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The more things change the more they stay the same? Exploring a century of Indonesian language planning discourses

by

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The More Things Change the More They Stay the Same? Exploring a Century of Indonesian Language Planning Discourses

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1. Introduction

...[T]he model of official nationalism assumes its relevance above all at the moment when revolutionaries successfully take control of the state, and are for the first time in a position to use the power of the state in pursuit of their visions... ‘official nationalism’ was from the start a conscious, self-protective *policy*, intimately linked to the preservation of imperial-dynastic interests... The one persistent feature of this style of nationalisms was, and is, that it is *official*—i.e. something emanating from the state, and serving the interests of the state first and foremost. (Anderson, 1983/2006, p. 159, italics in original)

In October of 1928, a group of young, highly and Dutch-educated youth gathered in Jakarta, or rather, Batavia at that time, under the auspices of the *Sumpah Pemuda*, or Youth Congress, and made a declaration that a nation named Indonesia would be formed, unified under a homeland and a language, and that that language would be called Indonesian. They held this Congress largely in Dutch; however, they had arrived at the choice of what was to become Indonesian through their desire to lift the blanket of the colonial regime off of the nation, a choice facilitated by a history of Dutch colonial policy which had limited the teaching of Dutch to a very small elite among the indigenous populations over which they ruled. The Indonesian language—originally Malay and still identifiable as a dialect thereof—is said to have been chosen as it belonged to nobody and anybody at the same time (Keane, 2003). It would separate them from the international community as their own language, and internal to the nation Indonesian would be a lingua franca, but nobody’s first language, and therefore its choice would eliminate rivalries heightened through the officialization of one or more indigenous languages. Indonesian was in fact readily and enthusiastically embraced in the movement toward Indonesian

nation formation, and during the rocky process of decolonization its role was only strengthened through a brief exchange of power during World War II, when the Japanese took over for three years and banned Dutch from administration. While some Japanese was learned among indigenous bureaucrats during the brief three-year occupation, the primary lingua franca that had already been in use among them, these lingua franca form or forms of Malay, expanded in use in Dutch's absence. As WWII came to a close, the Indonesian national movement came to a head. In 1945 a national constitution was drafted, declaring Indonesian the official language, and local or regional languages (I use the terms interchangeably throughout this paper) were allowed to be "honored and maintained" as long as their use was in service to the Indonesian nation and language.

<i>Bab XV, Bendera, Bahasa, dan Lambang Negara, Serta Lagu Kebangsaan</i>
<i>Pasal 36:</i>
<i>Bahasa Negara ialah Bahasa Indonesia</i>
<i>Bab XIII, Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan</i>
<i>Pasal 32:</i>
<i>(1) Negara memajukan kebudayaan nasional Indonesia di tengah peradaban dunia dengan menjamin kebebasan masyarakat dalam memelihara dan mengembangkan nilai-nilai budayanya.</i>
<i>(2) Negara menghormati dan memelihara bahasa daerah sebagai kekayaan budaya nasional.</i>
Chapter XV, National Flag, Language, and Symbol, and National Anthem
Article 36:
The State Language is Indonesian.
Chapter XIII, Education and Culture
Article 32:
(1) The State will develop Indonesian national culture amid world civilization by ensuring the society's freedom to maintain and develop their own cultural values.
(2) The State honors and maintains local languages as a part of national cultural wealth.
Table 1: <i>Undang-Undang Dasar 1945</i> (The National Constitution 1945) articles regarding local and national languages.

The premise for choosing Malay, as stated above, was a certain idea that it belonged to no one yet could belong to everyone in the archipelago and would therefore help the language planners to install a national language while simultaneously avoiding interethnic conflict (Keane, 2003). However, I find it necessary to question the notion that it would be nobody's first

language. Trade routes through the Straits of Melacca, located on the northern side and western end of the island of Sumatra and on the southern side of Kuala Lumpur, now the capital of Malaysia, are said to have led to the development of a trade form of Malay (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003), which must have surely been different everywhere based on the vast expanse and numerous islands of the archipelago (Stevens, 1973), but which was still a dialect of the Malay language. Throughout colonization, Dutch policies enforced the separation of their Dutch language from local languages, and this further engendered the expansion of this lingua franca Malay—or these lingua franca dialects of Malay—as it became the medium of inter-ethnic communication and even of local dialogue in certain areas under the regime. In the early 1900s, a Dutch linguist was sent out in search of an “exemplary” form of Malay to be codified and spread through Dutch educational institutions. People directed to him to the Riau-Johor area on the island of Sumatra and he described the language according to Dutch linguistic tradition (van der Putten, 2012). The Dutch colonial government started adding this Malay-medium education in certain areas in opposition to their previous policy of limiting education to a very small number of indigenous elites and only through the medium of Dutch (Sneddon, 2003). While this expansion of education cannot said to be vast, it did plant a seed for Indonesian domestic education in a language other than that of the colonizer. Malay is in fact indigenous to Western Indonesia, primarily Sumatra. While there may be dialectal differences between these forms of Malay and what has become the Indonesian form of Malay, it is important to note that despite its often Esperanto-like selling points—it is a created language, it is nobody’s first language, it is easy to learn (Stevens, 1973)—this language never belonged to “no one”. Stevens further points out that much of the earlier nationalist literature in Indonesia was written by authors from Sumatra. Perhaps this only makes sense given that there really would have been almost no

language learning gap for these authors. With this language history in mind, I now turn to the Indonesian Language Congresses, the first of which was held in Medan, located far west on the northern coast of Sumatera.

