Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN) (National Mandate Party), Indonesia, 1999, "Translated for the Islamic Political Party Platform Project, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, <a href="http://kurzman.unc.edu/islamic-parties">http://kurzman.unc.edu/islamic-parties</a>, [5/22/14]."

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## **BASIC PRINCIPLES**

**Partai Amanat Nasional** (National Mandate Party) is a political party that fights for popular sovereignty, democracy, progress, and social justice.

This aspiration is rooted in religious morality, humanity, and plurality.

**Partai Amanat Nasional** desires a democratic, socially just, autonomous, and independent Indonesian society. This party desires for a system that enables every human being to develop one's identity with freedom. Every human being can actively participate in political, economic, cultural life, and actively participate in efforts to develop humanity.

**Partai Amanat Nasional** is a party that respects and encourages plurality. This party is an assembly of Indonesian people of many beliefs, thoughts, ethnic backgrounds, races, religions, and gender. This party embraces non-sectarian and non-discriminatory principles. Our agreement is based on collective basic principles and identical political aspirations.

**Partai Amanat Nasional** opposes all forms of dictatorship, totalitarianism, and authoritarianism as they are against human dignity, confining freedom, and destroying the law. This party upholds democracy to realize a social and political system that enables civil society to oversee power.

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**Partai Amanat Nasional** will compete with other parties sincerely, fairly, and honestly to win the support of the people. When not in the position of the government, this party will function as the opposition party. This party has a stand that both the government and opposition have an equal share of responsibility towards the people.

## **POLITICS**

**Partai Amanat Nasional** has a stand that the state is obliged to respect and protect the livelihood and dignity of its citizens. The government must create pre-conditions; in which the citizens can exercise and fulfill their individual rights and social obligations freely.

To ensure the creation of civil society which is free from suffering, fear, and free from oppression, kidnapping, and violence, **Partai Amanat Nasional** fights for universal human rights to be observed. This party supports the ratification of the

United Nations Human Rights convention.

**Partai Amanat Nasional** fights for the autonomy of civil society and limiting the power of the state. An opposition body is a necessary means to achieve that.

**Partai Amanat Nasional** requires open/transparent accountability in the running of the state. Bureaucracy is to serve the people's needs and not the other way round.

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The executive, the legislative and the judicial must have separated tasks to ensure the process of check and balances. The domination of presidential (executive branch) in the past has to be ended. This party fights for a two five-year presidential term limit.

The distribution of central and regional power must be regulated to give more opportunity for citizens to act more autonomously in developing their regions. Autonomy in regulating resources, financial sources, and the benefits are not only limited to sub-province level [level 2 region], but also province level [level 1 region]. To prevent national disintegration and centralized power exploitation over the regions, this party is open to the idea of a state/federal nation system.

Citizens' rights to engage in political activities are ensured. Associations that are based on a similar purpose are necessary as a means for a new life. Press freedom is also ensured. To ensure people's rights to receive information, mass media must be independent/impartial in collecting, processing, and broadcasting news.

**Partai Amanat Nasional** fights to cease all forms of power abuse. This party fights to uphold the law with no discrimination. All people should be able to access an independent, fair, and inexpensive system of justice.

This party supports the idea of the reformation of the constitution to ensure popular sovereignty and the limitation of the power of the state, as well as the ongoing democratization.

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**Partai Amanat Nasional**'s stand is that the crisis in Indonesia is rooted on the politics of the New Order Regime, which harasses popular sovereignty. As such, this party opposes all efforts that attempt to restore the power of the New Order and its supporters in the political scene. The system of the New Order must be completely replaced.

### NATIONAL DEFENCE

National defence is an effort by all people to protect their homeland. The protection of civilians is the most important part of national defence.

**Partai Amanat Nasional** has a stand that ABRI (Indonesian armed forces) should be subjected to the law, constitution, and under public control. ABRI functions as a state apparatus to maintain the security of the state, and does not take part, and even dominate political, economic, and social matters. The police must be separated from ABRI's structure.

#### **ECONOMY**

**Partai Amanat Nasional**'s Economic policy aims to realize social welfare through equitable prosperity, which is based on morality as well as to uphold human dignity. Prosperity is supported by three main pillars, i.e. dynamic development, stability, and efficiency. Fairness, on the other hand, is supported by freedom, equality, and social order.

Economic development is regardless of race, ethnicity, and religion. **Partai Amanat Nasional** fights for equal opportunity for all actors to realize all their potential to improve national competitiveness.

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The empowerment of small businesses and cooperatives is more emphasized on the erasure of all business obstacles and control because of their intrinsic characteristics, instead we need to give acceleration for their dynamic factors to realize. **Partai Amanat Nasional** fights for cooperative freedom from bureaucracy's restrain and the political apparatus of those in power.

