

Economic Growth and Income Distribution: The Experience of Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

The economy of Indonesia had come into the social and the political crisis since the second period in 1997. A number of social riots struke several towns in Indonesia. Consequently, the stability of the state was disturbed. It caused the efforts to economy recovery to be more and more difficult to do. Many others pointed out that the social riots were caused by inequality of economy. The purpose of this study is to find out the income inequality stage in Indonesia and wether the good income distribution inequality can ensure the stability of the state. The measurement method for income distribution used in this study is Gini coefficient and World Bank's criteria. The results of the study shows that the economic growth rose significantly during New Order (sociopolitical in Indonesia). While, the income distribution based on Gini Ratio and World Bank's criteria imply that Indonesia is included the category of low inequality. However, in the study's period is found the distortion of Kuznets hypothesis and Ahluwalia's analysis on the change forms of income distribution. The low inequality doesn't reflect to another inequality situation such as poverty and absolute inequality. Therefore, the rising of economic growth and the low inequality during the study's period doesn't guarantee the stablity of politic. The studies about the income distribution shouldn't use macroeconomics approach only, but also other approaches like microeconomics aspects.

ABSTRAK

Ekonomi Indonesia telah mengalami krisis politik dan sosial sejak tahun 1997. Terdapat beberapa rusuhan sosial yang melanda Indonesia yang menyebabkan kestabilan negara terganggu. Rusuhan ini memberi kesan kepada usaha untuk pemulihan ekonomi negara menjadi sukar. Ramai yang berpendapat bahawa rusuhan sosial ini disebabkan oleh ketidakseimbangan ekonomi. Tujuan kajian ini adalah untuk mengetahui tingkat ketidakseimbangan pendapatan di Indonesia dan melihat sama ada

ketidakseimbangan pengagihan pendapatan yang baik menjamin dapat menjamin kestabilan negara. Kaedah pengukuran yang digunakan dalam kajian ini ialah pekali gini dan kriteria yang digunakan oleh bank dunia. Hasil kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa pertumbuhan ekonomi meningkat semasa New Order (sosiopolitik di Indonesia). Sementara itu, agihan pendapatan berdasarkan pekali gini dan kriteria bank dunia menunjukkan bahawa Indonesia tergolong di dalam kategori ketidakseimbangan yang rendah. Walaubagaimanapun, dalam tempoh kajian mendapati terdapat perubahan yang berlaku pada hipotesis Kuznet dan analisis Ahluwalia ke atas bentuk perubahan agihan pendapatan. Ketidakseimbangan yang rendah tidak mempengaruhi situasi ketidaksamaan yang lain seperti kemiskinan dan ketidaksamaan mutlak. Oleh itu, peningkatan pertumbuhan ekonomi dan ketidaksamaan yang rendah ketika tempoh pemerhatian tidak menjamin kepada kestabilan politik. Kajian tentang agihan pendapatan tidak hanya menggunakan pendekatan makroekonomi sahaja tetapi juga melihat aspek-aspek mikroekonomi.

INTRODUCTION

During the first of Five – Year Development Plan (Repelita) was begun on 1st April 1969 until the fifth Repelita ended on March, 31st 1994, the economic development of Indonesia was done base on the Trilogy of Development, i.e income distribution of development and its results to all over Indonesia, the economic growth quite rise, and the national stability. The emphasizing of the three elements used to change. On the first Repelita, the sequence of trilogy are the national stability, the economic growth and the income distribution. In the second Repelita moved to be the economic growth, the national stability and the income distribution. Since the third until the fifth Repelita the sequence changed to be the income distribution, the economic growth, and the national stability.

Nevertheless, in a political perspective, government tended to give priority to the national stability element. This was caused by assumption that the instability of politic surely would disturb the development process. On the other word, the stability element was regarded as a key – factor for succeeding the income distribution and the economic growth in the national development process by using the security approach. The security approach usage in the stability element was reflected in the government policy to stifle some incidents from the political surge, like Tanjung Priok incident, Way – Jepara, Timor – Timur, and Aceh. It appeared in the 6

times general election went on safely without significantly disturbance. That's why, during 30 years the power of The New Order, Indonesia was recorded as one of the safest and the most stabil states in Asia.