2. Putusan Kongres Bahasa Indonesia: Resolutions of the Indonesian Language Congresses

In this paper I aim to explore the contents of the Resolutions of the Indonesian Language Congresses as they have occurred over the past 76 years. These resolutions are documents that have been drafted collectively by the language planners who have directed these Language Congresses and who currently are housed in the national Language Institute (*Badan Bahasa*), under the umbrella of the Ministry of Education and Culture (*Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan*). In the very first Language Congress in 1938, a group of individuals within the nationalist movement came together to propose goals for language development and spread throughout the Indonesian nation. After the 1938 Congress they formed a body endorsed by the government, and have since 1947, according to the timeline provided on the current *Badan Bahasa*, or Language Institute's, website (Badan Bahasa, n.d.), enjoyed the endorsement of the government. Specifically at that time, the Minister of Education appointed a Working Group (*Panitia Kerja*) on language. Since then, the language planning body has undergone many changes, both in name and in location within the national political structure. Below in Table 2, I provide information regarding the timeline provided by the Language Institute, complemented with other historical points of interest that are relevant throughout this paper.

early 1900s van Ophuysen records “the Indonesian language”	1974 Name change to Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa
early 1900s Dutch start to provide Malay- instead of Dutch-med education in some areas	1978 KBI III
1928 <i>Sumpah Pemuda</i> (Youth Congress)	1980 Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa moves directly under Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan
1938 <i>Kongres Bahasa Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Language Congress, henceforth KBI) I	1983 KBI IV
1941 Dutch out, Japanese in	1988 KBI V
1945 Independence, Constitution, Japanese out, Dutch back in	1993 KBI VI
1947 Minister of Education appoints <i>Panitia Pekerja</i> (Working Group)	1996 UNESCO Universal Decl of Lg Rights
1948 <i>Balai Bahasa</i> (Language Office) officialized under <i>Jawatan Kebudayaan, Kementerian Pendidikan, Pengajaran dan Kebudayaan</i> (Department of Culture, Ministry of Education, Teaching, and Culture)	1998 --Suharto removed/steps down --KBI VII, more rhetoric given to local languages
1949 Dutch officially out, Sukarno president, Guided Democracy	1999 14 branches added beyond Yogya, Singaraja/Denpasar, & Makassar/Ujungpandang (totalling 17)
1952 <i>Balai Bahasa</i> becomes <i>Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaya</i> (the Language and Culture Institute) and is moved into the University of Indonesia’s Literature Faculty	2000 Name change to <i>Pusat Bahasa</i> (Language Center)
1954 KBI II	2003 KBI VIII: ‘globalization’ introduced, generally as threat accompanied by English
1959 <i>Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaya</i> becomes <i>Lembaga Bahasa dan Kesusastraan</i> (the Language and Literature Institute), leaves UI, moves directly under <i>Departemen Pendidikan, Pengajaran, dan Kebudayaan</i> (Department of Education, Teaching, and Culture)	2008 KBI IX: ‘globalization and protecting national identity, competitiveness’
1964 <i>Urusan Pengajaran Bahasa Indonesia dan Bahasa Daerah</i> (Matters of Indonesian and Local Language Teaching) is moved into <i>Lembaga Bahasa dan</i>	2009 --UU24/2009 <i>Tentang Bendera, Bahasa, dan Lambang Negara serta Lagu Kebangsaan</i> (National Policy 24/2009 Regarding Flag, Language, and National

<i>Kesusastraan</i>	Symbols as well as the National Hymn -- <i>Pusat Bahasa</i> name change to <i>Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa</i> (Agency for Language Development and Culture) under the National Ministry of Education
1965 Sukarno overthrow, start of authoritarian regime under Suharto	As of 2012 , there are 17 Balai Bahasa (Language Centers) & 13 Kantor Bahasa (Language Offices) at regional and city levels
1966 <i>Lembaga Bahasa dan Kesusastraan</i> name change to <i>Direktorat Bahasa dan Kesusastraan</i> (Directorate of Language and Literature). Local languages removed from its purview.	2013 --English decreased in national curricula --KBI X: (proceedings not yet available)
1969 <i>Direktorat Bahasa dan Kesusastraan</i> name change to <i>Lembaga Bahasa Nasional</i> (Institute for the National Language), directly under <i>Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, Department Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan</i> (Directorate General of Culture, Department of Education and Culture)	
1970 Branches opened in Singaraja, Bali; Yogyakarta, Java; & Makassar, Sulawesi	
Table 2: Timeline of Indonesian Language Planning and Nation Building	

A second Language Congress was held in 1954, and one was not assembled again until 1978, after which the Congresses became five yearly events, the last of which was held in 2013 (and which I do not currently have information on). The Congresses are always held during the month of October, the same month as the Sumpah Pemuda in which Indonesian was declared the national language, and which has recently become Language Month as well, though it seems that similar language “spirit” activities have been in place since the 1960s (I unfortunately had to resort to Wikipedia for this information: Bulan Bahasa Kebangsaan, 2013).

My original goal in examining the Resolutions was to explore how the visions and missions of the language planners in Indonesia have changed since their establishment. It is necessary to explain, in unfortunately brief and insufficient form, the political contexts that these

Congresses have been a part of over the years. The nation did go through a quite tumultuous development and some might say that it continues to do so. After statehood officially became theirs in 1949, Sukarno led a secularized “Guided Democracy” until 1965 when he was forced to step down in a bloody coup organized around fears of communism and after which General Suharto took over as the nation’s leader. This shifted the nation into authoritarian, often violent, and very centralized government rule. Despite staged elections throughout the Suharto regime, the nation in fact only achieved something like democracy in 1998 when the failings of Suharto’s regime caught up with him, inflation exploded, and he was finally forced to step down. Though much bribery is still evident in elections (a presidential election is underway right now and especially poor and rural communities are receiving educational warnings through the mass media to not accept bribes under any circumstances) the mock and rigged elections of the Suharto regime are thought to be gone and done.

Throughout the “New Order”—this was the term for Suharto’s regime—dissent was quite randomly but successfully quelled largely through physical and psychological violence (Heryanto, 2006a). This did not, though, prevent resistance to this largely assimilationist regime, and where ethnic groups did not directly fight against the national government’s invasion into their communities, they took out their frustrations on their neighbors, or other religious groups, or other ethnic groups who, due to top-down changes in economic and agricultural infrastructure, were forced to relocate (Bertrand, 2004). Interestingly, though, and quite different from the many examples of conflict related specifically to language that we see throughout the world, Indonesian’s acceptance seems to have been a given from the very start. I have not to date been able to find sufficient information on why this is the case, but despite ethnic violence and resistance to nationalization from some groups, the question of Indonesian’s priority has not been

a salient one in Indonesia. One of the more remarkable changes in the rhetoric of the Resolutions is in fact an increase in emphasis on regional languages (though not new mention of them) starting before but near the end of the New Order, but there was never any conflict in support of them in the first place, it seems. As language shift is already well in place due to the success of Indonesian's nationalization, the outlook for their actual maintenance or "preservation" does not look promising, and I am not sure that any citizens are quite concerned about this fact. What has become interesting to me in these Language Congress Resolutions, then, has been their overall consistency in promotion of the Indonesian language, for, as Blommaert (2010) claims, consistency, or homogeneity, is abnormal; not, in fact, change and heterogeneity.

