI's duties as a center for scientific documentation and information stated back in the first scientific conference in 1957, the National Scientific Documentation Center (*Pusat Dokumentasi dan Informasi Ilmiah/PDIN*), one of National Centers under MIPI, was erected in 1965. It carried out the task of disseminating scientific knowledge by providing literature needed by research personnel, staff and students, and ordinary people. It took more than five years for MIPI to prepare MIPI Documentation Center to become PDIN. MIPI Documentation Center initially acquired its collections from *Organisasi Penyelidikan Ilmu Pengetahuan Alam* (OPIPA/ Natural Sciences Investigation Organization). Then, the management started buying books and exchanging with other libraries in Indonesia and abroad. Before Indonesia National Library was officially founded, the PDIN-MIPI library was the most resourceful scientific reference in Indonesia. The staff often represented Indonesia in developing national libraries among Southeast Asian Countries (Bachtar, 2005, pp. 70-89). In the developing process of building the institution, PDIN-MIPI received lots of assistance, mainly from UNESCO and also from ICA, Ford Foundation, British Council, USAID.

MIPI publications were varied. Bulletin MIPI and *Berita MIPI* have been mentioned earlier on this article awhile *Medan Ilmu Pengetahuan*, another MIPI publication, was to accommodate scientific articles that did not yet get published in scientific magazines. The theme of the publications was various, including philosophy, social, and natural science.

One of the best ways to disseminate scientific works is by making abstract and indexing. Therefore, to fulfill the task of spreading scientific knowledge through bibliographic publication, MIPI published the "Indonesian Abstracts." The Indonesian Abstract was printed in English and started its first edition in July 1958. This magazine was intended as a tool to publicize the work of Indonesian scientists to foreigners (Pringgoadisurjo & Indijah, 1962).

### AMERICAN CONNECTIONS AMONG MIPI

Under President Harry S. Truman (1945-1953) United States began to start its Foreign Assistance Agencies to recover the economic damages of other countries caused by World War II and hamper the expansion of communist ideology adopted by its adversary, the Soviet Union, and their bloc. The Truman administration saw that in the context of the Cold War, Indonesia had significance both geographically and economically. Geographically, the country is located in a very strategic area, while economically, Indonesia is rich in natural resources. Those reasons were strong and became the basis of various policies pursued by President Truman and his successors (Wardaya, 2008).

Indonesia and the United States signed the first technical and economic cooperation agreement on 16 October 1950. Under the agreement, there were \$ 80 million in grants for commodities and technical services to supplement the \$ 67 million in Post-war assistance that the United States had provided to Indonesia since 1948. To overcome food shortages, solve health problems, rehabilitate transportation facilities and develop industries, give training for talented young workers, supplemented by American teachers and technicians working in Indonesia, were the basic features of the American aid projects (Frei, no year). According to Sutter (1961, p. 25), the majority of Indonesian science trainees had gone to the United States under scholarship or fellowship programs conducted by various American organizations, in which the programs conducted by ICA are the most extensive.

Since its early establishment, MIPI had received many offers of assistance and invitations from the US Government. In 1957, Prof. Sudiman, one of the MIPI members, received an invitation for one year at Berkeley University. In the same year, M. Makagiansar, the Deputy Executive Director, was on leave to gain practical administrative experience in one of the divisions of the US National Research Council. They also invited the chairman of MIPI, Prof. Sarwono Prawirohardjo, to visit the US for several months and look closely at the research institutes and universities (*Berita MIPI*, 1959).

In October 1959, Dr. Richard J. Russel, a member of the National Academy of Sciences from the United States, arrived in Indonesia to act as the consultant. His main task was to provide advice and assistance on the organization of MIPI and how to coordinate and to collaborate with the scientific institutions in Indonesia. On his account, he viewed that his appointment on the project operating un-

der the financial support of the US International Cooperation Administration (ICA) was based on his broad experience rather than on his familiarity with Indonesia.

Several months before Russel visiting Indonesia, another American scholar, John. O Sutter, from Cornell University, came to the country. Funded by National Science Foundation, USA, Sutter traveled around the cities to gather information about Indonesian scientific personnel, institutions, and research activity. His report was published by the Pacific Science Board of the National Academy of Sciences National Research Council in 1961. One entire chapter was dedicated to write about MIPI.

