



The Urgency of Reactivation of the Outline of the State Policy (GBHN)

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Abstract. The Outline of the State Policy (GBHN) as the main guideline for the state policy is a form of regulation related to its implementation in the context of realizing a comprehensive and integrated statement of the will of the people and in substance the GBHN must contain the main points as the embodiment of the values in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution. This article will discuss in detail the discourse on reviving the GBHN and its relation to constitutional changes based on the key question “whether the reinstatement of the GBHN should be preceded by changes to the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia?” Then the discussion will be preceded by discussing the advantages or disadvantages of implementing the GBHN, the urgency of changing the constitution and various problems related to coordination among development planning stakeholders. The reactivation of the GBHN can still be carried out without amending the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, so I consider it as if the discourse on the reactivation of the GBHN is only an intermediate political agenda or a bridge to achieve other agendas such as the term of office of the President, considering that the two discourses were rolled out simultaneously. The methods of the research for making this article, mostly base on the literature research by analyzing secondary materials to enrich the writing of this article.

Keywords: The Amendment of the Republic of Indonesia's Constitution, The Long-Term Development Plan (RPJP), Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJM) and Development Plan, The Outline of the State Policy (GBHN).

1. Introduction

The Outline of the State Policy (GBHN) as the main guideline for the state policy is a form of regulation related to its implementation in the context of realizing a comprehensive and integrated[1] statement of the will of the people and in substance the GBHN must contain the main points as the embodiment of the values in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution. In another sense, GBHN is a document ratified by the People's Representative Council (MPR) to lay out a broad government policy framework in support of national development. Since the amendment of the NRI Constitution in 2004, the GBHN is no longer used. The guidelines mentioned in the GBHN [2] are used to provide an overview of the desired future shape, whether it is in the next five years or the long-term development prospects as formulated in the GBHN into a systematic national development pattern. As part of the realization of

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national development goals, namely realizing a just and prosperous society materially and spiritually based on the principles of Pancasila.

The implementation of the GBHN during the old order which was then followed by the new order, but during the new order the GBHN in the formulation and implementation was also accompanied by a trilogy of builders who adhered to the trio of stability, namely political stability, economy and security.[3] More political stability was obtained after the fusion of several political parties based on mainstream politics into three political parties, namely the United Development Party (PPP), the Working Group (Golkar) and the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI).[4] These three parties were then the three parties that could participate in the 1977 general election which later filled the People's Representative Council and the People's Consultative Assembly along with the ABRI faction, the Regional Representatives Fraction and the Group Delegation Fraction. All of these factions make up the GBHN which consists of five chapters, the first chapter consists of the introduction, the second chapter consists of the basic pattern of national development, the third chapter consists of the general pattern of long-term development, the fourth chapter consists of the general pattern of Pelita III and the fourth chapter five as closing. Then in the chapters in the GBHN there are main materials which are important keys to get an understanding of the GBHN as a sharp unanimity.

After the amendment of the Republic of Indonesia's constitution, especially article 3 as an article that explicitly mentions the regulation of the need for GBHN (article 3 of the 1945 Constitution before the amendment stated that "The People's Consultative Assembly establishes the Constitution and the broad lines of state policy"), a national development planning system was then formed to serve as a guide in formulating the Long-Term Development Plan (RPJP), Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJM) and Development Plan. Annual or often known as the Government Work Plan (RKP). The discourse on the reinstatement of the GBHN is now rolling along with the RPJP Phase 2 being made in 2025 as planned after the reformation for that purpose, then this article will discuss in detail the discourse on reviving the GBHN and its relation to constitutional changes.

2. Problems

Based on the introduction as abovementioned, so this article will try to respond some of the basic problems as below:

- a. Whether the reinstatement of the GBHN should be preceded by changes to the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia?
- b. What is the advantages or disadvantages of implementing the GBHN, the urgency of changing the constitution and various problems related to coordination among development planning stakeholders?

3. Method

Due to time constraints and restricted data resources that can be publicly accessed, the way of approach that may be applied is secondary research of analyzing numerous articles or government report including but not limited to some of the analysis on the popular articles that publicly (online) published through National Newspaper or magazines. Some of the analysis on the official publication made by People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia in connection to the issue to gain an in-depth knowledge on the amendment of constitution and also the GBHN itself. The qualitative research is being used as a way to process of naturalistic inquiry that seeks in-in-depth understanding of social phenomena within their natural setting will be implemented is the use of the Analysis on the specific issues, in which means data-explanatory, that involves the progressive identification and integration of categories of meaning from data. This type of research is being used in order to gain an overview of the reactivation of the GBHN and finding the advantages or disadvantages on the reactivation of GBHN.

4. Discussion

4.1 Advantages and Disadvantages of GBHN Reactivation

The discourse or idea to revive the GBHN has indeed become a hot issue among politicians, stakeholders, and those who support this happening. The main reason for reviving the GBHN is to ensure the sustainability of Indonesia's development implementation.[5] Although it has been explained that after the amendment of the article related to the implementation of the GBHN, and subsequently the Government used the term Long-Term Development Plan as the basis for development which was valid for 25 years, then technically it was made into the National Medium-Term Development Plan which was valid for 5 years.[6]

The discourse on reviving the GBHN has also raised various questions regarding the current presidential system.[7] When viewed from two sides, in terms of the profit and loss side, of course this has both. In my opinion, the intended benefit is to synergize the direction of the nation's goals in the future. As is known, each period of the President's administration is carried out with their respective work programs. These different work programs then do not provide clarity regarding the direction of the nation's goals in each leadership period. Indirectly through this, it can be a momentum to make amendments to the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, especially Article 3 of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. If this happens, there needs to be a politically conducive condition, where all national leaders across parties, religions, and experts, as well as the community, together make agreements and understandings.

