

## Saatnya amandemen ke-5 UUD 1945

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**Abstract** - This article proposes the fifth amendment to the 1945 Constitution by introducing *quattuor politica* to replace *trias politica*. So that national intellectual groups can play a full role in national development to overcome the stagnation in national capacity development. This state of stagnation has a broad impact on current development achievements. Among them, Indonesia's failure to become an industrial country and hampered mastery of science and technology.

Scientific judgment of 79 years of national development policy, has been almost neglected. The conclusion is based on some facts and analysis of 79 year Indonesia's transformation as scientific phenomenon. This has an impact on Indonesia's current development challenges which are related to the improper application of scientific principles. Such as the failure to become an industrial country, still high number of corrupt practices, low achievement of current economy compared to China and Republic of Korea and high cost economy. It indicates that the role and contribution of the national intellectual community in the development is low and limited due to obstruction of *trias politica* practices. Introducing *quattuor politica* through the constitutional amendment is to enrich *trias politica* concept. It will empower the intellectual community as the guardian of the national capacity building by taking care of scientific principles consistently in developing the national development methodology. It is align with the mandate of Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, values of the second norm of Pancasila - Just and civilized humanity - and the nature of the practice of civilization. The principles of empiricism and the scientific phenomenon of civilization developments are the major premise of the research.

**Keywords:** building national capacity; *quattuor politica*; *trias politica*; national capacity; scientific principles

### 1. Introduction

After analyzing Indonesia's problems from the perspective of best practice of civilization, it can be concluded that the condition of the country's political structure has limited the inclusion of basic scientific views in the preparation of development methodologies.

It is a fact that state administration practices with *trias politica* have so far hampered the full participation of intellectual groups in the national development.

To overcome these structural obstacles, it's time for the 5th Amendment to the 1945 Constitution by introducing the concept of *quattuor politica* (Phiodias, 2023, p. 621 - 622) to engage solid involvement of scientific stakeholders in the national development. The national intellectual community, as new members of those elements, is to represent a national political scientific interest in developing the concept and program of the national development methodology which align with the constitutional norms, values of state ideology - Pancasila and the best practices of civilization.

Existence of *quattuor politica* is to enrich *trias politica* practices. Three existing political power elements such as executive, legislative and judicative are still part of the new system.

Basically, the purpose of this amendment is as a form of strengthening the state's commitment to implementing the constitutional agenda, namely "building national capacity". This agenda is the

mandate of the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution and the values of the 2nd principle of Pancasila - Just and civilized humanity.

With the implementation of this amendment, Indonesia will experience a turning point in the nation's journey. National development policy will change completely to prioritize humanistic development and abandon pragmatic development policies.

Furthermore, national development policies will lead to increasingly strengthening the nation's capacity conditions which will have the impact of becoming more effective and efficient in the nation's activities.

National experts will increasingly play a role in the upstream and downstream processes of national development and scientific instruments will increasingly exist to strengthen the national governance system.

The relationship between the strength of a nation's capacity and the effectiveness and efficiency of a nation's activities is an empirical fact as proven by 85 high-income and industrialized countries.

Since the implementation of this amendment has become effective, the national development policy will be dominated by the principles and values of the development of civilization as a scientific phenomenon. This includes the state's strong attention to the utilization of the 4 main elements of civilization products.

It is a fact that for 79 years of national development there has been stagnation in the development of national capacity. This is the fundamental reason for the birth of the idea of this amendment.

Indonesia's failure to become an industrial country, the lack of mastery of science and technology related to exploration and management of natural resources, high levels of corruption, a high-cost economy and increasing dependence on foreign resources are some examples of empirical facts about the nation's current problems.

The subject of this nation's problems is discussed further in section 4 of the Results/Finding below.

The empirical facts of the nation's problems stem from one reason, namely the weak condition of the nation's capacity. This is a clear indication that the state is paying little attention to efforts to strengthen national capacity building. The state is to have political preferences to invite foreign investors massively rather than initiate a self-reliant government program.

The subject of the relationship between national problems and the condition of the nation's capacity is explained further in section 2 of the Literature Review, section 4 of the Result/Finding and section 5 of the Discussion below.

To build a strong argument regarding the causality of the nation's problems and the condition of the nation's capacity, it needs to be reviewed from a scientific perspective. This is explained further in section 2. Literature Review, section 3. Method and section 5. Discussion below.

The framework mentioned above explains the fundamental basis for the idea of the 5th amendment to the 1945 Constitution.

## **1.1 Literature Review**

### **1.1.1 Indonesian Development Issues and Identification of the Literature**

As explained in the framework above, the subject of discussion of the idea of this amendment is a series of relationships on the following 4 topics: (i) national development issues; (ii) the condition of the nation's capacity; (iii) the state's development policies and (iv) the role of intellectual groups in national development.

In order to get an objective picture and fulfill scientific arguments, the discussion of the subject should be examined from a broad and deep perspective.

The study was carried out using the following 4 approaches.

(i) Historical perspective of the development of civilization as a scientific phenomenon. Based on observations of the history of the development of civilization, especially the 9 phases of the rise of Western/modern civilization, it was revealed that there were 2 constant factors influencing the development of civilization. First, human intelligence as a modifying factor. Second, the condition requirements change. On that basis, it is concluded that the development of civilization is a scientific phenomenon (Phiodias, 2023, p. 123).

By this analogy, national transformation is also a scientific phenomenon that follows certain procedures, principles, rules and values.

(ii) The rule of empiricism. The application of this rule is carried out by analyzing national development achievements which are highlighted in the perspective of the best practices of civilization.

Literature on development achievements and references to the best practices of civilization was collected through data released by the World Bank, the World Trade Organization, records of the Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas, Ministry of Investment/BKPM, and national media records.

(iii) Benchmarking achievements with relevant countries. Quoting analysis of the book "Examining 78 Years of National Capacity Building".

(iv) Analysis of national development issues. Quoting national media records and book notes entitled: "25 Years of Development Modernization Acceleration" written by Major General TNI/AD Ali Moertopo.

### **1.1.2 The Research Challenges**

It is estimated that the disclosure of the theoretical arguments of this article will face tough challenges in convincing public opinion considering the following things.

(i) Currently, the concept of "the development of civilization as a scientific phenomenon" has not yet become a general understanding, including among academics. This hypothesis is based on observations of historical phenomena in the development of civilization since the era of political power in the Middle Ages in Europe, the birth of the Renaissance until 1925 - the time limit for observing 9 phases of the rise of Western/modern civilization (Phiodias, 2023, p.123).

In fact, this hypothesis is the main theoretical basis for developing the ideas of this article.

(ii) The meaning of the narrative: "human/national capacity building" is not yet popular. The narrative which is the theme of the 9 phases of the rise of Western/modern civilization is the essence of understanding the development of civilization as a scientific phenomenon. It should be noted that this narrative is a mandate from the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution. In the analysis and discussion of the subject of 79 years of Indonesian development in this article, it is concluded that all the issues are related to this narrative. The presentation of this narrative is the central argument for justifying the objectivity of the discussion in this article. (iii) The prioritization of economic rather than humanistic policies is the state's current legal politics. On the basis of this legal politics, national development policy preferences prioritize foreign investment rather than programs to prepare the nation's resources to fulfill the nation's needs independently. This policy is also known as development pragmatism. On the contrary, the theoretical basis of the idea of this article is at odds with the country's legal politics.

The theory underlying the idea of this article requires a change in state legal politics to become a state that prioritizes humanistic policies over economics.