3. Critical Discourse Analysis and Language Policy

Woodside-Jiron (2004), describes the general characteristics of written policies, a genre under which I include these Resolutions. The author claims that policies list sets of objectives that legitimize "the beliefs, values, and attitudes of their writers" (cit. Prunty, 1985). Citing Bernstein, she goes further to state that policies are members of the genre of "regulative discourse", that is, moral discourse that creates order, relations and identity, and ultimately controls "instructional discourse", which could be thought of here as the translation of these language planning resolutions into actions such as language use by teachers, media personalities, and government members, and the codification of the language to be used as these planners desire. Policy documents are generally produced in ways that promote minimal resistance. In general, therefore, they should be vague and based on rather general principles that are easy to agree with, and they should speak with language authoritative enough, to capture or generate a

general positive spirit (ie “Indonesian will unite us all”) despite any shortcomings that the policies may also hold (ie “Local languages will cease to be spoken”).

Policy texts also aim to present a perceived consensus among their writers. As Sneddon (2003) points out, language planning decisions were actually wrought with disagreement and conflict among Indonesia’s early language planners; however, the Resolutions speak as if unitary findings and recommendations are made by the group as a whole. This self-assured stance clearly serves the above mentioned goal of “promoting minimal resistance” and to move forward the agenda offered through policy statements.

The Language Congresses, and Indonesia’s nation-formation in general, have indeed not been smooth and linear processes. Despite this, the Resolutions present a relatively unwavering agenda. Through the 125 pages of Resolutions, which will clearly be quite difficult to explain in full here, I have found the following eight themes:

- 1) Word borrowings into Indonesian from both foreign (namely English) and regional languages are allowable but only with careful consideration;
- 2) The grammar of Indonesian must be well described and distributed to language users (ie, the nation);
- 3) the language planners consistently ask for agency status as a part of the national government or changes in said status—these changes throughout the years consist of continual requests for expansion and higher status/consideration;
- 4) the primacy of Indonesian; peripherality but inclusion of local languages, and resistance to foreign languages. Resistance to the latter has increased over time as its use and necessity have expanded, and the peripherality of local languages seems to have been maintained throughout the centralized Suharto era, but they are given much more

consideration starting in the 1998 Congress which is when decentralization also began officially. This being said, local languages are largely in shift, with the smallest languages extinct or near-extinct, and even the larger languages like Javanese now decreasing in numbers of speakers (Cohn & Ravindranath, 2013; Florey & Bolton, 1997; McConvell & Florey, 2005).

- 5) The responsibility of exemplary figures in society to speak “good and proper Indonesian” in order to provide an example for all citizens to follow and in order to increase citizens’ “positive attitude” toward the language;
- 6) the establishment of Indonesian literature and increase in reading habits throughout Indonesian society;
- 7) National development—the language should be developed in terms of grammar and vocabulary in order to serve the needs of the nation as it develops toward a more “civilized” and “rational” societal reality. Communication through their one shared language should make cohesion and communication easier, and the language should be sufficient to express everything necessary in personal and professional relations in this “modern” era;
- 8) The Teaching of Indonesian as a Foreign Language: as the nation’s international presence and influence expands, so does its language’s importance, and therefore teaching infrastructure needs to be provided in and out of country for the teaching, and more recently the testing, of Indonesian language proficiencies among both foreigners as well as citizens. For the reader’s reference, a selection of text I have extracted from each of the Resolutions which speak to each of the above themes can be found in Appendix A. I find that it is simply too cumbersome to include in the text.

An important characteristic of the Resolutions to note, even in my culling of quotes to include from each Congress, is the increasing lengthiness over time—though I find that not much more information is actually conveyed—as well as the continuing desire for increasing the bureaucratic scope of the language planning body. Regarding this latter statement, it must be noted that, according to Sneddon (2003), the language planning results that planners have desired has really been quite ineffective, or at least un-influential, if this can be said. Indonesian has indeed spread far and wide to the point that nearly everyone in the nation understands it and most can speak it. However, Sneddon describes that throughout the language planning body's existence, its outreach has been abysmal. It has continually complained that the standards that it has set for language use among Indonesians are never attained, even by government officials representing the state and presumably therefore also representing the language. Starting with Sukarno, the very first president of the Republic, politicians' speeches have included both local—largely Javanese, and foreign—largely English, terms in order to convey their meanings, and newspapers have long been notorious for including borrowings and using abbreviations with little to no explanation despite the fact that the general reader is not likely to be familiar with the term (see also Stevens, 1973). Sneddon (2003) describes language planners' attempts at outreach, such as language advice columns in newspapers, and even a couple of language advice television shows over the years; however, the first one, he claims, was terribly boring, and the second one, hosted by a key personality in early language planning, Anton Moeliono, was only slightly more interesting. It has largely, in fact, been the people in general, teachers who especially early on often spoke a very non-fluent Indonesian, and the mass media including entertainment shows and films, who have actually executed the planning of the language, using

many “spontaneous borrowings” (Sneddon, 2003), that is, a heavy mix of foreign and local terminology where “standard” Indonesian has come up short or where they simply have not been aware of said “standard”. Therefore, it could be said that despite language planners’ desires, the language expansion process has been largely based on what seems to have been a quite widespread diversity of Malay dialects that had formed throughout the archipelago over centuries of trade migration and that were really quite easily adaptable to the idea of an Indonesian language, as they were not far from it in all reality (Sneddon, 2003; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003; Stevens, 1973).