Meanwhile, on the one hand, the losses that may be faced if the GBHN is revived through amendments to the NRI Constitution, will cause various new problems that can arise. First, with the amendment of Article 3, it can have an impact on various changes in the related law, in which case it is necessary to make

adjustments which also “mutatis mutandis” will increase the workload in the legislature.[8] Second, with this change, it seems to restore the President's position as the mandate of the MPR, where the responsibility of the President regarding development will be assessed by the MPR, while politically the President is responsible to the people as voters.[9] Thus, the step backwards in the political development of the state and government will also be accompanied by the potential to be ridden by the political interests of only one party. Third, with the return of the GBHN and the position of the MPR in the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the return of the New Order or the birth of the Neo New Order is a necessity that will have an impact on the birth of government control in one particular party or a structured oligarchy.[10]

4.2 The Urgency of Amendment to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia

The question that may also arise is whether the desire to have a long-term development plan must also be followed by changes to the NRI Constitution? In answering this question, it is necessary to first explain that if amendments are to be made to the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia,[11] before discussing the amendment article, there must be a strategic study that provides various reasons for the change. This is because the main purpose of the amendment must be oriented towards changing the life of the state for the better, especially for citizens. Reported through several sources, there are several objectives of the amendment to the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, namely as follows:

- a. Completion of basic rules related to state administration;
- b. Completion of provisions that guarantee and implement people's sovereignty;
- c. Completion of basic provisions related to the guarantee and protection of human rights;
- d. Completion of the basic provisions for the implementation of a democratic and modern state;
- e. Completion of basic provisions for the creation of a democratic and safe social climate for the community; and
- f. Completion of basic provisions regarding the life of the nation and state.

Taking into account the various reasons or objectives that have been implemented so far, the reactivation of the GBHN can still be carried out even without making changes to the NRI Constitution. So it can be concluded that there is no urgency for amendments related to the re-enactment of the GBHN, even though we know that the pattern of future development has been held since the old order, the new order and the beginning of reform, where the GBHN often became the basis for impeachment.[12] The abolition of the GBHN in the provisions of the NRI Constitution, however, is an effort to decide on the impeachment of the government in the middle of a period so that political stability is disturbed.[13] With the GBHN model, the President is only positioned as the executor of tasks so that the essence of the President as the holder of development direction and command is lost. However,

if it refers to the desire to reactivate the GBHN, it is possible without having to change the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, in which case the spirit of change in the commissions in the People's Consultative Assembly to draw up a long-term development plan which was later named the Principal Principles of the State Policy.

4.3 Renbang Cross-Sectoral Coordination

Regarding the reactivation of the GBHN model in the long-term development plan (renbang), it can still be carried out even though it is not preceded by making changes to the NRI Constitution. In this case, it is very important to conduct cross-sectoral coordination through evaluation of the RPJPN phase I (RPJPN 2005-2025 based on Law No. 17 of 2007) which is accompanied by a phase II long-term development plan.[14] In this case, coordination between the Ministry of Development and the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) together with the commissions in the MPR by taking into account regional aspirations is very important.[15] The preparation of the renbang is also accompanied by a public test, in addition to gathering input from the public as well as a form of involving public participation in the preparation of the aquo renbang.

Cross-sectoral coordination from the government and the legislature accompanied by the application of the principle of public participation[16] is a real form of unelitist renbang drafting that only involves the interests of political party actors whose agendas are indeed fighting for power but involving the public so that public ownership of the renbang is built. On the other hand, in government practice, balance is needed so that development achievements are carried out in a transparent, accountable and participatory manner.[17] With the preparation of a multidimensional and sustainable renbang, cross-sectoral coordination with the application of the principle of public participation is very important.[18]

5. Conclusion

In closing this essay, it is true that the GBHN during the new order was a guideline used to provide an overview of the desired future shape, whether it be in the next five years or the long-term development prospects as formulated in the GBHN into a systematic national development pattern. Because GBHN is indeed a form of embodiment of national development goals, namely realizing a just and prosperous society materially and spiritually based on the principles of Pancasila. However, the reactivation of the GBHN at present can be re-applied in terms of the method of preparation, elaboration and public involvement in its formulation, without having to be preceded by changes to the NRI Constitution, but it is sufficient to enforce it through a law as stated in the RPJPN 2005-2025 which is stipulated by Law no. 17 of 2007.

The discourse on the reactivation of the GBHN is a good idea if it is based on the desire to have a steady and sustainable development plan but does not need to be accompanied by other political agendas such as an extension of the presidential term of office or other temporary political agendas. The reactivation of the GBHN can still

be carried out without amending the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, so I consider it as if the discourse on the reactivation of the GBHN is only an intermediate political agenda or a bridge to achieve other agendas such as the term of office of the President, considering that the two discourses were rolled out simultaneously.

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