New Order's development strategy which evidently bankrupts the economy must be left behind. **Partai Amanat Nasional** desires for an alternative strategy to build a new Indonesia, which is based on many factors in a holistic manner and privileges the weak.

Economy is regulated based on a market economy which is strong, flexible, and responsive to handle (financial) crisis. Economy is organized simultaneously with organization/regulation of politics which is democratic, upholds the law, as well as social institution which supports it. **Partai Amanat Nasional** has the belief that economic policy should ensure employment opportunities, increase in productivity, and public welfare.

**Partai Amanat Nasional** has the stand that the goal of national development can only be realized through healthy competition. As such, market mechanism must be balanced with the establishment of a clean and effective government to enable the creation of harmony between individual needs and the public needs. The government's role is more emphasized on the creation of safety nets and policy of equalizing opportunities amongst the many economic actors by observing justice and fairness principles.

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## Poverty, Employment, and Business Opportunities

**Partai Amanat Nasional** prioritizes the development agenda which raises citizens from the valley of poverty, fights unemployment, and broaden employment opportunities. Prompt handling needs to be made to strengthen the economic joints which ensure sustainable development.

# **Dynamic Economic Development**

The gift of natural and human resources is a basic capital to generate the engine of the economy. To restore investment flow and technology, **Partai Amanat Nasional** fights for the recovery of domestic and international confidence on the Indonesian economic and political system. This synthesis of basic capital and confidence will achieve a dynamic economic development.

A policy that merely pursues high growth by applying [besar pasak daripada tiang" (Indonesian proverb that denotes spendthrift behavior) must be left behind. Instead [we should have], prudence behavior and self-sustenance which is based on the strengthening of the joints of national competitiveness in the midst of globalization.

## **Improving National Productivity**

**Partai Amanat Nasional** is determined to improve national competitiveness by improving national productivity so that Indonesia can have an advantageous position in the global competition arena. National productivity is the key component to improving national competitiveness.

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## **Conserving Capital Stock**

During the transitional period towards a more stable economy, **Partai Amanat Nasional** directs an effort to conserve the existent capital stock so they do not become meaningless intangible assets that are eroded by the persisting financial crisis. This is important to hasten the recovery of the economy when the momentum comes. The creation of employment opportunities through expedite program will be prioritized in this aspect.

## Rehabilitation

As there are no serious damages on production facilities, more weight will be attributed to the rehabilitation policy of **Partai Amanat Nasional** which involves the revamping of the incentive system. As such, it is hoped that economic reconstruction occurs naturally. Economic structure will be stronger because it is based on self-effort (comparative advantage principle).

## **Empowerment of Small and Medium Enterprises**

The decline of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) thus far is caused by discriminative treatment which favors big businesses through an array of protection, special facilities, and other distorted policies. With the awareness that essentially SMEs have relatively strong and dynamic fundamentals, then **Partai Amanat Nasional**'s strategy is to empower SMEs, starting from the erasure of all obstacles that have thus far impeded SMEs.

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**Partai Amanat Nasional** fights to provide as many opportunities as possible for SMEs to become big and resilient entrepreneurs. For that, **Partai Amanat Nasional** is proactive in strengthening the institutional foundations and advocates healthy competition.

## Affirmative action

**Partai Amanat Nasional** demands an economic policy that privileges those who are weak. Affirmative politics in economic sector is very important to supporting the creation of justice for the public at large because economic divide is already too severe because of New Order's economic development which favors only a handful of capitalists and the rulers, especially through the practices of nepotism, collusion, and corruption.

# **Regional Development**

**Partai Amanat Nasional** mixes macro economic approaches and regional aspect to produce a more dynamic development and equal inter-region. Variety of potentials and regional characteristics is indeed an engine fuelling the dynamics of development based on regional autonomy. Autonomy puts the region as a central actor in identifying, planning, and solving many unique local problems, which subsequently can improve the efficacy of the government's role in region.

## **Financial Balance of Center-Regional**

**Partai Amanat Nasional** fights for financial balance of center-regional and ensures a system that prevents the depletion of regional resources, as both are the prerequisites in enacting regional autonomy.

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# **Clean and Effective Governance**

The key to public's confidence in a transparent government is credibility and accountability. To uphold these two principles, **Partai Amanat Nasional** will form a complaint center for all state apparatus (like an ombudsman office) and independent bodies to monitor corruption. At the same time, bureaucratic restructuring will commence to ensure the realization of effective governance and every state official is required to announce their wealth.

Active participation towards a healthier world economy in recent times, is a form of new exploitation, i.e. financial-driven economies on good-producing economies. The first group actively exercises discretion in manipulating forms of financial transactions which are transient, in the sense that it does not productively contribute to improving tangible social welfare. This is because money and other financial assets are being traded as commodities.