There is also evidence that language planning bodies in Indonesia have been largely academic enterprises. I find reason for this in noticing that shifts in terminology and discursive paradigms—with these same eight goals above remaining stable, however—align with trends in academic terminology. That is to say, though the term “maintenance” has been used to refer to the status of local languages since the beginning of nationalist statements, the term “preservation” (*pelestarian*) appears in the Resolutions of the 1993 Congress. Notably, Cohn & Ravindranath (2013) have recorded that the first appearance of language preservation in academic literature starts with a 1992 publication by Krauss. UNESCO published its Universal Declaration on Linguistic Rights in 1996, so it is possible this era was a time of awareness-raising, through scholarship and certain NGOs, that many of the world’s languages and the populations who spoke them were at risk. Additionally, despite mention of the presence of English starting in the second Congress in 1954, the term “globalization” (*globalisasi*) appears starting in 1998. Through a simple search on Google Scholar I find no titles containing the term “globalization” before 1990. The current era is one which we might think of as rather infested with this term—it is rather accepted as this (nebulous) era’s name. The term “globalization” has

continued to be used since 1998 and is generally described as at once a competitive challenge for citizens of a neoliberal world as well as a menace to statehood and representative of global imperialism (Blommaert (2005) discusses increasing xenophobia among states in this era). This menace under globalization also includes the threat of English to national unity under the Indonesian language; however, this theme of threat without the attached “globalization” term has been present since at least the 1954 Congress.

Given the large spread of Malay to many parts of Indonesia by the time of nationalization, perhaps its route to becoming the national language was not actually quite the miracle that Fishman has exclaimed it to be (1978). Despite its increasing spread and increasing use as a first language, language planners have continually insisted that the spread of “good and proper Indonesian” has not yet been successful. This may be because of the divergence of their Indonesian from the Indonesian that has “bubbled up from below” (McCrum & MacNeal, 1986; regarding the spread of English). It is not quite clear what form of Indonesian/Malay language planners relied on as the basis for their language development: Sneddon (2003) claims that the Indonesian language that planners have attempted to codify and spread has been a form of literary Malay taken from classic Malay literature, while van der Putten (2012) points out that it may stem from Riau-Johor Malay. Under Sneddon’s view, the language very clearly needed to be equipped with newer and “modernized” vocabulary to meet the needs of contemporary society as it was a language very limited in scope and use that most contemporary Malay speakers did not understand. Based on van der Putten’s (2012) claims, on the other hand, I would expect that the language would have been slightly more expansive than literary Malay due to its use in both oral and written media. In the end, Indonesian’s successful spread and its belonging to no one are myths that need to be at least questioned if not debunked. It is further not the case,

despite its continual request for expansion, that the language planning body has had much direct influence at all in the development and spread of the language. It is the “spontaneous” borrowings that have taken place largely in mass media, its use in education, as well as talk among the general society, that have led to its spread. Its instrumental necessity for upward mobility and its sentimental value through prestige positions attached to it in the media, pop culture, and government, are what have led to its spread, and it thus takes a form—rather, many forms, as Cole (2010) suggests—different from what the language planners generally desire.

In all, the nationalization of Indonesian has in a way been completely successful. It is necessary to agree with Fishman (1978) to some extent that the process of language nationalization is one of the most successful models seen to date. This being said, I would like to question the idea that there was really a widespread lack of Malay throughout the archipelago beforehand, and it would be interesting to investigate whether the presence of these dialects of Malay has worked to the advantage of some groups over others. Also, while the spread of “Indonesian” has been quite successful, it seems that it has been so in a much more “bottom-up” way than the language planners have desired. Perhaps it is this that leads to their continual restatement of the same goals, and, perhaps, why they continue to request more bureaucratic space?

4. Conclusion

There wasn't necessarily consensus among Indonesia's original language planners as to whether mono- or multilingualism should be the language model imposed on the state's citizens. However, the ideas of S.T. Alisjahbana, the head of the language planning committee in the 1940s, who promoted monolingual nationalism despite his distaste for it, were and remain one of

the most influential among the early language planners. Heryanto describes what Alisjahbana believe with respect to national linguistic development:

Advancing the idea of modernisation and standardisation of Bahasa Indonesia, Alisjahbana (1976: 59) ‘consider[s] the plurality of languages in the modern world...a great handicap. It hampers...understanding between individuals as well as nations’. He asserts this with full awareness that standardised language entails standardised general behaviour, which he values highly (Alisjahbana, 1976: 101).

(Heryanto, 2006b, pp. 52-3)

In the set of National Language Congress proceedings that have been examined here, we find official nationalism embraced and perpetuated through the Indonesian language. Given that the Language Institute, through all of its incarnations, has had very little influence on public life and language, one must see these statements as largely reflective of the goals of nationalism in general, and here, of the goals of the Indonesian state in “cultivating” not just its language, but its citizens, toward a model that thinks “rationally” and is “civilized”, presumably like the citizens—or at least the perceived models for them—of the states with which the Indonesian government wishes to compare itself. In this modular approach, wherein “new states” mould themselves based on contemporary views of historical formations in European and North American state structures in the interest of conforming to the economic and political behaviors typical of these same nations, the “new states” (Geertz, 1977) attempt to become one among the old. Each nation-state strives individuate itself among others while entirely “fitting in”, and it must create an imagined community that agrees wholeheartedly with its premises and is willing to take on the self-discipline and behaviors taught in schools and necessary for proper and obedient citizenship.

Appendix A: Excerpts from the Resolutions of the Language Congresses

The following excerpts are taken from the Resolutions of the Indonesian Language Congresses, covering Congresses I through IX. All excerpts are direct extractions from the text, chosen by myself as representative of the theme it is under, and then translated by myself alone. Page numbers are not provided in order to decrease clutter. In future publications these will be provided.