(iv) Limited public political awareness of the real condition of the nation. Even though Indonesia has held 5 direct presidential elections, the roots of the nation's problems have never been the subject of public political discourse.

The state's low level of attention to national capacity building policies is actually the root of the nation's current problems. Even though this subject is a constitutional mandate. Based on the obstacles mentioned above, it is difficult to find empirical references that support the theoretical ideas of this paper. To overcome these obstacles, I must build critical arguments through analysis and interpretation of relevant empirical facts.

However, the main bulwark of the argument for the truth of the theory that underlies this article is empirical facts which are compared with the successful achievements of the transformation of nations such as the Japanese Restoration, the transformation of China and the Republic of Korea. The argument uses the principle of testing and proving a truth claim in accordance with the principles of empiricism theory.

To obtain a theoretical explanation, the empirical facts are also reviewed from the perspective of the development of civilization as a scientific phenomenon.

## **2. Method**

The aim of applying this method is to capture the big picture of Indonesia's development over 79 years within the general rules of civilization development as a scientific phenomenon. Then the subject of the study is described in groups and problem details.

To analyze the subject of discussion, it is introduced 4 level of methods, as follows:

### **2.1 Observation of 79 years of Indonesian development as a scientific phenomenon.**

To analyze the issue of Indonesianness from the perspective of scientific phenomena, the following 4 analytical tools are used below, named after the 4 main elements of civilization products.

(i) Systemic Process (Phiodias, 2023, p. 292 - 294). An analytical tool regarding the requirements for fulfilling the process of national development according to the concept of the scientific phenomenon of civilizational development.

(ii) Utilization of 9 Elements of Civilization Products (Phiodias, 2023, p. 294 - 295). Analysis tool for the 9 foundations of national development according to the version of the 9 phases of the rise of Western/modern civilization.

(iii) Utilization of the Civilization Intelligence Development System (Phiodias, 2023, p. 295 - 296). An analytical tool about the stages of intelligence development.

(iv) Foundation for Civilization Development (Phiodias, 2023, p. 296). An analytical tool regarding the principles of national development, including primacy, unity, connectedness, balance and sustainability.

These 4 analytical tools are the result of observations of 9 phases of the rise of Western/modern civilization which are inherent elements of the revival process. These elements were born and processed naturally which led to the development of the 9 phases of the rise of Western/modern civilization. The basic foundation of this element is the emergence of humanistic awareness in the Renaissance era.

Based on the author's observations, the 9 phases of the rise of Western/modern civilization are empirical examples of a long series of activities that are ideal and have been tested by time. The series presents the face of the development of civilization as witnessed today. The importance of the development of human capacity/civilization, the requirements for the development of civilization and the concept of the maturity of a phase and the formation of a new phase are among several important notes. All observation notes are summarized into the 4 analysis tools.

**2.2 The principle of empiricism.** It is introduced by Francis Bacon in modern meaning. It plays a role in mitigating differences in viewpoints regarding claims of scientific authority between Medieval authorities and groups of scientists. It has a simple meaning, but is very fundamental. Modern technology still applies these principles, including materials, aircraft, and automotive industries.

Related to the period of achievement of Japan Restoration, China and Republic of Korea transformation, the 79 year period of national development is relevant to apply the principle. By understanding the meaning of the principle of empiricism, this is the time to test and prove the political promises of political authorities to the public.

**2.3 Benchmarking Indonesia's economic development achievements with China and the Republic of Korea.** This approach is relevant and has strong arguments for the following 3 things: (i) the transformation periods of these 3 countries are almost the same; (ii) the 3 countries were categorized as agricultural countries at the start of development and (iii) in the decade of the 70s, Indonesia's macroeconomic indicators outperformed China and the Republic of Korea. But now the situation is the opposite. Indonesia's backwardness has become an interesting subject for the differences in development policies between the three countries.

This approach will strengthen and sharpen conclusions on observations of 79 years of Indonesian development.

**2.4 Identify the roots of Indonesia's development problems through observing development issue records.** Then test whether these issues are correlated with the same cause.

The results of the analysis using the four methods became the basis for the argument for the idea of the 5th amendment to the 1945 Constitution.

## **3. Results and Discussion**

### **3.1 Indonesian Development Issues and the Development of Civilization Scientific Phenomena**

Basically, the discussion of the subject in this section focuses more on theoretical aspects in order to trace the roots of the nation's problems. Considering the complexity of national development issues related to fundamental issues, the analytical perspective of the discussion is not sufficient to target only the technical aspects of development.

Observations of Indonesian development discourse so far, generally the dominant subject of discussion is always limited to technical reviews and development theories which mainly originate from economic science. If periodized in the context of the 9 phases of the rise of Western/modern civilization, then the range of discourse subjects is limited to the 7th phase, namely the era of the Industrial Revolution.

This situation should raise questions among those interested in Indonesian issues. Why does the subject of this discourse at least reach the Renaissance era which is related to humanistic awareness? So that this issue can be viewed from a broad perspective and reach the fundamental principles of the development of civilization and the transformation of nations in the world.

It is often revealed that the subject of the discourse uses theories limited to the era of Adam Smith and his descendants. Even though some of Adam Smith's theories, such as the "invisible hand", were proven to no longer be valid when the United States government had to provide a number of bailouts for the bankruptcy of financial institutions there.

It is not surprising that the subject of the discourse only covers issues of supply and demand, economic stability, economic growth theory, aspects of currency exchange rates and the implications of the application of contemporary technology. And the subject is not heard discussing the importance of building national capacity and the foundations of development stages as revealed in the study of the 9 phases of the rise of Western/modern civilization (Phiodias, 2023, p. 118 - 249).

For this reason, it is important to approach Indonesian issues in a broad format. Namely the development of civilization as a scientific phenomenon.

For this reason, in analyzing Indonesia's development issues, the following 4 analytical tools are used. Regarding this device, it is explained in section 3.1 Observation of 79 years of Indonesian development as a scientific phenomenon mentioned above.

**3.1.1 Systemic Process.** Use of analytical tools to ensure that the processes and stages of Indonesia's development are in accordance with the rules of the 9 phases of the rise of Western/modern civilization. Observations of Indonesia's development were carried out for the period 1970 - 2024.

Looking at the document records and examination of development results, there are the following 2 notes below.

(i) No documents were found regarding the state's official statement that utilizing the processing and management of natural resources is a technical goal of national development (Phiodias, 2023, 500 - 519). Based on the conclusions of the search for state documents, it can be explained why science and technology related to the processing and management of natural resources have not been mastered. This means that state policy does not see the importance of mastering science and technology.

(ii) There is no documented record that the development theme is building national capacity (Phiodias, 2023, 519 - 530).

The national development policy places more emphasis on economic growth. This is in accordance with the state's current legal politics, namely prioritizing economic rather than humanistic development policies.

**3.1.2 Utilization of 9 Elements of Civilization Products.** There are 3 basic understandings of the meaning of this analytical tool.

(i) If we refer to the 9 phases of the rise of Western/modern civilization, ideally national development is gradual, tiered and sustainable. The previous stages are the foundation for the stages after. Based on observations of national development, Indonesia has not prepared an ideal development foundation as explained in point (ii) below.

(ii) There are 4 foundation elements for an ideal development stage. Namely humanistic awareness, upholding ethics, establishing appropriate development methodology and humanistic mentality. The meaning of these four elements is identical to the first 4 stages of the phenomenon of the rise of Western/modern civilization.

