

FRANS SEDA'S LEGACY IN THE 21th CENTURY

THE NEED FOR VALUE-BASED LEADERSHIP
FOR A WORLD IN TRANSITION.

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Mission Statement

“The Frans Seda Foundation” has been named after the Indonesian statesman Frans Seda (1926–2009). The Foundation is inspired by his lifelong commitment to balanced, non-discriminatory and respectful national and international relationships. Frans Seda was a bridge-builder between islands, religions and nations.

Through focused projects like scholarships, studies and seminars the Foundation aspires to create opportunities for talented young leaders from Indonesia and The Netherlands to understand the challenges resulting from differences in social, religious and economic backgrounds.

The Foundation strives to facilitate the conditions needed to enable such a high-quality debate in which mutual cooperation can lead to synergy and to value-added answers to challenges faced by both countries in political economy, social transformation and social justice.

The Board of the Frans Seda Foundation has the honour to present the text of the first Frans Seda Lecture given by Jos van Gennip, former member of the Senate of The Netherlands, at Tilburg University on 21 March 2014. The Frans Seda Lecture will be given annually in Indonesia or The Netherlands within the scope of the Mission Statement.

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FRANS SEDA'S LEGACY IN THE 21th CENTURY

1. Introduction

On 13 December 1952 a French Minister was endowed with a doctorate *honoris causa* at a low ranking academic institute in a provincial town in The Netherlands.

It was here in Tilburg that the ceremony took place, and the academic institution was the little known *Katholieke Economische Hogeschool*, but the laureate was none other than Robert Schuman. It was he who had launched two and a half years earlier his revolutionary plan for a new united Europe. This plan was more than a political idea; it comprised a grand vision of how to overcome the deadly antagonisms, enmities, and destruction that centuries-long had imprisoned Europe. And what's more, in his acceptance speech, Schuman, Minister of Foreign Affairs and former Prime Minister, made clear how his religious convictions together with a contemporary philosophy in the end had found a translation into a concrete design for the future. A Dutch academic, Margriet Krijtenburg, recently unveiled in her ground breaking Ph.D-thesis, what 'the frame of reference' – as she calls it – of this Plan was, which in the end would change the course of Europe's history. The dignity of each human person as a foundation, the principles of justice, solidarity *and* subsidiarity as guidelines, and the common good as ultimate goal, these together motivated and directed the politics and vision of Schuman. At that time as well, his vision stood against the prevailing short-term interests, sentiments of revenge, and populist accusations. But the decision by the leadership of this academic institution here at that time, reflected a vision and orientation which superseded by far provincialism or fashionable trends. Academics like Martinus Cobbenhagen, the founder of this institute, understood already in its nascent stage the importance of these ideas and convictions.¹ This wisdom and those values have to be the

¹ The nomination was the idea of Prof. W. van der Grinten, the young and already famous professor of law, who in the years to come would play an important role in academics and politics.

lasting characteristics, now the *Hogeschool* has developed into the present prominent and high ranking university.

It is almost certain, that among the relatively small community here there was a student, with a – for here – uncommon name, Frans Seda, and with a skin colour which was at the time rarely seen. Almost certain, because as his contemporaries confirm, at solemn moments the whole academic family usually was present. At least at that time one did not need yet a DJ or other spectacular event only to attract a small part of the students community!

Frans Seda would most likely have been inspired by the aforementioned laureate, and above all by the content of what he put forward. Of course the contrast couldn't have been greater: he the student, son of a local teacher and farmer in one of the remotest areas of the world; the other a statesman, already commuting in those days between the centres of power. But there were also striking similarities. The challenges facing Europe in 1952 could compare with those of Sukarno's nascent country. Both regions had to recover after foreign occupation and war. Just as Europe, Indonesia had to strive for unity while reconciling it with multidimensional pluriformity. The challenge for Europe was to bind its national identities to a European common good, a superseding and supranational authority, without annihilating those identities. Indonesia, which was born a few years ago under the aegis of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, unity and diversity, was challenged in the same way to reconcile national unity and its cultural, religious, geographic, political and otherwise vast diversity.