1938

1. Word borrowings from indigenous and foreign languages:
 - The Congress “in general agrees to take foreign words for scientific knowledge... This work needs to be carried out carefully, because of this, such issues would be appropriately given to an agency.”
2. Grammar:
 - “...there are already language innovations appearing because of new ways of thinking, because of this we feel that these innovations need to be regulated.”
 - “...current grammar is no longer sufficient and does not fulfill the form of Indonesian, therefore a new grammar must be established which is in accordance with the form of Indonesian.”
3. Agency status:
 - “...KBI determines: that there be appointed a commission to examine issues in establishing an Indonesian Language Institute....”
4. Proportionality of Indonesian, regional, and foreign languages:
 - see 1
5. Responsibilities among exemplary figures in society:
 - “...it is time for journalists to work to find routes to improve language in newspapers....”
 - “...the Congress opines and advocates that in secondary schooling the international spelling system also be taught.”
 - “...that new spelling does not need to be created, until the Congress creates its own spelling, that the spelling system already in place, that is van Ophuysen’s system, is acceptable for now, but in the interest of efficiency and simplicity, a change needs to be considered... because of this we hope that... the teacher’s association will want to help with this recommendation.”
6. Establishing an Indonesian literature and reading habits:
 - “...for the advancement of Indonesian society, research on language and literature and advancement of the culture of the Indonesian nation, a Literature College must promptly be established.”
7. National development:
 - “...the Congress opines that for the advancement of Indonesian society, research/study on language, literature, and the cultural advancement of the Indonesian nation, a College of Literature needs to be promptly established.
8. Indonesian as a foreign language (BIPA (*Bahasa Indonesia Bagi Penutur Asing*):
 - not yet

1954

1. Word borrowings from indigenous and foreign languages:
 - “We advise the encouragement of international terminology use and the excavation of terminology from local languages of the same family.”
 - “Firm stance toward foreign languages, for example reconsideration of the teaching of English in secondary schools which is now carried out broadly and evenly, with the possibility of changing it with “Foreign Linguistic Schools” for the interests of the nation in international relations.”
2. Grammar:
 - “We advise the Government to establish an Competent Agency that is acknowledged by the Government for: (a) in the short term establish a normative Indonesian Grammar...; (b) in the long term establish a thorough descriptive grammar.”
3. Agency status:

- “We strongly recommend the development of an institute that will be responsible for perfecting the Indonesian language.”
 - “[We recommend] that the Government promptly establish a State Committee...[that will] conduct the correction/perfection, seen to be needed in Indonesian language in Laws.”
4. Proportionality of Indonesian, regional, and foreign languages:
 - “In order to ease and smooth the development of Indonesian to become the language of daily talk throughout the Indonesian nation as their mother tongue, there must be clear guidance toward the growth and cultivation of said Indonesian language.”
 - “A language politics that is strict and able to nourish feelings of love toward Indonesian and is willing to destroy feelings of lesser self respect in relation to foreign languages, must regulate the position of Indonesian and its relations with local language, both in school, from primary to higher education or among society.”
 5. Responsibility of exemplary figures in society:
 - “Indonesian in press and radio cannot be seen to be language that is not cared for and broken, because it is general language that directly takes part in the development of societal functions.”
 - “We must create efforts at improving the level and quality of Indonesian by providing teaching that is strict in Indonesian usage.”
 - “We advise filmmakers to use proper Indonesian, that can be counted on to be one perfect aspect of an art product.”
 6. Establishing an Indonesian literature and reading habits:
 - “A list of works in classic Malay as well as a collection of modern Indonesian literature needs to be published.”
 7. National development:
 - “In everyday talk, that is in interpersonal relations considered unrestrained in free daily life, the use of Indonesian as much as possible and as properly as possible must be continually worked on and prioritized. (this para is same as in 4 above)
In order to achieve this goal, efforts at developing Indonesian must be carried out with conviction and according to an organized plan, based on awareness and desire to speak one language, accompanied by efforts at perfecting Indonesian which must be included as an important activity in the context of national development.”
 8. Indonesian as a foreign language (BIPA):
 - not yet

1978

1. Word borrowings from indigenous and foreign languages:
 - “Indonesian may be developed and enriched with elements from regional languages and, if needed, with elements from foreign languages.”
2. Grammar:
 - “The Indonesian language that is used at every level of society reveals the development of various types of language the rules of which are more complex than people assume. The language rules listed in grammar books taught in schools do not entirely reflect the reality of current Indonesians. The clash between rules and language use that is quite varying gives rise to doubt among speakers regarding the use of good and proper language.”
 - “Grammar rules that demonstrate civilized language norms in an adequate manner must receive priority in Indonesian language development activities. This descriptive grammar will then be translated for various pedagogical and practical goals.”
3. Agency status:
 - “Because the policies for the national language represent an integral part of national culture policies, and are recommended in a context of these national cultural policies, there must promptly be held a National Culture Congress involving national figures who are experienced in the fields of religion, social relations, politics, economics, and science.”
 - “The execution of national language policies requires the participation of all levels of society. With regard to this, there must be formed a National Language Cultivation and Development Council that works to direct the execution of language cultivation and development and that is experienced in fields of culture, religion, social relations, politics, economics, and science.”
4. Proportionality of Indonesian, regional, and foreign languages:

- “The national identity of Indonesia is manifest not only in Indonesian but in local languages, too. Therefore, the cultivation and development of Indonesian must be accompanied by the cultivation and development of local languages in accordance with the explication in Chapter XV Article 36 Constitution of 1945.”
 - “Positive language attitudes, language behavior, and habits of speaking good and correct Indonesian need to be improved, especially among younger generations. In order to achieve this goal a positive environment must also be constructed. With respect to this, advertisements and signs for stores, businesses, etc. that are written in foreign languages need to be Indonesianized.”
 - “Education represents one vessel and formal environment that must receive students from all Indonesian ethnic groups. Because of this, and also in accordance with the Outlines of State Policy, the position and function of Indonesian with respect to national education is 1) as a basic and primary course subject, and 2) as the medium of education in all types and levels of schooling. Local languages may still be used to help with Indonesian as a medium of education in the first through third grades of elementary school in regions where this is still needed. Alongside this, local languages may also be taught as course subjects. Certain foreign languages are taught in schools as tools for international communication and to gain scientific and technological knowledge from books in foreign languages.”
5. Responsibilities among exemplary figures in society:
- “Balance between positive language attitudes and language behaviors can be achieved by making Indonesian language proficiency one of the professionalism and staffing requirements in the government sector, civilian milieus, military environments, and in the private sector. Therefore, legislative means must regulate Indonesian proficiency as one professional and staffing requirement.”
 - “Teachers who play key roles in the teaching process are not always sufficient in quality nor in number.”
 - Indonesian language skills among graduates of primary and secondary education evidently do not yet meet the minimum requirements for Indonesian language use, both for the needs of higher education and for the needs of general societal communication. This situation needs to be promptly overcome.
The use of good and proper Indonesian among general society, including office-holders outside of formal education, needs to be improved.
 - “...the mass media has already made valuable contributions to the development of Indonesian. However, reality also shows the presence of weaknesses in the mass media’s use of Indonesian, both written and oral. For example, there are words that tend to lose their real meaning and in spoken varieties there is not yet standard pronunciation. Alongside this, in certain situations or opportunities, regional or foreign languages are still used.”
6. Establishing an Indonesian literature and reading habits:
- “Interest in reading among students is generally sufficient, except for interest in reading science books. Evidently, the necessary support for developing interest in reading is still insufficient in Indonesian teaching.”
7. National development:
- “...national policies that are strict in the area of language must make up an integral part of national policies that are strict in the area of culture.”
 - “The development of Indonesian culture in the direction of a modern civilization, aligned with advancement and development of scientific and technological knowledge, demands the development of ways of thinking represented by intelligence, precision, and competence in expressing thoughts explicitly. The characteristics of this way of thinking and expressing one’s thoughts must be completed with Indonesian as the tool for communication and as the tool for scientific thinking related with the development of science and technology as well as the modernization of Indonesian society.”
8. Indonesian as a foreign language (BIPA):
- “Only with large authority and an identity that is firm and clear, can the Indonesian nation play an influential role in interactions in the world community.”