With a very undercontrol of the political stability, the economy development in Indonesia could be run so smoothly that this state was included as one of the miracles of Asia economy. But in Mei 1997 general election, where Golkar Party was constantly as an absolute winner, and since, Indonesia was struck by monetary crisis in July 1997. It's started firstly in Thailand. The decline of the exchange rate of rupiah went down drastically and continuously. The fact had caused the economy of Indonesia come into a seriously wide range crisis.

In the bad economy crisis condition, General Assembly of People Consultative Republic of Indonesia (MPR-RI) in March 1998 still appointed Mr. Soeharto as a president for 1998 – 2003. Because the economy crisis couldn't be controlled successfully, then it led to the action of university students who asked Mr. Soeharto to stepback or called as "reformation". The actions were followed by social riots. The riots were begun in Medan on 4th Mei 1998, then the larger riots happened in Jakarta on 13rd and 14th Mei 1998 and those had taken more victims.

Beside the actions and the riots, a number of public figures such as religius and educational ones had said directly to Soeharto in order to stepback. In the crucial situation, finally, Soeharto steppedback and handed up the national leadership to the Vice of President Baharuddin Jusuf Habibie on 21st Mei 1998.

The President BJ.Habibie then formed Development Reformation Cabinet, released political prisoners, gave a freedom to establish political parties and also to publish newspaper. Afterthat, scheduled of making a new political constitution,holding plenary assembly of MPR-RI, general election, and general assembly of MPR-RI in 1999.

However, in the middle of reformation which was being done by BJ.Habibie's, the university students continuously claimed the government on the streets to demand Habibie to stepback. Some of them and the polices became victims in the uncident. The other anarchy acts also happened in several regions. Since on 15th until 30th July 1998 was recorded more than ten times the social riots and the anarchy acts happened. Among of them happened in Sumater Utara, Irian Jaya, Jakarta, Malang, Bogor, Banyuwangi, Jepara, Jember, Jombang, Kediri, and Sumatera Barat. The incidents automatically influenced the instability of politic. Those had influenced the efforts to economy recovery which went down for nearly a year.

The economists as Didik J. Rachbini and Anggito Abimayu (SWA 1998) and politician like Ryass Rasyid (SWA 1998) pointed out that those were caused by a long standing inequality of income distribution, poverty, and a sequeeze difficult of economy and political deadlock. Amien Rais (*Tempo* 1999) also said that the riots seeked of ethnic, religions, and racial relation (SARA) as burning of churches or mosques, etc, have two essential problems, they are: a serious social inequality and a hard life condition. Of course, it has become a public opinion that the income inequality as a source of social jealous, that can stimulate a conflict of SARA in anytime. That's why, the conflicts are always connected to the matter of a social gap or a bad economy inequality.

According to psycologists as Djamaluddin Ancok and Sartono Mukaddis SWA 1998), the riots as something phenomenon of happiness expression for the collapse of a long quo – status beyond Mr. Soeharto's regime. But, they also argueded that the exclusive group society were caused by a long hidden unsatisfaction. Chiness group (non-native) used to become victims of anarchy acts caused the group were gussed close to the center of power.

Reference with the description above, this study aims to answer the problems; Is the inequality of income distribution as a source of social riots and anarchy acts? Is that true that the economic development can produce income distribution and the economic growth as a guarantee to establish the state stability?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Economic development is a process which goes on in long term and planned to improve the quality of all people lives. There must be two things inside economic development, ie: the economic growth and the change of structure, ie. economic, social, and political structure.

The economic growth is usually measured base on the rising of national income or gross domestic product (GDP). The increasing of income is followed with the change of structure, and it will cause the decreasing sum of low income citizens.

Among other of the economic structure change can be seen how the contribution of economy sector in the national income and opportunities for employment. The further of the economy structure change will cause the change of income distribution. Two things need to be discussed theoritically in this context, ie: a measurement instrument for the income

distribution and the relation between the development and income distribution.