Indonesia's development policy does not adopt this foundation building concept. One of the factors that science and technology have not mastered and the failure to eradicate corruption in Indonesia is due to the fact that these four foundations have not been firmly established.

(iii) Elements of planning and professionalism. The meaning of these two elements is identical to the 8th and 9th phases of the rise of Western/modern civilization. The application of an understanding of the principles of these two elements is the key to the success of the Japanese Restoration, the transformation of China and the Republic of Korea (Phiodias, 2023, p. 235 - 242).



The national development policies do not prioritize the importance of the role and contribution of these two elements. Indonesia's failure to become an industrial country is due to these factors.

**3.1.3 Utilization of the Civilization Intelligence Development System.** This tool is related to the following 4 postulates of civilization, such as: (i) five stages of development of civilization's human resource intelligence; (ii) five types of civilization intelligence roles; (iii) typical and ideal relationships in the structure of national life in a country, covering 4 areas of life and (iv) the phenomenon of intelligence development is a tiered pattern.

With Indonesia's failure to become an industrial country and the lack of mastery of science and technology related to the processing and management of natural resources, it can be concluded that Indonesia has not adopted the principles of this analytical tool.

With regard to the subject of the five types of roles of civilizational intelligence, it has been explained in section 1.2.1 General Observations of Indonesian Development, important notes on national development in the first period, in point (vi) mentioned above.

**3.1.4 Foundation for Civilization Development.** The subject of this analysis tool includes 7 postulates of civilization. One of them is the application of the 5 principles of civilization dynamics, such as: primacy, unity, connectedness, balance and sustainability. The 1997/98 crisis was one of the impacts of national development policies not paying attention to the importance of these rules. This subject is as explained in section 1.2.1 General Observations of Indonesian Development, important notes on national development in the first period, point (vii) mentioned above.

On the basis of this analysis, it is proven that the concept of Indonesian national development for the period 1970 - 2024 does not adopt the best practices of civilization which refers to the values of the rise of Western/modern civilization as a scientific phenomenon. Therefore, it can be understood when it is concluded that the nation's capacity building has been stagnant for 79 years.

**3.2 Common Threads in a Number of Indonesian Development Issues**

Basically, the discussion of the subject in this section is a disclosure of empirical facts as the impact of pragmatism policies during 79 years of national development.

The discussion in this section has a strong causal relationship with the discussion in section 4.1 Indonesian Development Issues and the Development of Civilization Scientific Phenomena mentioned above. Namely the connection between aspects of theory as causal factors and aspects of empirical facts as effect factors.

This relationship is in accordance with understanding the meaning of the principle of empiricism. Analysis of the national development issues is divided into the following 2 groups of perspectives.

**3.2.1 The National Development Technical Issues**

In this section, groups of issues are discussed as the impact of using development methodology principles and concepts that are inappropriate or do not refer to the best practices. Even though these practices have been tested and proven by time. The following are 8 issues and challenges for Indonesia's current development.

**a. Indonesia failed to become an industrial country.** This fact refers to the following 2 sources.

(i) Table of achievements of Indonesia's manufacturing trade balance.

Table 1 Table of Achievement of Indonesian manufacturing

Subject	Period		
	1990 - 1998	2004 - 2022	2022
Average of/or Net Manufactures - Merchandise (% GDP)	-3.9	-3.1	-1.8

Table 2 Net Manufactures - Indonesian Merchandise in % GDP (The World Trade Organization, 2024)

Subject	Period		
	1970 - 1998	2004 - 2022	2022
Average of/or Net Manufactures - Merchandise (% GDP)	(7.6)	(2.6)	(1.8)

Based on these two tables, most of Indonesia's trade balance transactions experienced a deficit. In fact, there was a manufacturing trade surplus in 1999 - 2003, but this does not represent actual economic conditions. At that time, the Indonesian economy was in the recovery period from the 1998 crisis.

(ii) Stated in an official government document (Kementerian Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional, 2023, p. 2 - 16), mentioned the occurrence of premature deindustrialization.

**b. High rate of corruption.** This is according to the 2023 Corruption Perception Index, Indonesia's score: 34 (Transparency International, 2024). Also reviews of articles on law enforcement issues (SIP Law Firm, 2024) and reviews of national media news (Kompas TV, 2024).

**c. Widening social inequality.** Discussion of the subject of social group disparities regarding ownership of money in banks based on income groups has strong arguments to justify the current condition of social inequality in Indonesia (Maruf, 2023).

**d. There are technical distortions typical of the national activities.** There are at least 14 recorded issues typical of distortion of national activities (Phiodias, 2023, p. 472). This phenomenon is a recurring pattern and illustrates a general trend.

The following are 5 examples of typical issues of distortion of the nation's activities quoted from national media reports: (i) the quality of building construction (Nuryanti & Nasucha, 2022); (ii) quality of toll road construction (Pambagio, 2021) and (Gunawan, 2020); (iii) handling flood disasters (Kandipi & Meirina, 2021) and (Setyawan, 2022); (iv) the issue of anticipating liquefaction disasters (Saubani, 2018) and (v) recurring fire incidents (blq & arh., 2022) and (blq & wiw., 2023).

**e. The stagnation of mastery of science and technology, especially related to natural resource management.**

Quoting articles written by national media, it suggests that Indonesia still has not mastered science and technology and the nickel business (Umah, 2021) and (Winona et al, 2022).

Reading the following article, it turns out that the use of natural resources is not a technical goal of national development, which has the impact of limited involvement of national development resources in the natural resources sector. This vacancy in the role was exploited by foreign parties (Asmarini, 2022).

Not only nickel, according to this article it turns out that Indonesia has not been able to master science and technology related to titanium and copper mineral resources (Admin, 2021).

In a television interview, it was also revealed that Indonesia has not yet mastered rare earth metal technology. This reality was revealed when the Indonesian government was unable to respond to China's offer for the mineral resource mining business. Indonesia still needs further assessment (Mujiyanto, 2023).

**f. National development is dependent on foreign development resources.** This is indicated by the following 4 indicators.

- (i) The manufacturing trade transaction balance deficit is as explained in Table 1 and Table 2 above.
- (ii) Deficit in the primary income and services balance sheet. These conditions are as explained in the three tables below (The World Bank, 2024).

Table 3 Primary Income and Services, Indonesia, period 1981 - 1998, average value: 1981 - 1998

Country Name	Indicators	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	1987 - 1998
Indonesia	Net services	(4.44)	(3.84)	(3.77)	(3.36)	(3.21)	(3.68)	(3.73)	(3.74)	(3.99)	(3.76)	(4.48)	(7.97)	(4.2)
Indonesia	Net primary income	(4.81)	(4.85)	(4.81)	(4.89)	(4.79)	(4.42)	(3.16)	(2.65)	(2.91)	(2.64)	(2.93)	(8.58)	(4.3)

Table 4 Primary Income and Services, Indonesia, period 1999 - 2011

Country Name	Indicators	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11
Indonesia	Net services	(5.56)	(6.32)	(6.47)	(5.31)	(5.16)	(3.16)	(3.22)	(3.40)	(3.15)	(2.87)	(2.06)	(1.30)	(1.10)
Indonesia	Net primary income	(6.43)	(5.12)	(4.32)	(3.60)	(2.65)	(4.25)	(4.52)	(3.78)	(3.59)	(2.97)	(2.81)	(2.74)	(2.97)

Table 5 Primary Income and Services, Indonesia, period 2012 - 2023

Country Name	Indicators	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	2004 - 2023
Indonesia	Net services	(1.15)	(1.32)	(1.12)	(1.01)	(0.76)	(0.73)	(0.62)	(0.68)	(0.92)	(1.23)	(1.51)	(1.32)	(1.6)
Indonesia	Net primary income	(2.90)	(2.96)	(3.33)	(3.30)	(3.18)	(3.16)	(2.96)	(3.02)	(2.73)	(2.69)	(2.68)	(2.60)	(3.2)

Table 5 Primary Income and Services, Indonesia, period 2012 - 2023, average value: 2004 - 2023. Note: Data for the period 1999 - 2003, is not included in calculating the average value. During that period, Indonesia was in the midst of economic recovery, economic indicators did not reflect normal conditions.