1983

1. Word borrowings from indigenous and foreign languages:
 - A careful attitude in selecting elements from other languages, especially foreign languages, must be increased.
 - A guide for the transliteration of Arabic words into Indonesian's Latin script needs to be determined.
 - The function of Indonesian as a unifying tool for the nation must be strengthened. One easy way is to avoid, or at least decrease, the use of words from foreign and local languages in affairs or events of a national nature.
2. Grammar:
 - An Indonesian grammar book must be immediately provided as a thorough reference that describes various types of Indonesian, both written and spoken.
 - A great Indonesian dictionary containing not only lexical items but also standard pronunciations, syntactical categories for each word, and more thorough usage limits and usage examples.
3. Agency status:
 - KBI IV reinforces the recommendation from KBI III that the position of the Center for Language Cultivation and Development be increased to nondepartmental agency (an agency answering directly to the president) so that its authority and flexibility in cultivating and developing Indonesian can be more empowered.
4. Proportionality of Indonesian, regional, and foreign languages:
 - As a tool for discussing feelings and knowledge that is growing and continually developing, Indonesian is certainly not protected from the touch and influence of the society that understands it, both with regard to changes in values and structure as well as other social behaviors. On one hand, this reciprocal relationship between languages as tools for discussing surrounding environments and the content of social relations adds to the richness of Indonesian which is something we all own together. On the other hand, these contributions generate variety. Without careful cultivation, it is not impossible that some of these varieties might veer too far from our language's core.
5. Responsibilities among exemplary figures in society:
 - "...it has occurred that a rather large number of Indonesian users can not yet use this language properly and correctly. Among them are included college students and teachers, journalists, and leaders in influential positions."
6. Establishing an Indonesian literature and reading habits:
 - The teaching of Indonesian literature must be emphasized more in order to aid in the implementation of elements of the humanities in the curricula of education institutions.
 - The cultivation of literature appreciation must be carried out as early as possible starting from the pre-school level through tertiary education and in the family environment.
7. National development:
 - The success of...national development will depend greatly on the ability of Indonesian to fulfill its function as the national and state language along with the ability of our nation to utilize scientific knowledge and modern technology.
8. Indonesian as a foreign language (BIPA):
 - not present

1988

1. Word borrowings from indigenous and foreign languages:
 - Indonesian needs to be developed and in its development speakers need not fear adopting new words, whether taken from their own earth or from outside, in accordance with context and needs.
2. Grammar:
 - With the recent publication of the *Great Indonesian Dictionary* and *Standard Indonesian Grammar*, it is hoped that the Center for Language Cultivation and Development will develop and, if needed, improve it.
 - School books need grammar texts that are in accordance with the level of school, using Standard Indonesian Grammar as their reference.

- For needs in testing Indonesian language skills, materials for a nationalized Indonesian test must be prepared.
3. Agency status:
 - Formation of a center for international Indonesian language assessment must be considered.
 4. Proportionality of Indonesian, regional, and foreign languages:
 - Positive attitudes toward Indonesian consisting of the elements 1) pride in the language, 2) faithfulness to the language, and 3) awareness of language norms, still need to be fostered.
 - The recommendations of KBI IV regarding the elimination of foreign language use on signs and general building names, such as stores, is reaffirmed, with recommendation to all regional governments that they be more strict in applying laws regarding this matter.
 - Regional languages in certain areas may be made course subjects without interrupting Indonesian language education. Because of this, curriculum, study books, teaching methods, and other resources for local language education must be developed.
 - Certain foreign languages can be taught in schools especially with the goal of cultivating the ability to understand and utilize knowledge in sciences and technology that is discussed in books or publications in foreign languages.
 5. Responsibilities among exemplary figures in society:
 - Because the mass media represents a communicator of development that uses Indonesian, mass media such as newspapers and magazines must possess language teams that specifically cultivate broadcast language such that the language of the mass media can be made an example for society.
 - The government bodies that disseminate official documents, such as legislation, must adhere to Indonesian language rules such that the standard variety of the language can be exemplified to society.
 6. Establishing an Indonesian literature and reading habits:
 - National policies relating to books must promptly be arranged because publishing and matters related to books in Indonesian that do not develop will hamper the cultivation and development of language.
 - ...prose, poetry, drama, and literary works in general, in addition to serving as vehicles for the development and spread of a creative and dynamic Indonesian, can also increase intelligence and humanize humans.
 7. National development:
 - Indonesian must be entered into the eight lines or become the ninth in the Outline of State Policy. The eradication of the inability to speak Indonesian needs to be supported so that there no longer exist in Indonesian society groups that do not yet enjoy even development.
 8. Indonesian as a foreign language (BIPA):
 - The group of cultivators of foreign Indonesian language teaching needs to conduct collaborations, among other things by preparing the team of Indonesian teachers to teach outside the country, to prepare teaching materials, to provide current language information, and to make it easy for students who want to deepen their knowledge of Indonesian language, literature, and culture.