At the age of twenty six, Frans Seda, although still a student, was already matured by the turbulence of his time. As a child he most likely had met on his native island of Flores the later founder and first president of the Republic, according to certain sources. Indeed Sukarno was exiled to this far away island where he could not escape, but where he and Frans each got in their own way the support of Dutch and German missionaries of the

'Society of the Divine Word'. Sukarno was granted access to the libraries. Anyone who later wondered how this technical engineer from Bandung could quote by heart the works of someone like Schumpeter, can find the answer in the convents of the missionaries on Flores. It foreshadowed the mutual open and cooperative attitude of the President to the Church, despite its Dutch roots, and the support the latter gave to the aspiration for the national independence- an attitude so different from that of a number of other churches in the anti-colonial movements. Seda got the opportunity to finish high school and his later studies, also thanks to the assistance of the same religious congregation. It was part of a deliberate strategy from their side to promote able youngsters as future leaders of their regions and their groups, even if that meant the financing of studies abroad, as in this case in Tilburg. The fact that Frans had survived the heavy turbulences, assassinations, the struggle for independence and civil war in his own country, and that he temporarily had served in the newly established army of the Republic, had matured him and had nurtured his sense of responsibility and vocation.

That word 'vocation' was also a central concept in the life and deeds of Schuman, vocation as a Christian, a catholic, and a politician. That combination is rare nowadays, so rare that I recently expressed my doubt that these days a politician would be elected to high office at all, if he or she referred too explicitly to these inner convictions.

The public address of Robert Schuman was the expression of his conviction that religious inspiration, modern philosophy, and knowledgeable, realistic and courageous political leadership are compatible. It was the whole atmosphere here in Tilburg, the intention at least of its founding fathers, that faith and reason, ethics and economy, leadership and idealism not only are compatible, but can make the difference. It is a message which has a renewed actuality in this country and worldwide after the financial crisis of 2008.

For Frans Seda the intellectual backpack with which he returned to Indonesia after finishing his studies in this town was filled with the threefold set of values, a vision on the common good and political and societal engagement. A decade later, in 1963, I met him in person for the first time, in a muggy, demonstration-prone and tense Jakarta. Already just a few years after his return from The Netherlands, Frans Seda had become an important strategic player in a power game, a Wajang Play, which was watched by the whole free world in fear and astonishment and which could decide the future of Asia.² It was the beginning of a working relation which guided me through forty years of work in the field of international cooperation. Whether it was dealing with the Indonesian Government or with church authorities, whether it was on extremely delicate diplomatic missions to, for example, Cambodia, or the efforts to extend the Christian Democratic international movement into a worldwide political platform of believers, I could always count on Seda's advice and guidance. A working relationship became friendship.

² I was received in his home in Kemajoran, as it happened not far from the catholic elementary school where in this uncertain and hunger stricken city a young boy of mixed descent could survive and learn reading. His name Barack Obama!

2. Life and Career

In 1964, Frans became minister in the Presidential Cabinet of Sukarno.

How was it possible that a relatively young economist with little experience and with only limited political backing was to become minister in a cabinet, already dominated by communists, and got the responsibility for one of the few remaining sources of foreign currency of this nation and its then 120 million or so inhabitants? It is fascinating.

The loyalty of the catholic minority to the struggle for independence and the mutual respect between them and the President are already mentioned. But there were other factors that explain the rise to prominence of this young leader.

It was not only respect for the founder of Indonesia that characterised the relationship. There were serious doubts about Sukarno's left-leaning inclinations, his dangerous balancing act to ally himself with the communists, the growing authoritarian character of the government and the absolute mismanagement of the economy. His efforts to neutralise the staunch and very courageous attitudes of the Catholic Party, by integrating them in a broad communist dominated mass movement, NASAKOM, had failed, also thanks to Seda, who became its president, already soon after his return from The Netherlands. Then Sukarno realised that this young able economist would be better to have as an ally than as a foe.