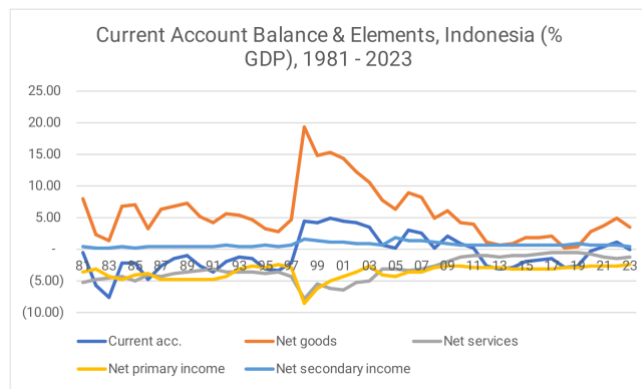


Figure 1 Chart of Current Account balance and elements of Indonesia, period 1981 - 2023

It shows the Primary Income and Services balance sheet transaction deficit throughout this period (The World Bank, 2024).  
 (iii) High foreign debt.

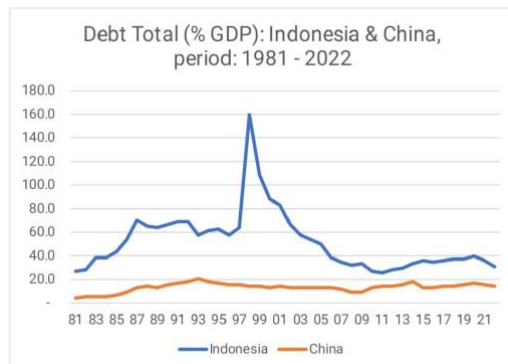


Figure 2 Chart of total debt (% GDP) of Indonesia and China, period 1981 - 2022 (The World Bank, 2024)



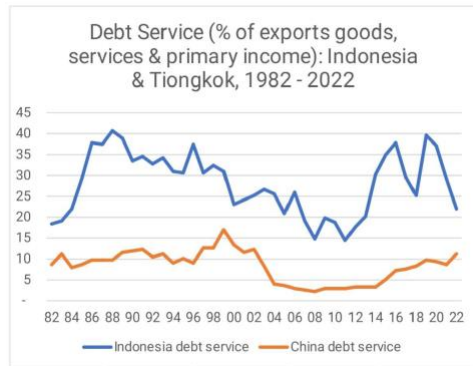
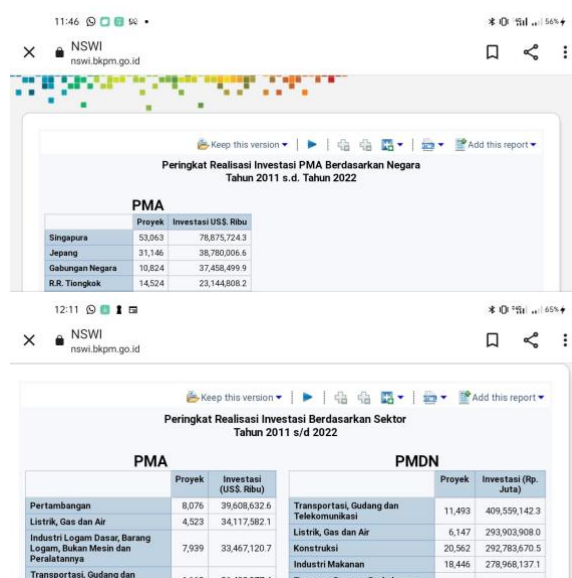


Figure 3 Chart of Debt Service (% of exports goods, services and primary income): Indonesia and China, period 1982 - 2022.

The two charts above show Indonesia's high debt compared to China (The World Bank, 2024).

(iv) Foreign investment dominates the national investment.



PMA			PMDN		
	Proyek	Investasi (US\$ Ribu)		Proyek	Investasi (Rp. Juta)
Pertambangan	8,076	39,608,632.6	Transportasi, Gudang dan Telekomunikasi	11,493	409,559,142.3
Listrik, Gas dan Air	4,523	34,117,582.1	Listrik, Gas dan Air	6,147	293,903,908.0
Industri Logam Dasar, Barang Logam, Bukan Mesin dan Peralatannya	7,939	33,467,120.7	Konstruksi	20,562	292,783,670.5
Transportasi, Gudang dan Telekomunikasi	6,163	31,492,077.4	Industri Makanan	18,446	278,968,137.1
Industri Kimia Dan Farmasi	10,280	23,949,737.3	Tanaman Pangan, Perkebunan, dan Peternakan	12,074	232,621,757.6
Perumahan, Kawasan Industri dan Perkantoran	9,576	22,066,991.9	Perumahan, Kawasan Industri dan Perkantoran	10,972	222,627,567.1
Industri Makanan	15,633	20,260,320.4	Pertambangan	5,033	167,945,927.0
Industri Kendaraan Bermotor dan Alat Transportasi Lain	8,080	17,971,493.0	Industri Kimia Dan Farmasi	7,244	163,194,104.9
Tanaman Pangan, Perkebunan, dan Peternakan	7,982	16,900,437.5	Industri Mineral Non Logam	2,851	98,746,574.0
			Industri Logam Dasar, Barang Logam, Bukan Mesin dan Peralatannya	4,614	95,405,058.2
			Peralatannya		
			Jasa Lainnya	29,596	74,416,960.1
			Perdagangan dan Reparasi	100,478	73,020,349.9
			Hotel dan Restoran	14,555	68,158,241.5
			Industri Kertas dan Percetakan	3,578	66,164,018.0
			Industri Karet dan Plastik	5,801	40,984,840.4
			Industri Tekstil	4,276	32,130,002.6
			Kehutanan	869	21,309,198.8
			Industri Kendaraan Bermotor dan Alat Transportasi Lain	1,858	16,424,161.9
			Industri Kayu	2,781	12,981,514.1
			Industri Mesin, Elektronik, Instrumen Kedokteran, Peralatan Listrik, Presisi, Optik dan Jam	2,971	12,756,522.9

Figure 4 PMDN and PMA investment data 2011 - 2022

It is regarding the following: ranking of the 4 highest investing countries; mining sector investment value; investment value in the transportation, warehouse and telecommunications sectors; electricity, gas and water; construction; food industry; food crops, plantations and livestock; investment value in the electricity, gas and water sectors; investment value in the non-machinery basic metal industry sector; investment value in the chemical and pharmaceutical industry sector and investment value in the machinery, electronics, medical instruments, electrical equipment, precision, optics and clock sectors (Kementerian Investasi/Badan Koordinasi Penanaman Modal -BKPM - RI, 2022).