1993 (language preservation)

1. Word borrowings from indigenous and foreign languages:
 - The increasingly widespread use of foreign languages in the names and activities of businesses demonstrates an attitude that is not appreciative of Indonesian. Because of this, Government institutes with authority must strictly enforce Article 36 of the Constitution of 1945 in the distribution of business licenses.
 - Symbolism in the realm of ideas and values requiring various types of language are needed in modern civilization that is drawn through scientific knowledge, technology, and art. The use of a wealth of languages as a tool for artistic expression is created through literature.
2. Grammar:
 - Research on various aspects of Indonesian has an important role not only in expanding our knowledge and understanding with respect to the nature of Indonesian, but it also provides a more solid basis for language teaching and advice. Only precise understandings regarding the details of Indonesian will support effective teaching and advising, which in the end will develop attitudes and outlooks that are positive and appreciative as well as language use that is stable and intelligent.

3. Agency status:
 - In order to truly be able to function as outlines and guidelines in the management of language issues in Indonesia, the national language policy must be defined in a way that is planned, focused, detailed, integrated, and complete in the form of the Indonesian Language Law/Act.
 - In order to manage all language issues and execute the Indonesian Language Law intended [in the above paragraph], KBI VI opines that the Center for Language Cultivation and Development must immediately be promoted to become a nondepartmental body (a body that answers directly to the president) under the name The Indonesian Language Institute, whose responsibility is directly to the President of the Republic of Indonesia.
 - In order to truly achieve a national range and execute its function effectively and efficiently, the Indonesian Language Institute intended in [the above paragraph] needs to be supported with similar institutes named Indonesian Language Offices in every level I region throughout Indonesia. The Indonesian Language Offices are responsible to the Head Governors of the Level I Regions, but will function under the coordination of the Indonesian Language Institute.
4. Proportionality of Indonesian, regional, and foreign languages:
 - Language issues in Indonesia consist of interweaving networks of 1) national language issues, 2) local language issues, 3) issues regarding the use of foreign languages. These three groups of language issues have reciprocal relations and are therefore inseparable.
 - We need to consider Indonesian language cultivation frameworks for the younger generations, such as those recently used in the socialisation of P-4 (Pancasila 4, which is an acronym representing the Guidelines for the Appreciation and Practice of Pancasila, Pancasila being the state's set of founding principles).
5. Responsibilities among exemplary figures in society:
 - As leaders of the society, state administrators and government members serve as examples in speaking good and proper Indonesian.
 - Because Indonesian is already confirmed as the state language of the Republic of Indonesia, state administration, in the executive, legislative, and judiciary branches, must be conducted in good and proper Indonesian.
6. Establishing an Indonesian literature and reading habits:
 - Literary appreciation activities in society need to be worked on through scientific meetings, the staging of plays, and competitions.
 - In order to expand opportunities for people to increase knowledge and expand their horizons, a special panel must be established that carries out the selection of translations, publications, and distribution of world renowned literary works and books.
 - In an effort to develop classical Nusantara literature, we need to provide Nusantara literature study books for primary and secondary schools.
7. National development:
 - The position of Indonesian as a state language fulfills a role as a tool of national development, implementation of the state, education, religious activities, and increasing participation among younger generations, and as a tool for the development and application of scientific and technological knowledge that will in turn strengthen national security.
8. Indonesian as a foreign language (BIPA):
 - It is high time that Indonesian for Foreign Learners be handled more seriously, among other things by developing a flexible curriculum that can easily accommodate learners' needs; developing teaching materials in an interesting form that demonstrates good and proper Indonesian use, oral and written, that are used by society in both formal and informal interactions; and use teaching methods based on communicative approaches. Because of this, BIPA teachers and professors should understand the sociolinguistic ideas that communicative approaches are built upon.

1998 (globalization)

1. Word borrowings from indigenous and foreign languages:
 - The development of terminology in various scientific and technological fields needs to be prioritized and the development of vocabulary increased, among others, with more consistent rules for the uptake of words from other languages.
2. Grammar:

- The development of scientific and technological knowledge, the development of information technologies, and the challenges of life in the globalization era, demand that the quality of Indonesian be improved and that the capacity for powerful expression be developed. For this, linguistic elements such as syntax and vocabulary, including terminology, need to be enriched.
3. Agency status:
 - The Center for Language Cultivation and Development needs to continue to increase its collaborations with professional organizations.
 - Local governments need to play more active roles in the cultivation and development of Indonesian and local languages, among other things by publishing necessary legislation.
 4. Proportionality of Indonesian, regional, and foreign languages:
 - ...the use of Indonesian, both as our unifying and state language, must be more thoroughly cultivated in order to face the challenge posed by foreign languages, primarily English, the use of which is increasingly widespread in Indonesia. This being said, foreign language abilities, primarily in English, in accordance with one's needs, must also be improved.
 - Regional languages in Indonesia are guaranteed rights in accordance with the explication of Article 36 of the Constitution of 1945. Because of this, the maintenance and development of local languages, which represent an asset to national culture, must be carried out so that regional languages and literatures can develop well such that they may be utilized, both as a means of supporting communication and as a resource for the enrichment of Indonesian language and literature.
 - Indonesian is in place as a tool for unifying, forming the identity and independence of the nation, and as a vehicle for communication moving in the direction of a more modern and civilized life. Local languages are tools for cultivating and developing local culture, art, and traditions that can strengthen national identity. Foreign languages serve as international communication tools and tools for modern science and technology specialists.
 5. Responsibilities among exemplary figures in society:
 - ...in accordance with the demands of national development, speakers of Indonesian, especially office holders and societal figures must possess proper language skills and behaviors such that the Indonesian used can serve as an example for the general society.
 6. Establishing an Indonesian literature and reading habits:
 - In accordance with Article 32 of the Constitution of 1945, the development of literature as an element of culture is directed toward progress in the civilization and unification of the nation. Therefore, appreciation and positive attitudes among society toward Indonesian literature needs to be increased through various means, primarily teaching, socialization, and research on literary works.
 7. National development:
 - In order to face the demands and challenges in developing social and cultural life, the development of science and technology, national life in a globalized era, and information technology in this era and the coming era of the third millennium, the quality of Indonesian needs to be improved and its capacity for expression needs to be developed.
 - ...in accordance with the demands of national development, Indonesian speakers, especially officials and societal figures, must possess proper abilities and behaviors such that the language that they use may become a figure for the general society.
 8. Indonesian as a foreign language (BIPA):
 - The role of Indonesia in interactions among various nations in the world places Indonesian as one language that is seen as important to the point where now it is taught in many countries. With that, the teaching of Indonesian to foreign learners needs to be developed in a planned and integrated way.
 - The teaching and spread of BIPA needs to be increased both inside and outside the country.