Moreover, Seda had played an important, perhaps pivotal, role in averting an almost inevitable full-scale military confrontation with The Netherlands over New Guinea. In the rejection of Indonesia's claim on this former part of our colony the KVP, the Catholic Peoples Party, played a key role. Some believed that Providence had laid the destiny of the backward Papua's in our nation's hands and that on the basis of natural law we were obliged to protect them

from the vicious regime in Jakarta. Others in the Party were resentful over the way we lost our colonies in the East, and then there were also considerations of geopolitical and economic nature. Not only in the KVP: it is fair to say that a broad majority in The Netherlands supported this curious mixture of noble motivations and lack of international knowledge. "At the centre of our principles; on the brink of our interests!" exclaimed the responsible minister at that time, Jozef Luns. The few dissidents – amongst them businesspeople and professors and students at the other Catholic Academic Institution, Nijmegen University – were despised and some threatened with the confiscation of their passports. An effort – according to rumours – to impose a writing ban on a vociferous student failed. And whilst in the Archipelago tensions rose, with fatal incidents, and internally the country was on the verge of collapse, church and political authorities in Indonesia played a last card: wouldn't that courageous, energetic leader of the Catholic Party be the best asset to break the stubbornness of his Dutch counterparts, and couldn't his relationship with influential politicians in The Hague, notably former students and professors from Tilburg such as Norbert Schmelzer, the always present adviser of the Prime Minister, be used to this end? A secret mission followed. Victory has many fathers and we will never know who convinced Prime Minister Jan de Quay, also a former professor of this university, to make a 180-degree turn, but war was averted and a solution found. Seda's obvious contribution could not be ignored and his reputation as bridge-builder was established. It laid the foundations for his later ambassadorial and diplomatic activities: the talks with the Portuguese government over East Timor; his efforts to promote regional cooperation after a history of hostilities, in the framework of ASEAN; the establishment of relations with the European Community; even his reopening of communications with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union; and above all the dialogue with other religions, notably Islam. His efforts have certainly contributed to the constructive dialogue of religions, so essential for the peaceful development of his nation of by now a quarter of a billion inhabitants, and even more for the whole world where the clash of civilisations has become a dominant theme.

Not only bridges were built, not only political courage was nurtured. Both were needed in a country that in those years became the central battlefield of the East-West enmities. But Seda also had learned in The Netherlands the great importance of institutions. Whether or not a minority group can protect itself, exercise influence, be of service and be a real partner in the building of a nation depends on its self-awareness, the transmission of its own convictions and values, the level of its education, and its visibility in public. That is not a matter of just the individuals; it depends on the formative and supporting institutions. Institutions such as a university, a national newspaper, a political party, a thorough education of its cadres – professionally *and* ethically –, a healthcare service, and an education system that embodies our core value that every human person counts, young and old, rich and poor. And last but not least it also depends on forms of entrepreneurship that can improve the economic position of the poorest.

A group of remarkable young catholic laymen – most of them in their thirties – created and expanded under Frans's leadership a network of such institutions in Jakarta and in the Provinces. Most eye-catching: the *Atma Jaya* University, directly inspired by Tilburg. It also sees the study of economics as much more than management training. Leadership is foremost about responsibility, service to the common good of the nation, honesty and compassion. Cobbenhagen has taught us that the relation between ethics and economy is vital, the lesson of Adam Smith which has been forgotten at a dear price as we experience today. The market can only flourish and deliver the required goods if it has an inherent reference to non-economic values and is guided and judged *by* these, instead of liberated *from* them. Let other universities teach liberal economy and other academic institutes the tricks of management techniques, but let the added-value of Tilburg and *Atma Jaya* be found in precisely the hyphen between the dignity of the human person, the flourishing of communities and societies, and the indispensability of a fair market. This concept has had proven value in Indonesia, in the form of

Atma Jaya, to this day a university for multilevel leadership. Not only for the elite but notably in the form of a newspaper for the broader masses as well: *Kompas* was the next initiative in a nation which yearned for the truth. For at the time and in the situation there, truth, according to Vaclav Havel the most precious good for mankind, was in danger of being concealed and dismantled by various forces. In a country which was heading towards a bloody civil war with an extremely uncertain outcome, many inside and outside hesitated to support this risky endeavour. It was Jan de Quay, now retired, who had become an ardent supporter of the young Frans Seda, who learned us: education, investments in the human mind can never be expropriated or stolen. During more than fifty years *Kompas* played an often times crucial role in the defence of the truth, sometimes against the communists, at other times against other authoritarians, sometimes against the hypes and the platitudes of the day. And the Indonesian people rewarded that initiative. Anno 2014 it still is the newspaper with the biggest circulation of the country! Education, real Bildung or formation, servant leadership, information that spreads the truth, those were the central elements of his engagement.