International Cooperation Administration (ICA) held various types of technical training for Indonesia's scientific personnel. Started in 1957, National Academy of Sciences (NAS) invited Indonesian scholars and other Asian scholars in natural sciences and engineering to research in the States sponsored by ICA (*Berita MIPI*, 1957, p. 29). In this program, MIPI was doing the task to maintain relations with international scientific bodies and other countries' national scientific bodies. Over 2,000 Indonesians have been brought to the United States under the auspices of the International Cooperation Administration.

The Truman administration's failure to prevent China from joining the Soviet Bloc and *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (Indonesia Communist Party/ PKI) ranked 4th in the 1955 Indonesia election tightened the United States' foreign policy under President Eisenhower to Indonesia to keep the country from shifting to the Communist Bloc. Here, the relationship between US foreign assistance agencies and the private foundation became important. Not only the US was using public fund to run their foreign agenda, but also making full use of US private organizations to assist educational, cultural, medical, and scientific activities in Indonesia (Parmar, 2012; Neelakantan, 2019).

Ford foundation was probably the most active US private organization in the field of scientific matters in Indonesia during the Cold War as they share the same sentiment with the US government towards communism (Parmar, 2012; Ford Foundation, 2003). In June 1953, Ford Foundation assigned its first representative in Jakarta. Within the MIPI institution, the Ford Foundation sponsored scholarships for the Council's employees and donated books. It provided finances to fund MIPI's important figures to study in the States. In 1959, Dr. Arifin Bey, the vice secretary of the MIPI bureau, left for the United States to study the administrative

system of scientific institutions for two and a half years at Georgetown University. In the States, he was also seconded to the US Academy of Sciences to experience working on one of the oldest Academy of Sciences in the world (*Berita MIPI*, 1961). In the same year, Luwarsih Pringgoadisurjo, the head of the Documentation Section of MIPI, departed the States to study library science at George Peabody College for two years (*Berita MIPI*, 1961, pp. 24-28).

Unlike the US, which was actively putting attention on MIPI through various assistance as it was everywhere on the news published by *Berita MIPI*, the Soviet did not do the same until 1960 when Krushchev visited Jakarta. His visit aimed to intensify Soviet efforts to draw Indonesia into the communist bloc after President Sukarno's earlier visit to Moscow in 1956. According to the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), the Soviet Union had given over \$1000 million to Indonesia by March 1961, half that amount being specifically for weapons procurement (Subritzky, 2000, p. 23). Furthermore, by the early 1960s, 300 technical assistants from the Soviet were working in Indonesia, compared with 200 from the US (Ford Foundation, 2003:18).

Following the mutual agreement between the two countries, one of the implementations of the cultural cooperation between Indonesia and the Soviet Union was the exchange of scientific experts. In this context, MIPI officially acted on behalf of the Indonesian government. In 1961, MIPI sent scientific delegations to the Soviet Union to study about Soviet Academy of Sciences and natural sciences (*Berita MIPI*, 1962).

#### **MIPI UNDER DEPARTMENT FOR NATIONAL RESEARCH**

After returning from the state visit to the Soviet and People's Republic of China in 1956, Sukarno expounded Guided Democracy which caused a bad reaction from the US for they regarded it as another sign of communism (Adams, 1965, p. 278). This motivated US to support rebellions in West Sumatra and North Sulawesi that annoyed Sukarno. Following the Guided Democracy system and the tendency of Sukarno's anti-Western countries, *Badan Perantjang Nasional* (National Planning Body / BPN), which had American back up, was dismissed.

Later, *Dewan Perantjang Nasional* (National Planning Council / Depernas) was founded with no substantial American influence. Guided Democracy heralded a period of expanding malice towards foreign investments, mostly from American and Brit-

ish, since Western capitalism is not befitting Sukarno's ideology of self-development. Sukarno wished to alter the Indonesian economy, which was still stuck with colonialism and dominated by foreigners, into economic self-sufficiency (*Berdiri di Atas Kaki Sendiri/Berdikari*), which he believed would benefit Indonesia more by compromising the idea of allowing foreign capital with strict limitations (Al-Rahab, 2014). One of the similarities that bound Sukarno and the Communists was hostile towards Western-trained experts (Fakih, 2015, p. 217). For the time being, communists positioned their cadre almost in all government bodies except the cabinet.