THE INDICATOR OF THE INCOME DISTRIBUTION

The inequality level of the income distribution can be analyzed through many aspects. For instance, inequality of income inter sector and district with using indicator and a certain approach. One of the approaches which is usually used to analyze the condition of distribution in a state is relative measurement and Gini coefficient. Gini coefficient shows a rate (number) that's range from zero (perfect equality) to one (perfect inequality). Gini coefficient which is getting close to zero indicating a better distribution, and number which close to one means to be worse. However, if Gini coefficient is around 0.20 – 0.35 usually the inequality of income distribution healthy regarded or low inequality. The counting of Gini coefficient can be done by using a Lorenz curve or automatically (Todaro 2003).

The relative measurement is usually used by World Bank in analyzing the inequality with deviding population to be three groups, they are 20% people as a high income group, 40% people as a medium income group, and 40% people as the lowest income group. Based on the classification, income distribution in a country become three categories: High inequality; if 40% people have the lowest income, accept 12% of national income. Medium inequality; if 40% people have the lowest income, accept 12% – 17% of national income. Low inequality; if 40% people have the lowest income, accept more than 17% of national income (Djojohadikusumo 1994).

DEVELOPMENT AND DISTRIBUTION

Based on most of states experiences, economic development will support the increasing standard of living which is quicker for minorities people who dominate economy's assets. While, for mayority's ones which do not dominate the economy assets, though they get a rise of income but still remain to stay behind.

At the preliminary stage of development is usually signed by a situation where the difference income between the poor group and the rich ones become larger. The study for the growth pattern in some advance countries by Simon Kuznets shows that is found the rate of income

distribution tend to be worse at the preliminary stage of economy development. However, the situation will get better on the development phases. On the other word, at the preliminary stage of Gini coefficient will tend to be bigger and then getting smaller suit to increasing of income per capita. If it is drawn in a curved, Kuznets hypothetical called as “The Inverted-U” Kuznets Curve (Berg 2001).

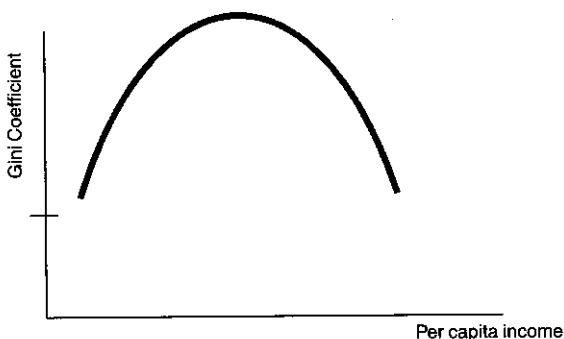


FIGURE 1. The “Inverted U” Kuznets curve

The other study by Montek S. Ahluwalia, stated that the higher income per capita, the people who have income under poverty line will be smaller. Based on the classification of World Bank, found that in communist countries, 40% low income citizens class accepting 25% from overall national income. While in advance countries 40% low income citizens class accepting around 16%. So, the pattern of income distribution in communist countries are relatively better than in non-communist advance countries (Sukirno 1985).

Nevertheless, the income distribution in several developing countries are better than in advance countries, because 40% low income citizen in the developing countries accepting 18% from overall national income. The other forms of income distribution also happen in other developing countries, that is, 40% low income citizen only receive 9% from overall national income. It means that the inequality in the developing countries are worse, compared to the condition in advance countries (Sukirno 1985).

However, as showed in the second figure, found 2 curves; a concave curve S1 shows the percentage of national income which is received by 40% low income citizens (poor) in a certain income level. While a dome

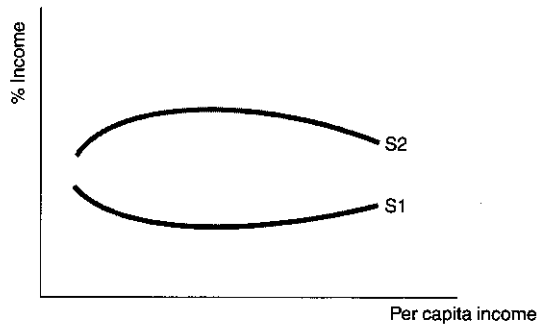


FIGURE 2. Distribution income

curve S2 shows a portion of state income which are received by 20% high income citizens (rich).