By the way, when Seda and his Indonesian friends called for assistance at many occasions, it was not always easy to follow their drive and impatience. In the political preferences of those days for only direct help to 'the poorest of the poor', programmes for leadership, especially high level leadership were not easy to sell. But if an answer took too long, there were always friends in The Netherlands – some of them from IKS – who explained the unique meaning of a specific proposal. Especially his life-long friend Edmund Meeuwissen could use language which left no doubt, so to say, and...he was right! Frans got his rosary of institutions.

Therefore no wonder a more and more isolated and manipulated Sukarno turned his eyes to this young powerhouse. In the darkest hours of the Republic he appointed him minister for plantations, that desired prey for the Communist Party.

And here became apparent that Seda was not only an entrepreneur of institutions, a bridge-builder and a politician, but that he could grow to real statesmanship. In extremely difficult circumstances he kept the plantations functioning and out of the hands of the communist trade unions. Afterwards he got the responsibility for agriculture – literally of vital interest to this country, where many millions were threatened with famine and starvation. But his finest hour was when he became minister of finance in the first government after Sukarno. Indonesia's main challenge was to regain the trust of the international financial and political community in the recovery of this nation which basically had a high economic potential. Although Seda had a critical stance towards the authoritarian elements in the *Orde Baru* of President Suharto, who had taken over from Sukarno, the President became convinced that none was more suited to elevate Indonesia out of the financial and economic abyss in which it had sunk in the mid-sixties. Frans's success was, amongst other things, due to a surprising and unconventional move: he invited the old colonial nation, the old adversary, but with all its knowledge and experience, to take the lead in the first global consortium for the rehabilitation and development of a nation in crisis. Remarkably, also because some in our country were still mourning the loss of its former colony, *and* because a new generation had come up who reduced the problem of poverty to an imperialistic conspiracy and did not want to have an understanding of the devilish dilemmas with which Seda was confronted in those years. Still today I hear the chorus at Nijmegen University, inspired by their communist whisperers, shouting "Seda murderer"!

But he was steadfast and became the midwife of the famous Intergovernmental Group on Indonesia, the IGGI, the multilateral framework that framed, stimulated and supervised the development cooperation with Indonesia. And still today this IGGI, the first of its kind, despite its shortcomings, is an example of a successful reform and modernisation programme. This move illustrated Frans Seda's grandeur and statesmanship.

It could have worked better, had the spirit of the founding years been preserved and not hampered by corruption, cronyism and a growing 'privatisation' of the economy by the Presidential Palace. Obviously Frans was not 'cooperative' enough and, following some other ministerial responsibilities, he was appointed as ambassador to Europe. After that he resumed his engagements with catholic institutions, but also became an entrepreneur in the domain of textile and clothes. And he rewarded the trust The Netherlands had put in his recovery programme by spending his enthusiasm and energy in the extension of the relations with our country, especially as President of INA, the Indonesian Netherlands Association.

After the long, long Suharto years, Seda returned to politics and economics as an influential adviser of the new presidents, especially Sukarno's daughter Megawati and as comrade of Abdurrahman Wahid. I remember vividly the morning we received the latter in our CDA Office in The Hague. Frans had asked us to host this symbol of hope for many tens of millions of Muslims in order to avoid a new diplomatic drama in our relations. Foreign Affairs did not want to receive him, because they estimated the chances for this sick man to become President as virtually non-existent. Half a year later Gus Dur, as he was nicknamed, was inaugurated in the Merdeka Palace.

For this short overview I owe very much to the biography of Mikhael Dua. Seda's life, his successes and setbacks, his convictions and his intentions deserve further study and his memory should be kept alive, in Indonesia and here in Tilburg, which has educated an alumnus with an influence and responsibility of historic dimensions. The four-year doctoral scholarship awarded by the Frans Seda Foundation to an Indonesian student is certainly a valuable measure to this end. Special tribute must be paid to Professor Karel Steenbrink who, in his blog, characterises Seda's drive and vision in the framework of the ten utopias, which shaped his country's history.

3. The Legacy

But with all his merits, Seda is not a monument in stone, which has to be restored from time to time. Much more important it is to ask ourselves what would be the meaning today of the values, the vision, and the practical engagement of this exceptional and outstanding leader. What makes it worthwhile to preserve his legacy?