The Eight Year Overall Development Plan (*Rencana Pembangunan Semesta Berencana Delapan Tahun*) 1961-1969 proposed by Depernas research became a crucial part of the national development effort as it was specified in the Plan of 1961. Accordingly, in 1962 President Sukarno signed the formation of the Department for National Research (Departemen Urusan Research Nasional/Durenas). With this establishment, MIPI was a subordinate to the Durenas, although it remained a legal entity. Durenas took over the coordination function of research activities in Indonesia which had been carried out earlier by MIPI. Nonetheless, MIPI got new tasks to perform and manage scientific research with its National Research Centers that would soon be formed.

The first half of the 1960s saw the efforts of the Soviet and China Bloc to start getting engaged in scientific activities in Indonesia. China and Indonesia signed an official agreement in scientific cooperation as Jakarta maintained a more active association with the USSR and the People's Republic of China (PRC). The PRC also invited Durenas and MIPI officials to visit their research institutes and the China Academy of Sciences (*Berita MIPI*, Tahun ke-8, No. 3, Djuli 1964). On the other hand, the Soviet dispatched their scientists to join several scientific expeditions with MIPI, and the Soviet Academy of Sciences granted a 50 tons of scientific vessel equipped with expedition tools and laboratory. USSR Ambassador to Indonesia, N.A Mikhailov, handed in the vessel in the name of the Soviet Academy of Science to Chairman of MIPI, Prof. Sarwono (*Berita MIPI*, 1962).

Meanwhile, although the hostility towards the US was getting more robust in this period, primarily due to the Indonesia-Malaysia confrontation within Sukarno's administration, MIPI still relied on American aid to educate their leaders. In August 1962, Drs. Bakri Abbas, the Head of Publishing Section of MIPI, and Mr. Sudiarti Rachmat, the Head

of Scientific Affairs of MIPI, went to the States to pursue their study. Ford Foundation funded both. Mr. Abbas would learn scientific publishing at New York University, while Mr. Sudiarti would go to Harvard University to study scientific administration. Moreover, for preparing the development of the National Institute of Physics and National Metallurgy Institute under National Research Centers, MIPI commissioned Prof. Ir. Mugiono and Ir. Hadijanto to take a tour to the scientific research institutions in the US at the invitation of the US government (*Berita MIPI*, 1962).

According to Selo Sumardjan (Ford Foundation, 2003, p. 53), a big difference in the aid given by the US and the Soviet Union was that the Soviet provided direct assistance to the people, usually through the PKI in the form of food or agricultural tools. On the contrary, the Americans provided lots of assistance to scientific activities, such as scholarships. The US had a plan in the long run that these scholars would become leading figures in the society they could connect with in the future. Besides military purposes for building up Indonesia's armed forces in order to gain West New Guinea (Papua) from the Dutch, numerous projects funded by the USSR aid mainly were in the fields of heavy industry (steel production sites), agroindustry (especially fertilizer factories), energy (thermal power stations), and infrastructure (street building) (Boden, 2008).

#### **NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR ECONOMY AND SOCIETY (LEMBAGA EKONOMI DAN KEMASYARAKAN NASIONAL/LEKNAS)**

In the Eight Year Overall Development Plan, MIPI was given the responsibility to build and to lead the National Research Centers and National Scientific Documentation Center. One of the National Research Centers under MIPI was National Institute for Economy and Society (Lembaga Ekonomi dan Kemasyarakatan Nasional/Leknas).

According to Taufik Abdullah (1997, p. 167) who is a prominent Indonesian historian, former Director of Leknas, and Chairman of Indonesia Institute of Sciences (LIPI), Leknas cannot be separated from the activities of the Ford Foundation in Indonesia because the foundation had developed a small research institute could grow and thrive. They invited Dr. Everett Hawkins, Professor of Economics at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, to be the consultant of Leknas. Through Leknas Ford Foundation saw an opportunity to preserve connections within the community of intellectuals in Indonesia as spoken by a notable economic researcher of

Leknas, Thee Kian Wie (Ford Foundation, 2003, p. 131)

Leknas was founded in March 1963 with its first director Prof. Sadarjoen Siswomartoyo. Having no experts ready for doing its duties, at first Leknas must depend on scholars from other institutions who just graduated from foreign countries, mainly the United States. They were students who departed to the States in the 1950s. One personality who was very influential in Leknas was Prof. Widjojo Nitisastro, a University of Berkeley graduate and a lecturer at the Faculty of Economics, University of Indonesia.