**g. Low efficiency and effectiveness of the nation's activities.** This situation is explained by the following 3 indicators.

1) High inflation rate compared to China and the Republic of Korea.

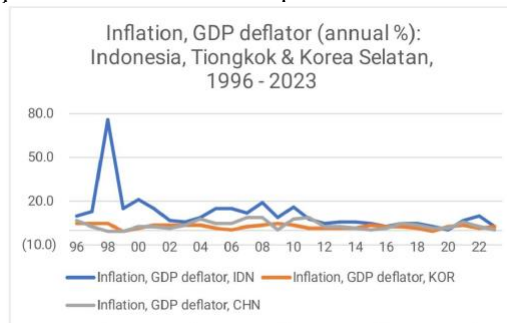


Figure 5 Chart of Inflation, GDP deflator (annual %): Indonesia, China and the Republic of Korea

This chart shows that most of Indonesia's inflation rates are higher than those of the two countries (The World Bank, 2024).

2) High bank interest rates compared to China and the Republic of Korea.



Figure 6 Chart of Lending Interest Rate (%): Indonesia, China, and the Republic of Korea

This chart shows that all Indonesia's lending interest rates are higher than those of the two countries (The World Bank, 2024).

3) High national debt compared to China. Indicators that reflect conditions of low efficiency and effectiveness of the nation's activities are explained in Figure 4.2.2 and Figure 4.2.3 above.

These 3 indicators show that reliable national governance has not been developed. This is a sign of the limited role and contribution of experts in developing a robust national governance system.

**h. The root of the nation's problems is not yet a national political understanding** (Phiodias, 2023, December 21). As explained in the article, even though Indonesia has held 4 direct presidential elections, the roots of the nation's problems have never entered public political discourse.

In fact, considering that the achievements of national development are 79 years behind those of China and the Republic of Korea, the subject of national capacity building should be the root issue of the nation's problems.

### 3.2.2 Evaluation of 79 Years of the Nation's Journey

The subject of discussion in this section concerns a number of issues related to the evaluation of national development over 79 years which serve as notes for improvements and input for the future development process.

This evaluation stage is in accordance with the understanding of the meaning of the principle of empiricism that a theory's claims about everything must, in time, be proven empirically. Regarding this subject, there are the following 4 groups of issues.

(i) It is time for the Indonesian people to question the fulfillment of political promises.

(ii) Three issues behind 79 years of national development.

(ii.1) Time and targets for achieving 79 years of Indonesian development under the Japanese Restoration, transformation of China and the Republic of Korea.

Considering the successful period of the Japanese Restoration, the transformation of China and the Republic of Korea, the 79 year period of development is sufficient time to test and prove the claims of political promises of political authority to the people. The Japanese restoration succeeded in equalizing its civilizational capacity with Western countries in less than 60 years. In 1925 Japan was able to produce military reconnaissance aircraft. Meanwhile, China and the Republic of Korea were able to master basic 19th century technology in less than 30 years.

(ii.2) Indonesia's current economic achievements lag behind China and the Republic of Korea. Even though in the 70s, the Indonesian economy outperformed them.

Data related to this subject are explained in section 4.4 Benchmarking Indonesia's economic development achievements with China and the Republic of Korea below.

(ii.3) Indonesia failed to become an industrial country. Meanwhile, China succeeded in becoming an industrial country and the Republic of Korea succeeded in becoming a service country according to the provisions of the International Standard Industrial Classification (ISIC).

(iii) National development policies need to change their orientation to prioritize humanistic policies over economic policies.

(iv) Empirical facts that national development is 79 years behind.

(iv.1) The low level of 6 indicators related to capacity building for the Indonesian nation compared to China and the Republic of Korea as follows (Phiodias, 2023, p. 137 - 139).

(iv.1.1) Average value of Net Primary Income of Indonesia, 1998 - 2021: deficit (3.7%) of GDP. With the same indicators and time span, the average value of China and the Republic of Korea: surplus 0.6% and 0.05% of GDP.

(iv.1.2) Average value of Manufactures Net of Indonesia, 2005 - 2021: deficit (2.9)% of GDP. With the same indicators and time span, the average value of China and the Republic of Korea: surplus 10.1% and 13.0% of GDP.

(iv.1.3) Human Development Index 2022. Indonesia ranks 114th, while China and the Republic of Korea rank 79th and 19th.

(iv.1.4) Statistics on labor productivity 2021, published by the International Labour Organization. According to this data, Indonesia ranks 114th with a value of \$ 12.96. Meanwhile, China and the Republic of Korea rank 108th and 38th respectively with values of \$ 13.5 and \$ 41.5.

(iv.1.5) World class university ranking, published by QS Top Universities 2023, June 27. According to this data, Indonesia's 3 best universities are ranked 237th, 263rd and 281st. Meanwhile, China, its 5 universities are in the world's top 51 and the Republic of Korea's 5 universities are in the world's top 100.

(iv.1.6) Patent application, issued by the World Bank, World Developments Indicators, accessed 2 October 2023. To make it comparable, the data is divided by the population of each country and multiplied by 1 million.

From processing this data, Indonesian patent applications for citizen residents: 5 and non-citizen residents: 29. In the same category, China and the Republic of Korea each score: 823 and 101, 3,280 and 912 respectively.

(iv.2) Indonesia has not mastered science, technology and business related to primary commodities/national mineral resources such as rare earth metals, titanium, nickel, copper and bauxite (Phiodias, 2003, p. 512 - 513).

The investment value of Foreign Direct Investment (PMA) in the mining sectors, non-machined basic metals, machinery, electrical and electronic equipment is much greater than the investment value of Domestic Investment (PMDN). This subject has been discussed in section f. National development is dependent on foreign development resources, point (iv) Foreign investment dominates the national investment.

(iv.3) The 14 typical issues of distortion of national activities were recorded (Phiodias, 2023, p. 472 - 477). These issues are related to corruption, foreign investment, construction quality, handling flood and fire disasters. Some of these issues are explained in section d. There are technical distortions typical of the national activities mentioned above.

(iv.4) Limited availability of industry/professional standards (Phiodias, 2023, p. 389). This limitation is another indicator of Indonesia's failure to become an industrial country.

(iv.5) According to the provisions of the International Standard Industrial Classification (ISIC), Indonesia is still classified as an agricultural country. This means that the maturity of the nation's capacity is still at a basic level (Phiodias, 2023, p. 462 - 465).

**3.3 Development pragmatism policy.** It is a reality that at least since the execution of Pelita I in 1969, pragmatism is a strong direction of national political policy. The state is to have political preferences to invite foreign investors massively rather than initiate self-reliance government programs.

Apart from that, the best practices of civilization, such as carried out by the Japanese Restoration, the transformation of China and the Republic of Korea, are not used as references in preparing national development concepts and programs. Including the study of the development of civilization as a scientific phenomenon, it is not a concern of political authorities.

By the way, the political authorities do not encourage participation of intellectual groups in national development. Genuine ideas of the group are always to be considered to obstruct the government programs.

To strengthen the argument for the state's political preferences, there are at least the following 5 historical events that illustrate the birth, strong rejection and socio-economic impact of the implementation of development pragmatism policy ideas.

**(i) The birth of the 25 Year Acceleration of Development Modernization.** Initiated by Major General TNI/AD Ali Moertopo in 1972 (Moertopo, 1973, p. 26 - 28). This was the forerunner to the idea of national development pragmatism, which was later strengthened into the concept of the Development Trilogy in 1978 (Departemen Keuangan RI, 1979).