I am therefore extremely grateful to the initiators of the Frans Seda Foundation, not only for giving me the honour to recall my memories today but much more for their ambition to use this legacy and to invest in a programme for the future. Formation, serving leadership, and trustworthy information – what does that mean? What does that mean in our confrontation with today's and tomorrow's world, in Indonesia, in The Netherlands, and especially in our world of interdependence?

Thanks to the Frans Seda Foundation about 20 young potential leaders from Indonesia and The Netherlands have been invited to express their own ideas about the agenda for the future of their societies. The title of their seminar this week is well chosen: "Leadership for a Vital Society," "Indonesia and The Netherlands: two worlds apart or two sources of unexplored synergy?"

Both nations have their own problems and opportunities, some are similar, and above all some are common. What would be the legacy of Frans Seda against this background?

First in *Indonesia*.

Being Dutch, we have to be modest and follow analysts from the country itself. It is about the way in which the tension between growth and inequality, which has become a global problem in rich and poor countries alike, should be tackled. It is about how the 20 percent or so at the bottom of the

pyramid can be included in the steadily growing middle class. It is about the continual need for the combination of ethical and expert leadership. Then the question of how democracy can survive in cultures which lack ideas, and in which sensation, hypes and personality cults prevail over long-term vision, value based choices, and decisions which are guided on research and facts – and this goes for nearly all cultures as *The Economist* pointed out in its recent essay about the crisis of democracy. Further, how can successful entrepreneurship be combined with long-term investments that take into account *all* stakeholders, including our grand-children? And finally, how do we deal with the temptations to blur the borders between political and economic interests and to surrender to authoritarian rule? It would be a miracle if Indonesia would be exempted from these global challenges.

The Seda Foundation has also invited a number of young Dutch leaders to reflect in this spirit on society. What does value-based leadership mean for *The Netherlands and Europe*?

At a university which regularly uses as its motto 'Understanding Society' there is obviously no need for an analysis of our own situation. But with the unique combination here of amongst other things economic science, humanities, international law, the European Values Project, the Marga Klompé Chair, The Tilburg Sustainable Centre, and not to forget the Faculty of Theology, the basic conditions are present for putting together answers and orientations around our own challenges. How can we combine the transfer of knowledge, high level value-based leadership, long-term vision, entrepreneurship and practical engagement. All of that is needed, now perhaps more than ever.

Our staggering economic growth demands not only new entrepreneurship, but also a clear socio-economic vision that holds that the realities of globalisation are compatible with less inequality at home and inclusion rather

than marginalisation. And, yes, with lasting prosperity, even if this domain is most of all characterised by changing relations and by fundamental transition. We need a perspective and hope against the dawning reality that for the first time in nearly a century many parents seriously doubt if their children will be better-off than the generation before. We need a perspective against the conviction that globalisation is a threat and that we have to close the borders with the world and even with(in) Europe, because life and society were so much better off in our own trusted hands and with our own decisions a few decades ago. Against the backdrop of this nostalgia, we have to find answers for how to cope with the new realities of an unsustainable welfare state, for overcoming individualism, for creating – as it is referred to in the seminar – “flourishing communities.”

Against this background, how can we translate our values and convictions such as the dignity of the human person and the need for compassion, and how can we communicate these values in a culture which denies transcendence, as the European Values Studies of this University concludes?

Leadership in The Netherlands of 2014 means first and foremost the development of a long-term vision and the courage to express this vision, going against the hypes of the day and against the short-term pleasantries and cults of personalities. The President of the University Foundation here, Ruud Lubbers, refers in this context to a fatal Bermuda Triangle where the owners of mass media are driven by maximum profit, the mass media are focussed on maximum sensation in order to obtain profitable outreach, and politicians and other leaders are cooperating by all means and platitudes in order to gain maximum popularity. We all see the detrimental effects for the political and social discourse in our country. As a further consequence, in the collective memory, sensation and incidents prevail over long-term realities such as the resilience of the European Project, the strength of our economy, and the level of our social security. Not to mention achievements such as freedom, peace and stability.

One does not need much imagination to compose an agenda of a counter-movement of leadership, in the spirit of values, vision and engagement, focussed on a new generation, with institutions which in their curriculum give priority exactly to these phenomena. This counter-movement is, for example, about a new relation between the economy and ethics, call it '*Geld und Gott*,' and the need for media which tell the truth, publish what really matters and are inspired by non-commercial values, values that bind societies, institutions, and regaining trust. This is, in a certain sense, also part of the legacy of Frans Seda.