2003 (reformation/globalization, great increase in at least rhetorical support for local languages)

1. Word borrowings from indigenous and foreign languages:
 - Enrichment of Indonesian also needs to utilize various resources from local languages in a proportional manner.
2. Grammar:

- Indonesian as a tool for communication in developing science and technology as well as arts must continue to be developed through efforts at expanding its vocabulary (including terminology) and in the stabilization of its linguistic structure.
3. Agency status:
 - The Language Center needs to cultivate a broad professional network, both with government and private groups, in order to improve the levels of Indonesian use in various areas of life, especially those having a broad impact on society.
 4. Proportionality of Indonesian, regional, and foreign languages:
 - In the current state of Indonesian societal development there have already been various changes, especially related to new arrangements in global life and development in science and technology, especially information technology, that are increasingly laden with the demands and challenges of globalization. This condition has placed foreign languages, especially English, in a strategic position that makes it possible for this language to make its way further into the corners of Indonesian life. Because of this, growth and development of Indonesian and local languages, like it or not, is faced head on with a situation where use of the aforementioned foreign languages is increasingly widespread.
 - The dissemination of research findings and codification of languages in Indonesia needs to be increased so that they can be utilized to strengthen the role of said languages.
 - One development that is worrisome is the tendency for society members to use foreign languages, especially English, the use of which is not yet more appropriate than Indonesian or local languages for various needs.
 5. Responsibilities among exemplary figures in society:
 - The Language Center needs to devote more attention to efforts at improving the quality of language teaching, especially in language education materials preparation, both for Indonesian and for local languages, based on relevant curricula.
 - The strengthening of Indonesian needs to be considered as one requirement for hiring employees, promoting employees, promoting officials, board members, and for hiring of foreign employees in Indonesia.
 - KBI VIII again reminds the mass media community of their role and responsibility in using good and proper Indonesian. The above responsibility must be carried out so as to inhibit creativity among language users in accordance with each member of the mass media.
 6. Establishing an Indonesian literature and reading habits:
 - ...in literature, language is embodied in an imaginative and creative way and it meets its highest level of existence. Literary works, in other words, are the reflection of a community and the hallmark of a civilized nation. Because of this, literary works are very important for everyone, through literature people are entertained while getting to know themselves, their surroundings and their lives as servants of the Lord...literature must be grown and developed so that society will become aware of the importance of literature in creating a civilized society. For this, research, teaching, and socialization of language and literature as well as appreciation for literature must be increased.
 7. National development:
 - The role of local languages (including their scripts) as a resource for development and cultivation of culture, education, art, and regional traditions toward strengthening identity and resilience of culture and nation needs to be improved. Because of this, the strengthening of the role of local languages, especially as a medium of education at early stages of education, needs to be revisited in a more thorough manner.
 8. Indonesian as a foreign language (BIPA):
 - The language center together with higher education, BIPA institutions, the BIPA Teaching Association, and related institutes, need to develop BIPA programs, methods, and teaching materials for various needs.
 - Higher education needs to open a BIPA major in the form of a degree program to produce BIPA teachers.

2008 (international competitiveness, abandoning traditional teaching styles)

1. Word borrowings from indigenous and foreign languages.
 - In addressing the development of the global situation, the Language Center needs to carry out the provision of terminology dictionaries in various fields of study.
2. Grammar.
 - In addition to applied linguistic studies, descriptive linguistic studies of Indonesian need to be increased for the purpose of language codification.
3. Agency status.
 - The position and function of Indonesian and regional as well as foreign languages and literatures need to be formulated in Language Laws. In order to carry out these Laws, various strategies are needed in development and cultivation that are appropriate to the condition of society.
 - The government needs to follow up on the recommendations of prior congresses, among other things, to increase the institutional status of the Language Center and review the formation of a Center for Language Deliberation.
4. Proportionality of Indonesian, regional, and foreign languages:
 - The competitive intelligence of Indonesian people...can be realized via various lines of activity, such as activities in education, politics, social sciences, economics, culture, defense, and mass media. Therefore, the use of language in each of these activities and literature appreciation can continue to be improved at a high quality.
 - Large sections of these resolutions are devoted to local and foreign languages.
5. Responsibilities among exemplary figures in society:
 - Teachers' language competence must continue to be improved by following the Indonesian language and literature development of the Language Center.
 - ...related to its function as a medium of education, the mass media must serve as an example of Indonesian language use that is proper, correct, intelligent, and fresh. Because of this, members of the mass media must master Indonesian language skills in accordance with applicable rules of Indonesian, as well as be committed to applying their language skills in the field of their work every day as a form of their responsibility related to the education of the nation.
6. Establishing an Indonesian literature and reading habits.
 - ...Indonesian literature naturally represents a product of a civilization that is born, raised, and developed in the context of a complex society...in a context of unity, it is hoped that Indonesian and regional literatures will have a significant power in life as a society, nation, and state because both literatures can deepen our understanding of aspirations, strengths, weaknesses, outlooks on life, and worldviews of the various ethnic groups that make up the national citizenry.
7. National development.
 - In addition to being developed into a modern language that is capable of becoming a tool for development of science and technology, Indonesian can also be developed to become a tool for shaping intelligent and competitive individuals.
8. Indonesian as a foreign language.
 - In order to dignify Indonesian, especially outside of the country, the dissemination of research and the development of the language through congresses/seminars/international conferences and scientific publications must be increased.

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