**(ii) Student demonstration in 1974.** It rejected foreign investment. This was a historic event that shook the national political world when Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka arrived (Tim CNN Indonesia, 2021).

**(iii) Student demonstration in 1978.** It is to urge the President to step down (Widyanti, Prasetya and Fauzi, 2023). The demonstration rejected the authoritarianism of power that stifles thought and innovation. Including protests against practices of corruption, collusion and nepotism. This means that the policy of development pragmatism at that time was considered to be continuing.

**(iv) Regulation of the Minister of Education in 1978.** It is to ban students' activities related to political practices. The regulation, known by the abbreviation NKK - Normalization of Campus Life, is essentially a form of state confirmation that the development policy of pragmatism continues (Widyanti et al, 2023).

**(v) The emergence of a multi-dimensional crisis - financial, economic and political.** It began in 1997 and reached its peak in 1998 (Phiodias, 2023, p. 310 - 311).

This crisis strengthens the evidence that the nation's inadequate capacity building has an impact on the fundamental conditions of the national economy.

This premise is proven by the Republic of Korea, even though at the same time it is experiencing a regional financial crisis. However, due to the strong development of the nation's capacity, its economic condition soon recovered and revived.

For those interested in the study of national transformation as a scientific phenomenon, the deepening of Indonesia's economic development from 1970 to 1998 is interesting to pay attention to.

Because economic development presents the rationality for the operation of the sacred law of civilization, neglect of building the nation's capacity has a negative impact and lowers the efficiency and effectiveness of the nation's activities.

The peculiarity of economic indicators in that era was the high figures for various indicators such as: inflation, bank interest rates and state debt. Including the deficit in balance of the manufactures and the primary income. This is a confirmation of the state's low level of attention to efforts to build national capacity.

It is a fact that the policy of pragmatism is continued by the current Reform regime. That is one of the reasons why the idea of this amendment is needed so that the country's legal politics changes by prioritizing humanistic policies over economic ones. This change is in accordance with the mandate of the constitution and the state ideology of Pancasila.

### 3.4 Benchmarking Indonesia's economic development achievements with China and the Republic of Korea.

The discussion of the subject in this section reveals a comparison of data on Indonesia's economic development achievements with China and the Republic of Korea. This discussion strengthens the objectivity of assessing the results of 79 years of national development.

#### 3.4.1 GDP per capita/ GDP.

Table 6 Benchmarking Indonesia & China: GDP per Capita (US\$), 1970 - 2023

Country	Indicator	70	73	74	97	98	23
Indonesia	GDP per capita (US\$)	79.4	130.5	201.7	1,054.3	459.2	4,940.5
China		113.2	157.1	160.1	781.7	828.6	12,614.1
Indonesia compared to China		smaller	smaller	bigger	bigger	smaller	smaller

Table 7 Benchmarking Indonesia & The Republic of Korea: GDP (US\$), 1970 - 2023

Country	Indicator	70	77	80	83	2023
Indonesia	GDP (US\$)	9,150,684,932	45,808,915,663	72,482,337,397	81,052,283,384	1,371,171,152,331
Korea, Rep.		9,005,144,969	38,446,487,603	65,398,377,598	87,760,553,262	1,712,792,854,202
Indonesia compared to Korea		bigger	bigger	bigger	smaller	smaller

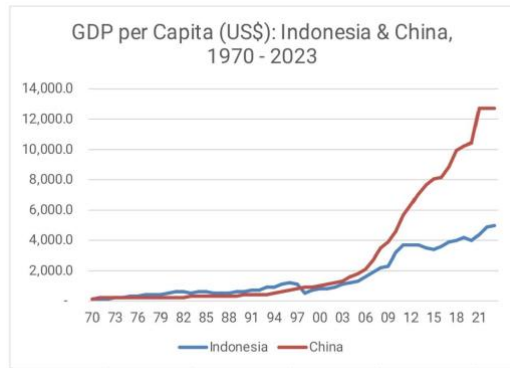


Figure 7 Chart of GDP per Capita (US\$): Indonesia and China (US\$), 1970 - 2023

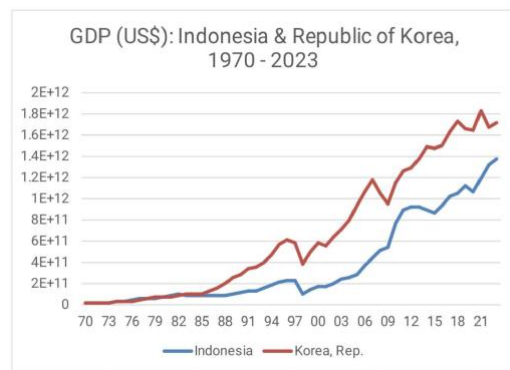


Figure 8 Chart of GDP (US\$): Indonesia and the Republic of Korea (US\$), 1970 - 2023

These data prove that Indonesia's economy is lagging behind China and the Republic of Korea. Even though in the 70s, Indonesia's economy outperformed them (the World Bank, 2024).

From a scientific perspective, the phenomenon of underdevelopment is an interesting study. Specifically examining the subject of differences in development policies between the three countries. **3.4.2 Current account balance.** In this section, we discuss the achievement of the current account balance for Indonesia, China and the Republic of Korea. The discussion of this subject is interesting, considering that this indicator represents the big picture of each country's economic achievements. The observation span of 43 years is very adequate in assessing achievement objectively.

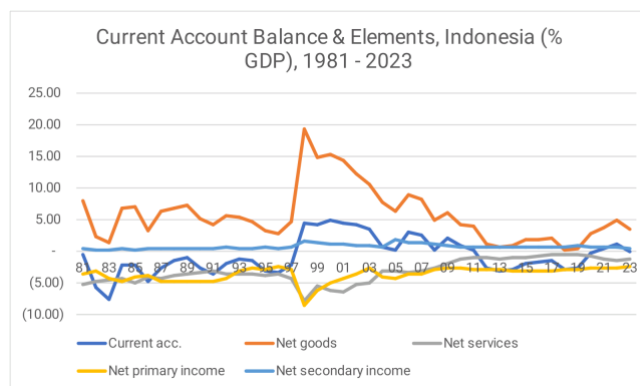


Figure 9 Chart of current account balance and elements (% GDP): Indonesia, 1981 - 2023



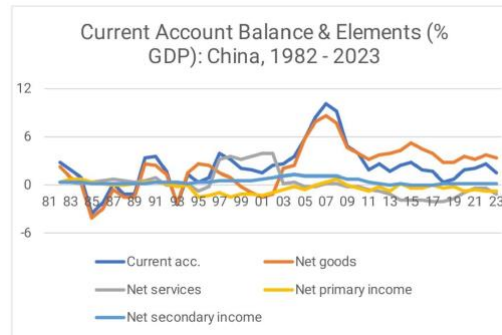


Figure 10 Chart of current account balance and elements (% GDP): China, 1981 - 2023

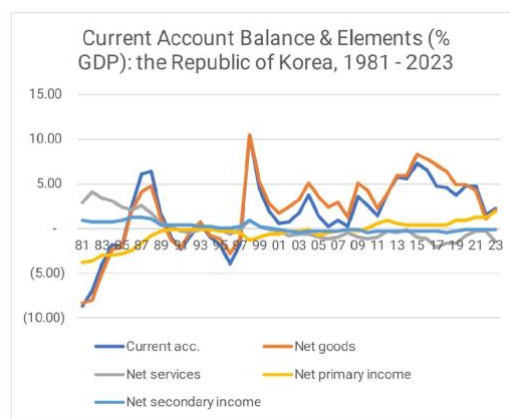


Figure 10 Chart of current account balance and elements (% GDP): the Republic of Korea, 1981 - 2023

Compared to China and the Republic of Korea, Indonesia's current account balance is the lowest, with an average value from 1981 - 2023 of 0.52% of GDP. For the same indicators and time span, China and the Republic of Korea's values are 3.40% and 3.40% of GDP respectively (the World Bank, 2024).