4. Transition and Partnership

But there is more. We would really miss the central point of the decades to come, when we only deal with the problems and the agenda of our respective countries, Indonesia and The Netherlands, individually. Quite recently the European Union commissioned a forward-looking study, *Citizens in an Interconnected and Polycentric World*. Each word of this title counts: citizenship relates to the world, a world which is becoming irreversibly interconnected and in which there is not a single dominant world power any more. The study contains an intriguing analysis of the expected developments and trends. 'Global Trends 2030' is the subtitle, but we only need one term for the overall synthesis: 'Transition'! Transition is *the* keyword for the years to come.

Transition:

- » In the domain of economic development. Needless to mention at this renowned institute how, in less than twenty years, the world-map of economic performance changed more dramatically than at any other point in history; and this change continues.
- » In the domain of geopolitics we see the fading-away of the expectation that after the demise of the Soviet Union just one superpower will remain. On the contrary, we seem to head to a world with at least four, maybe six, world powers.
- » Both trends will be invigorated by demographic developments: in the near future, even a united Europe will likely amount to less than five percent of the world's population.
- » These demographic developments, together with a steady increase of consumers' needs in rich *and* emerging economies, will lead to dramatic new scarcities, notably in the area of energy, water and food. Perhaps there will be some technological breakthroughs, but all available scenarios point in the same direction.

- » The biggest challenge for the next 15-odd years: do we have the capacity *and* the political will to change our patterns of behaviour, consumption, and production in order to curtail the two-degree warming of the planet. It is clear that it's not an option for our lifestyle to be copied by the other three billion of Earth's inhabitants. But what, then, is an alternative that will get enough worldwide support, since a lasting divide in consumer's patterns is unacceptable?
- » Then there are the growing conflicts and failing states in parts of the world, the blurring of the borders between 'private' and 'state' criminality.
- » At the turn of the century, there was the hope that economic growth and more education would *automatically* lead to more democracy and even protection of human rights. That ideal has to be relativised in the light of the recognition of the obvious attraction of forms of authoritarian rule, which are suited to promote growth and wealth for the masses.
- » And last but not least, as the *Global Trends Report 2030* underlines, progress and modernisation and globalisation also do not lead to an automatic process of westernisation. On the contrary, one sees a growing diversity, ascertaining different identities, and the demand for respect for pluriformity.

Chris Patten, former Tory Party president and the last Governor of Hong Kong, has summed up these trends in *What Next* and other publications, pointing out not only the challenges but also the opportunities and great rewards of past investments and policy decisions.

The successful struggle of two billion people to overcome extreme poverty is such an achievement, mostly thanks to their own efforts. But we do not need to deny that the programmes of international cooperation over the last 50 years are also bearing fruit. In direct economic achievements, but certainly when we look at human development. The progress in access to health, education, food, but also in the domain of human rights, freedom and peace has improved on a scale that is unique in human history.

And development cooperation has contributed to it, sometimes little, sometimes substantially. Former diplomat Robbert van Lanschot laments that assistance to 'traditional' development projects is useless and that the real stuff is the African entrepreneurial woman phoning with her business partners in Beijing and importing and exporting all kinds of goods. He overlooks that such a woman in Kigali learned English and maths; and he overlooks *who* taught her that. I would not be amazed when the success had something to do with a thorough education at a school financed by Dutch development cooperation, in this case Cordaid/Cebemo, and that the lessons were given by dedicated nuns! Just as also assistance to Indonesian institutions proved to be a blessing for the country.

Cynicism and passivity are not justified when we look at the outcome of our engagements of yesterday. Yes, we can make a difference. But the central point is that the 'we' has changed. In view of the challenges mentioned here, the era of unilateral actions and responsibilities from 'us' to 'them', from the North to the South is over. If the notion of 'transition' is paramount, then the central issue of the years to come is: Does this transition lead us to new rivalries, new inequalities and exclusions, land-grabbing and a hunt for raw materials, a new arms race or even new wars, including in the outer space, and is the myriad of awful consequences of climate change inevitable? Or can the reality of globalisation and interdependence be met by partnerships, by forms of global regulations, forms also of authority and rights-based participation? That is a common agenda, of North and South, East and West, of each human being.