Financial sector with all forms of instruments and all kinds of monetary bodies' support cannot stand alone. In normal conditions, it is essentially a facilitator in the real sector. If in reality these two factors lose the connection, then mankind

just needs to wait for the destruction of civilization, or at least (mankind) lives under the glitz and glamor with all its consequences. If mankind wants to stay away from extremely great catastrophe, then we have no choice but endeavor to seek a new system that places financial sector in its rightful place. Towards this end in mind, **Partai Amanat Nasional** will fight for it.

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## **Anti-monopoly**

An important element of **Partai Amanat Nasional**'s economic policy is consumer's freedom to choose workplace, competition based on law, as well as protection of small and weak businesses. Consumer Protection Law and Anti monopoly Law is necessary to realize justice for all. Restricting the power of big businesses is a principal objective of an economic policy. The state and the people should not be at the mercy of overly strong groups.

## LAND

**Partai Amanat Nasional** demands an agrarian reform so that all citizens can have access to land. Extensive land ownership must be strictly monitored. Implementation of Principal Agrarian Law in a consistent way and recognition of customary right can be a stepping stone towards land regulation in Indonesia.

#### LABOR

Labor Union is free to be established to fight for labor's rights. Labor is rightful to receive a part of their fruit of labor appropriately. As economic and social actors, they have the decision making power. Government's intervention that prizes labor union's interest over capital and power must be stopped. Labor union must change itself from the servant of the world to the citizen of the business world and able to support labor's struggle in enacting the right to strike.

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### SOCIAL

Social policies are necessary so that every citizen can develop himself or herself freely and with dignity. Social security system must be created so that all citizens have an access to housing, health, education, and all basic necessities.

Human creativity in cultural life which is diverse should be able to freely develop/flourish. National policy must encourage and motivate all citizens to develop socio-cultural capital.

**Partai Amant Nasional** respects the religious life, develops the spirit of tolerance to fellow humans carrying different beliefs.

Indonesia's very diverse background, not only in terms of religion, but also ethnicity, race, needs sincere tolerance so that dignified life can go on. **Partai Amanat Nasional** is against all forms of discrimination which is based on religion, ethnicity, race, languages, and all social backgrounds.

#### **EDUCATION**

Compulsory education should apply to all children of schooling age. **Partai Amanat Nasional** gives special attention to education, so that a young and stellar generation emerges to take up the responsibility in securing the future of the nation. Education budget allocation is subsequently increased, so that all students exempted from school fees and other costs. National education system has to stimulate the growth of good morals and stimulate independent behavior and creativity.

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**Partai Amanat Nasional** also supports scientific research. This initiative should be done freely and the findings/results made accessible to the public. This party prevents abuse of research findings that jeopardize mankind.

#### WOMEN

Women's rights equality must be realized in every aspect-legally, socially, economically, and politically. Equal opportunities should be given to women.

**Partai Amanat Nasional** believes in the need for gender equality. Awarding a greater say to women representatives in all fields of life must be fought for.

## NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

**Partai Amanat Nasional** fights for the conservation of sustainable natural resources and natural environment. This party believes that natural environment is a loan to the future generations which must be protected from the greed of man.

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## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Not one nation in this world can live in isolation. **Partai Amant Nasional** demands international relations based on equality. This party supports all efforts of international partnership that brings mutual benefit. Free trade must be encouraged, under the condition that it does not only benefit Northern nations and global capital, but also weak societies especially in Southern nations.

**Partai Amanat Nasional** respects all nations' rights in deciding their own fate. Because of its special historical factor, this party supports solving East Timor's pressing problems through referendum under the surveillance of United Nations.

**Partai Amanat Nasional** demands the abolition of all weapons of mass destruction and all land mines in the world. Indonesia should not be allowed to produce or use weapons of mass destruction and land mines.

# **OUR WAY**

Indonesia now faces many crises in various areas as an inheritance of the authoritarian New Order regime. The New Order did not improve the standard of

living of the society but instead brought about suffering to the majority of citizens and inherits the danger of national disintegrity. New phase of reformation struggle motored by university students was successful in toppling the center of power of the New Order and expose all its lies. On top of these remnants/crumbles, concrete steps must be taken swiftly, toward a new Indonesia. **Partai Amanat Nasional** is called to be with the people, together helping each other to solve that problem.

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**Partai Amanat Nasional** desires to build a new Indonesian society, based on religious morality, principles of democracy, human dignity, building a civil society which is free from suffering, fear, and free from all forms of oppression and violence.

Each citizen we call you to take part in this struggle toward a new Indonesia which is dignified, by joining **Partai Amanat Nasional** 

Last points to remember about ANGGARAN DASAR (charter) in the next few pages:

Mainly reiteration about the points made in the basic principles, no specific references to Islam, and it has to be noted that the party's principle is Pancasila.