The Chairman of MIPI, Prof. Sarwono, later facilitated Prof. Widjojo to develop his thoughts in Leknas. This was because, in the Guided Democracy era, Widjojo's liberal economic thought did not get a place as in the early 1960s, the universities also became a contestation arena between ideologies (Adam, 2009, p. 34). One of the major aspires of Guided Democracy was to erase the so-called 'liberal' influences in society (Fakih, 2015, p. 218).

On 12 September 1964, Prof. Widjojo Nitisastro, Professor of FEUI, was appointed as Director of Leknas, replacing Prof. Sadarjoen Siswomartoyo. Ever since Prof. Widjojo worked in the Leknas Ford foundation, which had a good relationship with him offered many scholarships to the staff of Leknas. Starting from 1963, those young Leknas researchers, Thee Kian Wie (Wisconsin), Taufik Abdullah (Cornell), Alfian (Wisconsin), Harsja Bachtiar (Harvard), Soedradjad Djiwandono (Wisconsin), Mely G. Tan (UC Berkeley), and Algamar (Wisconsin) were granted scholarships by Ford Foundation (Ford Foundation, 2003). To this day, these scholars are among the best social and economic scientists in Indonesia.

At the beginning of the New Order, the role of Widjojo and his United States-educated economist colleagues was compelling in economic policy-making. They were the decision-makers of the Indonesian economy (Fuady, 2012, p. 68). However, there is this belief among people that the collapse of communism in Indonesia and the emergence of these economists were not coincidental. The shift of economic policy to liberalism and the massive investment, especially from the US, seemed to be a hidden agenda deliberately planned by Americans to eliminate the communists (Amir, 2012, p. 23). Ford Foundation designated \$224,000 to the Modern Indonesia Project (MIP) at Cornell University in 1954, which accumulated to \$502,925 in 1968. Specifically, the foundation dedicated to building a social science wing within Indonesian Studies at the



university so that the US could acquire knowledge about Indonesia (Kahin, 1989, Parmar, 2012). Furthermore, Parmar argues that “Ford-sponsored research initiatives in Indonesia and the United States fostered, constructed, developed, and consolidated a nascent modernizing knowledge network that was articulated with the national state apparatus, American academia, and the general anti-communist objectives of US foreign policy.”

## CONCLUSION

[...] In the case of our work, the help the Council has given us, both in introducing us to local scholars and sources of information and in directing or relationships with the Indonesian government, has proved a major element in whatever success we have had.

Djakarta, July 1958

Clifford Geertz

(*Berita MIPI*, 1958)

MIPI was the successor of the scientific research institutes during the Dutch administration. In the early five years, the Council had worked very hard to attain impressive performance (Russel, 1960, p. 29). After G 30 S Movement, Department for National Research (Durenas) was dissolved due to the cut of national expenditure as the inflation was so high. The tasks of the Durenas were handed over to an interim agency, Lembaga Research Nasional (Lemrenas / National Research Institute). It turned out that there was an overlapping of tasks between Lemrenas and MIPI (Adam, 2009). Therefore, in 1967 Lemrenas and MIPI were amalgamated into the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia/LIPI). Neelakantan (2015) unravels that MIPI was a state-funded research agency unsuccessful in attaining its soaring objectives due to financial obstacles. However, during the ten years of its existence, Madjelis Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, at least, had proved to be an eminent actor to promote, to produce and to distribute scientific knowledge through its networks, national research centers, publications, and documentation center, the PDIN.

Since the very beginning, MIPI maintained close relationships with the American state-private network regarding foreign aid, mainly ICA, which later became the USAID and the Ford Foundation. The presence of the US consultants and its university alumni into government institutions was very significant for knowledge and idea transmission of American modernization, as Fakhri (2014) stated.

Leknas was the institution under MIPI that get more benefits from US assistance and vice versa.

At the beginning of the 1960s, the influence of PKI among Indonesian people was tremendous. American aid institutions were struggling to manage their operation. Nevertheless, in the Era of President Kennedy, his top foreign policy advisers rejected the call to cut off all aid to Indonesia. They emphasized the importance of continuing U.S. assistance to Indonesia. According to them, the aid program in Indonesia has the primary goal of assisting various institutions and anti-communist elements in Indonesia in preventing the takeover of government by communist groups (Wardaya, 2008, p. 311). Despite extraordinary tensions within the 1950s and 1960s, eventually, Indonesia politically and economically changed and inclined to American and Western circles. In Leknas, the drafts of a policy concept, economic stabilization, and rehabilitation program in the early New Order were formulated (Siregar, 1997, p. 414)

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