Again the triad of values- vision- and engagement: with the human person as basis, justice, solidarity, the protection of the creation and, yes, subsidiarity as the beacons, and the common good as the ultimate goal. Those three remain, but as in the days of Schuman when subsidiarity led to the construction and acceptance of elements of supranationality, it now directs us to the development of enforceable measures and even forms of authority

on a global scale. No, a world government is out of our reach, at least for the foreseeable future, but the notion of global partnership is necessary and attainable. Horst Koehler, not an unworldly dreamer but an able economist, a former president of IMF and of the Federal Republic of Germany, and advisor to Secretary General Ban Ki Moon, has made an impressive plea in a recent speech in the Dutch Senate to make global partnership the central theme of the Post 2015 Agenda. The agenda of the international community was shaped from 2000 until 2015 by the so-called Millennium Declaration and the Millennium Development Goals, a rather successful arrangement for this period. But indeed the world opinion, and not only the states and politicians, need a new framework for the period after 2015.

And the 'we' has also changed in another respect: civil society, entrepreneurs, cities, religious movements, media, all these are and/or should become partners in this new global endeavour, in addition to national governments. We really should internalise and accept the reality, the opportunity and the challenge in this transition to a new paradigm.

5. A common perspective for action

So, the agenda of the coming 15-20 years is long – maybe too long, too far away, too abstract in the opinion of the average citizen. The waning of the popular enthusiasm for development cooperation also has to do with this lack of a concrete perspective for action. Informed citizens want to see where action leads to, what the returns on investments and the rewards of philanthropy are. Perhaps that explains the popularity of assistance to small projects by private foundations over public support for government programmes. And at this point I'd like to refer to the study of the European Union which I mentioned earlier. Unlike a number of similar publications which focus on the musical chairs between four or five superpowers, *Global Trends 2030* focuses on the emerging and developed nations in the second row. In the dilemma of whether the trend towards an interconnected and polycentric world will in the end be peace and prosperity or chaos and the law of the jungle, it is this category of countries which could eventually tip the scales. Indonesia's development plays a prominent role in this study. Points mentioned are: democracy, cultural diversity, the preservation of its forests and its treasuries of biodiversity, its coping with the bottom of the income group, the quality of its leadership, and also its role as a regional power and peace broker. These all are of an extremely important nature, for Indonesia, for Asia and subsequently for the outcome of the new paradigm towards global partnership.

We in The Netherlands also have to understand how radically Indonesia has changed over the past two decades, as part of the emerging 'Asian Century' and as a result of its own choices. Indonesia has, and can have, a strong legacy of its own in the world: its unique contribution to a culture of tolerance, dialogue, and respect for pluriformity and diversity. Not the clash of civilisations, but an alliance, as President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono pleaded for at Harvard University. The important lesson being that in the biggest Muslim country, democracy is compatible with the majority of its population.

And addressed at all religious groups: modernisation and development are not at odds with religion and spirituality, but can go hand in hand.

After the failed and maybe naïve efforts of the US to impose democracy in Muslim and other countries it was Indonesia which carried the torch in its own unique, discrete manner, with the framework of the Bali Democracy Forum, with its advice to i.e. the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, and in its dialogue with the regime in Burma, telling the generals that there are other ways to communicate with demonstrators which are more effective than beating or shooting them.

Bali also reminds us of another contribution and capacity. Indonesia showed leadership in the field of global environmental policies and the Post 2015 agenda. And indeed: although we still smell the burning of the forests, we can also see the results of the engagement of Seda and his friend Emil Salim in becoming the custodian of those unique and indispensable treasures which Indonesia possesses, and which are indispensable for the survival of mankind and the preservation of the creation.

Our guests from Indonesia are very much aware that much has yet to be done, but for quite some time my central thesis has been: Indonesia can make important contributions to the global common good. The legacy of Seda for today's young leaders from Indonesia is to nourish these capacities and to expand upon them.

For The Netherlands, it would be a unique opportunity to cooperate with such a nation, via the European Union, or on a direct, bilateral basis and with private initiatives. In this way the work of the new Frans Seda Foundation would contribute to a concrete perspective for common action which is connected with the agenda of the future. The road of our contribution to global partnership is paved by bilateral, and preferably intercontinental, alliances – between government and government, between village and desa,

between province and district, between cities, between agricultural cooperatives and credit unions, between universities. And not as an adoption – that era is gone – , but on an equal footing, with mutual communication and respect. *Together* we find ways to tackle the issues which are relevant to the agenda of global partnership.