Indonesia's achievement of the current account balance is supported by 4 elements: net goods, net services, net primary income and net secondary income. Over the same period, the average values are 3.58%, (1.63)%, (3.16)% and 0.70% of GDP, respectively.

For indicators with the same order and time span, China's achievement values are respectively: 4.38%, (0.94)%, (0.39)% and 0.34% of GDP. Meanwhile, the Republic of Korea's respective values are: 4.39%, (0.98)%, 0.33% and (0.33)% of GDP.

Based on these empirical facts, there are 3 important notes that need to be revealed.

(i) With regard to the subject of labor independence, the Republic of Korea reached the highest state of maturity. This is represented by the net primary income indicator with an average value of 0.33% of GDP. This means that the income balance of the country's resident workforce is in surplus compared to non-resident workers working in that country.

In the context of these indicators, China and Indonesia rank 2nd and 3rd, respectively with average values of: (0.39)% and (3.16)% of GDP.

This quite far lag in achievements could be an early indication of the phenomenon of stagnation in the development of the Indonesian nation's capacity. Therefore, this subject note has strong relevance to the idea of the 5th amendment, to dismantle this stagnation.

(ii) China ranks highest in the net services indicator with an average value of (0.94)% of GDP. Meanwhile, the Republic of Korea and Indonesia rank second and third, respectively with average values of: (0.98)% and (1.63)% of GDP.

(iii) The Republic of Korea ranks highest in the net goods indicator with an average value of 4.39% of GDP. Meanwhile, China and Indonesia rank second and third, respectively with average values of: 4.38% and 3.58% of GDP.

Of these three indicators, Indonesia's achievement is the lowest.

**3.4.3 Merchandise.** The discussion in this section further reveals the differences in the development policies of these three countries.

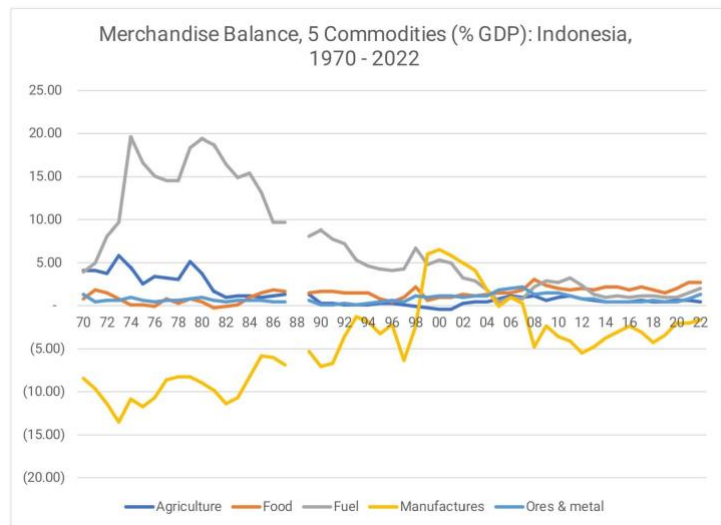


Figure 11 Chart of 5 commodities of merchandise (% GDP): Indonesia, 1970 - 2022

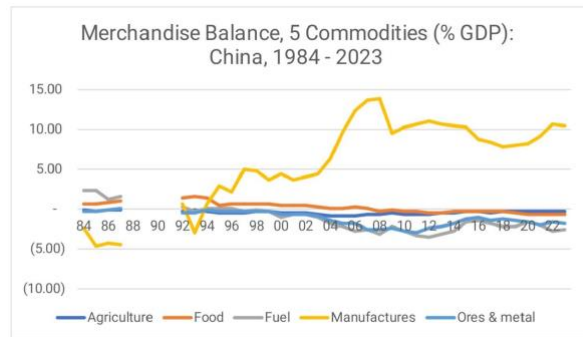


Figure 12 Chart of 5 commodities of merchandise (% GDP): China, 1984 - 2023

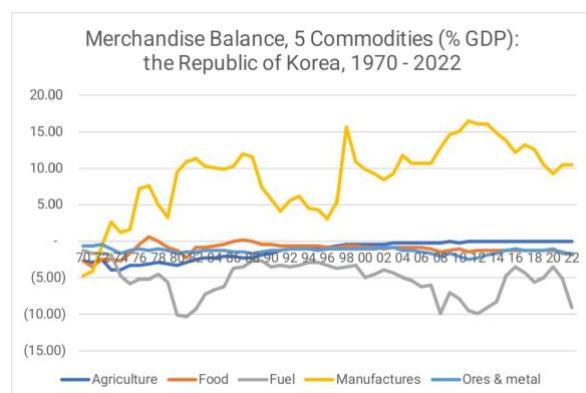


Figure 13 Chart of 5 commodities of merchandise (% GDP): the Republic of Korea, 1970 - 2022

To clarify differences in development policies, the discussion of these commodities is divided into the following 2 groups. First, commodities have low economic added value, such as: agriculture, food, fuel and ores and metal. Second, commodities have high economic value, such as: manufacturing.

Observing the data on the three figures based on the division of commodity groups, it can be seen that Indonesia's development policy is oriented towards low value added economic activities. In contrast, the development policies of China and the Republic of Korea are oriented towards high value-added economic activities, such as manufacturing.

By successfully implementing the manufacturing development program, this means that building the nation's capacity has become a priority for China's and the Republic of Korea's development policies.

By analogy, contrary to that conclusion, Indonesia's failure to become an industrial country shows that building national capacity is not a development policy priority. The explanation of the differences in development policies has strong relevance for the arguments for the proposed fifth amendment to the 1945 Constitution.

This idea is basically a proposal to restructure the role of national politics as a solution to the structural stagnation in the development of national capacity.

**3.4.4 Efficiency and effectiveness of the nation's activities.** This section correlates with the discussion of the subjects of inflation, bank interest rates and state debt as explained in section g. Low efficiency and effectiveness of the nation's activities, mentioned above.

However, to complete the discussion, this section adds the subject of correlation of current account balance performance with the local currency exchange rate against the US dollar. The observations were made on the economic achievements of Indonesia, China and the Republic of Korea.

Table 8 Correlation of current account balance performance with the local currency exchange rate against the US dollar (The World Bank, 2024)

Average value in 2004 - 2023	Country	Current account balance (% GDP)	% rate
	Indonesia	(0.5)	3.11
	Korea, Rep.	3.4	0.74
	China	3.4	(0.70)

This table shows the strong correlation between current account balance performance and the local currency exchange rate against the US dollar. The low performance of the current account balance has an impact on the vulnerability of the Rupiah exchange rate to the US dollar. This condition is one of the impacts of the nation's downstream activities due to the weak condition of the nation's capacity.