About 40 years ago at a conference near Arnhem, Frans Seda underscored the importance of academic cooperation in the post-colonial and post-missionary era, when the existing channels of communication and knowledge between the continents were in danger of being narrowed. Let us restrict ourselves to the role of academic institutions. In this cooperation the relevant items and issues present themselves quasi-automatically. From cultural diversity to human rights, from the concept of the separation of church and state to the public role of religion, from the need for a global financial architecture to the restoration of individual and collective ethical awareness in financial institutions, from international law to fostering the rural economy – the latter so dear to Seda and with a proven added-value to real development, and a way in which the principles of the social market economy can be translated and extrapolated to global levels, with room for the true costs of labour and the environment. The dialogue between the world religions, and the compatibility of modernisation, spirituality and religious plurality belong to this agenda. So too – which for this university is quite interesting – does the importance of local communities as a counterpoint to the process of globalisation. It is precisely this bilateral, intercontinental cooperation which offers a unique platform for issues relevant to the growth of global partnership: In the selection of subjects, in the outcome of research and reflections with their thusly acquired added-value, but also in the addition in the formation of young leadership of exactly a global outlook and awareness. Values, Vision and Engaged Leadership.

Of course these programmes have to find their place amongst other ideas and projects of the same spirit and neither Atma Jaya, once meant as a

mirror institute of Tilburg, nor the Foundation, can succeed without strong and committed partners and a conducive social and political climate.

Tilburg University also has an interest in a renewal of its relations with Indonesia. But in the Asian Century from the EU to the Dutch Government, to all segments of society, including the Province of Brabant, civil society organisations and the business community, all should keep in mind that Indonesia could be an extremely interesting partner *and* a bridge to the globe.

In particular, at this moment, much homework needs to be done by Dutch politics political bodies and government.

The post-colonial history of the last 69 years has been marked mostly by misunderstandings, short-sightedness, and the illusion that we could reverse the inevitable course of history. Or, as former minister Bot said so courageously: we sometimes stood on the wrong side of history. Luckily there were other moments of magnanimity, of real engagement, of friendship and vision. At such moments people like Seda and minister Bot's father found each other, as civil society organisations, religious congregations and institutes have found each other, and as common business interests are – rightly – developed. The road from the airport to the centre of Jakarta is marked by signs of such cooperation, to start with the Atma Jaya Hospital!

We sometimes stood on the wrong side of history and we are still today handicapped by a lack of ideas for its new course. Only two years ago the Dutch Parliament refused Indonesia, a sovereign state, buying weapons for its defence. That we never received the founder of the Republic as a guest at Soestdijk Palace is a fact of history that we can't undo, as we cannot wipe out the clumsy diplomacy around the invitation of our former Queen and husband to be Indonesia's guest at the 50th anniversary of Indonesia's independence. Perhaps the presence in The Hague of the President in the coming days can be a moment for reflection and dialogue. Which gesture,

which symbol is most suited to underline the fact that the building of a global partnership is the need of this day. And the road towards that end goes via new bilateral relations of trusted partners. The 17th of August next year, the 70th anniversary of independence, is such a moment to underscore our new understanding, our common agenda. When Indonesia invites the Kingdom we should respond this time on the most appropriate level.

Here in Tilburg, more than 60 years ago, the plea of Schuman was that Europe would lose its momentum when it did not come to terms with its history. That implied accepting and creating forms of supranationality, but as Schuman again and again stressed: do it at a gradual pace. The translation of these convictions means today the acceptance of forms of global authority, convinced, certain, but gradual. And that implies first and foremost the rejection of a world order of chaos and the law of the mightiest. Seda would have understood the translation in this way of the principle of subsidiarity, Seda, the internationalist, the bridge-builder.

The initiative for a Frans Seda Foundation is very timely. Congratulations and thanks for the opportunity to care for the synergy of our partnership.

But above all, that should be positioned in the perspective of this paradigm of the need for global partnership, the humanisation of the globalisation process. Ten months ago another Frans, Pope Franciscus, visited Lampedusa with a similar message: what do you want, the dignity of the human person, or the globalisation of the indifference? In the legacy of Franciscus Seda lies the answer.

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