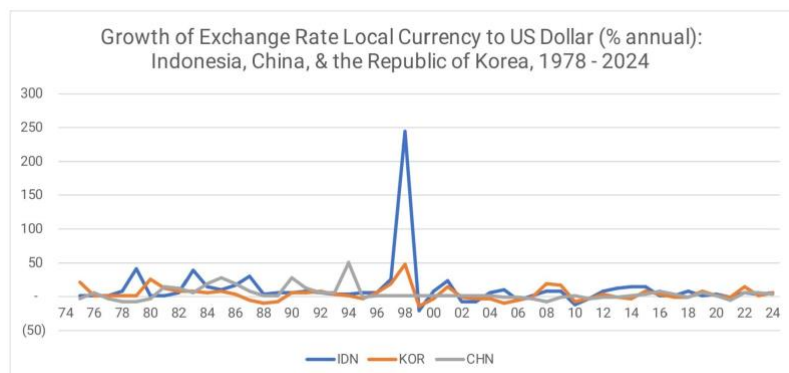


Figure 14 Chart of performance of local money exchange rates (Indonesia, China and the Republic of Korea) against the US dollar, period 1975 - 2024

### 3.2 Discussion

**3.2.1 Indonesian development issues and the subject of national capacity building.** Referring to the Dark Age definition introduced by Francesco Petrarch - a pioneer of Renaissance, current condition of Indonesia is similar to that era (Phiodias, 2023, p. 112, 649 - 650).

In general, the progress of current Indonesia development is parallel with the world. For the time being, the world's connection and interaction is so closed and high. Even some cutting edge technologies are to be applied here. But mostly, that technology products are not made in Indonesia. Indonesian people are just users, not producers. Those reflect current economic macro data, such as net of manufactures, primary income and services which indicate deficit balance.

Observing the development of the Indonesian economy from the beginning of the New Order (Orde Baru) regime to the present era in the context of the development of national capacity building and the principles of civilization development as a scientific phenomenon is an interesting discussion study.

Moreover, when these observations are enriched with comparisons of macroeconomic data from China and the Republic of Korea, it strengthens scientific arguments and illustrates the operation of a law that is always recorded in the history of civilizational development regarding the success or failure of a national transformation process.

Therefore, the observation of 79 years of Indonesian national development deserves to be a case study and empirical fact of the operation of the natural laws of civilization development.

Likewise, the inclusion of a discussion of the successful transformation of China and the Republic of Korea with the Indonesian case study strengthens the argument that the development of civilization is a scientific phenomenon (Phiodias, 2023, p. 113 - 116).

From these observations it is concluded that building national capacity is the central subject of the transformation process of nations in the world (Phiodias, 2023, p. 74, 131 - 133). The success or failure of building national capacity has broad implications for various aspects of a national life. Directly, this is related to the quality of national development achievements, including the efficiency and effectiveness of the nation's activities.

Based on the discussion of the subject in section 3. Results and Discussion, it can be concluded that all the issues in Indonesia's 79 years of national development were caused by a single factor, namely the lack of the state attention to building the nation's capacity.

This conclusion means that the role and contribution of national intellectual groups in national development has been limited so far.

It looks like current Indonesia development is going underway in a negative mode of development. It is similar to the Dark Age as per Petrarch definition. This conclusion strengthens the justification for the idea of the 5th amendment to the 1945 Constitution where the national intellectual group becomes the 4th political force representing the interests of national scientific stakeholders.

**3.2.2 Nation capacity building and Trias Politica practices.** In fact, during 79 years of practical experience with trias politica, Indonesia is facing real and big challenges in efforts to develop the nation's capacity.

This is an interesting fact why this challenge only occurs in Indonesia. Meanwhile, in Western countries where the trias politica was born, the subject of national capacity building is not an issue. This is logical, considering that they are generally high-income countries.

Based on historical research, from an intellectual maturity perspective there is a big difference between the conditions of Western countries at the birth of the trias politica and the conditions in Indonesia today.

After the decline of medieval political power, Western saints took an independence position related to scientific truth claims. The period is an euphoria of the Enlightenment movement in Europe.

The development of civilization at that time was largely determined by the development of science and technology. This development has had an impact on the emergence of diversity of activities and the development of state governance practices.

It could be said that the role of intellectual groups greatly determines the face of the development of civilization.

In contrast to Indonesia, considering the long history of opposing positions between political authorities and national intellectuals as explained above, it is understandable that political authorities are reluctant to invite intellectuals to formulate national development methodology concepts.

However, the fact is that after more than 50 years of pragmatic policy being implemented, development is currently facing various complexities. Including stagnation in national capacity development. All political stakeholders in the nation should immediately realize the magnitude of this challenge. Failure to do so will make the situation worse. This proposed amendment is one way to overcome the impasse of stagnation in building the nation's capacity.

As a developing country, Indonesia should be able to take advantage of the 9 phases of the rise of modern/Western civilization. The stages and processes of awakening can be lessons that have been tested by time. Japan, China and the Republic of Korea have adopted the values/principles produced by the revival. Their success in becoming or having been an industrial country which is now turning into a service country according to the provisions of the International Standard Industrial Classification (ISIC) is proof that the three countries have adopted the values of the revival of civilization. The results and trends in the development direction of the three countries indicate that they refer to 4 main elements of civilization products.

#### **4. Conclusion**

Based on observations and analysis of Indonesia's development issues as explained above, it can be concluded that all of these issues originate from one single cause. Namely, the obstruction of national capacity building due to the practice of statehood using *trias politica*.

In fact, the subject of building national capacity is the real mandate of the 1945 Constitution and the meaning of the second principle of Pancasila - Just and civilized humanity. This conclusion is strengthened by a study of the 9 phases of the rise of Western/modern civilization. The theme of the nine phases is human/civilization capacity building.

The author considers that currently the idea of the 5th amendment to the 1945 Constitution is the only and most effective way to overcome the impasse in the development of national capacity building so that it no longer experiences stagnation.

With the delegation of constitutional authority, the national intellectual group was given direct responsibility by the state to advance the country through strengthening the nation's capacity building.

It is realized that in current constitutional practices in the world, the concept of a model for dividing state political power such as the idea of *quattuor politica* has not been heard of. Therefore, it is necessary to in-depth study the solution options between constitutional amendments or not.

The proposed fifth amendment to the 1945 Constitution is based on scientific theory and argumentation. However, the implementation of this idea ultimately depends on the political will of all Indonesian people, especially the country's political elite.

However, all national political stakeholders need to realize that when there is inequality of progress between regions in the world, that is where the laws of the universe work.

Basically, every human being born into the world has the same right to be intelligent and competent in their own life. The reason is, the Creator of the Universe gave every human being the same life tools. And the only reason the development of human intelligence is hampered is political systems and claims that are not based on truth and have no proof.

On that basis, the desire to continue to develop human/national intelligence and capacity is actually an impulse that comes from the universe. Because this mechanism is part of the nature of human creation on the earth. This is what is called the law of obligation for the development of civilization.

Because this proposal is related to the political interests of national intellectual groups in advancing our beloved country, Indonesia, this idea should attract the attention of stakeholders in the world of national science. The hope is that this proposal will become a scientific discourse in order to test the theories and concepts that form the basis of this justification.

However, in the end the theories and concepts that underlie this idea will be tested by time for their truth. This means that, although this idea starts from the perspective of the empiricist method of observing Indonesian issues, ultimately this idea does not escape the operation of the empiricist principle, namely "testing and proving" by time and space.

In proposing this idea, the author tries to make maximum use of the privilege and power of general principles of science. Namely the ability of science is to bring problems closer to solutions.

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