As above explanation, that the poverty and income inequality can bring about the disturbance of the state stability. While economic development is to improve standard of living and to wipe out the poverty. The further problem is when the result of the development absolutely can cause the income distribution inequality. That's why, the success of the economy development process in a developing countries, like Indonesia, found a possibility to be a source of national stability disturbance or even a source of nation disintegration.

OBJECTIVE

This study is aimed to explain the description of development in Indonesia for questions; Has the rise economic growth succeeded in increasing the people living standard especially low income citizen? How are the situation of the income distribution between society group? This study also aims to expose whether the healthy inequality of income as a guarantee for an eternity of the political stability of the state.

METHOD

This paper is the result of the study on secondary data to find out the effect of income inequality on the state stability. The design analysis which is used is the study of economy development.

SOURCE OF DATA

This paper use secondary data legally issued by Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS-Statistics Indonesia) and legal data which is issued by another institution. Basically, using data of time series the year of 1978 until 1998. In that case, this study will not use a plenty of data after monetary crisis happened.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

To see how the development process improve the living standard of society, explained the change of sum and the portion for low income citizens. While, the measurement used to see the effects of the economy growth on the society welfare is the change of low income citizens sum. Therefore, the poverty line which is used formally criteria, as it is used by the government, that is the equal consumption 2,100 calorie per capita per day or about Rp 4.000 per month (current prices 2003).

To see how the inequality of income distribution in the society, used Gini coefficient and relative inequality base on World Bank's criteria.

From some analysis of the inequality pattern is aimed to be visible how is the reality of inequality of income distribution in Indonesia in the context with the state stability which become a priority of New Order's Government.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Many progress of economy had been achieved during New Order. The average of economy growth was high enough, that's around 7% per year. The economic's transformation structurally happened, among other were signed by the smaller amount of contribution from agriculture sectors on the national income. In the poverty case, Indonesia had succeeded in existing in a group of country which were medium income. The sum of low income citizen decrease absolutely and relatively in a great number. Hence, Indonesia also succeeded in becoming a group of semi-industrial country which had an adequate amount of food, from an agriculture country where was included as the greatest importer for rice in the world previously.

The success of controlling macro-economics indicator was quite good, as rate of inflation which was restrained under one digit, unemployment rate can be pressed to the lower rate, sufficient federal reserves to

import 4 until 6 months. That's why, the government used to say that the fundamental of macro-economics was strong enough.

By using indicator which is normally used in economic development analysis, the development in Indonesia is justified succeeding in achieving the good economic growth and the income distribution. Hence, Indonesia was regarded as a successful country in economy development until included in a set of countries called as the miracle of Asian economy.

DEVELOPMENT AND POVERTY

Development had brought about the significant economic growth, that's around 7% a year. The rate of population growth was pressed down successfully with a program of family planning from 2.34% to be around 1.6%. Because the growth of population could be pressed in one aspect and the high economic growth in another aspect, the Gross Domestic Product percapita increased from average US \$100 in 1970 to be US \$1,115 in 1996. But the economy crisis which was caused by the decrease of Rupiah exchange rate in 1997, income per capita went down to be US \$1,088.7 and in 1998 went down again become approximately US \$449.20 per capita.

As showed in Table 1, since 1970 until 1996, the rate of economy growth for Indonesia was used to be positive with average rate almost

TABLE 1. Indonesia economic growth 1970-1997

Year	%	Year	%
1970	7.5	1984	7.0
1971	7.0	1985	2.5
1972	9.4	1986	5.9
1973	11.3	1987	4.6
1974	7.6	1988	5.8
1975	5.0	1989	7.5
1976	6.9	1990	7.2
1977	8.9	1991	6.9
1978	7.7	1992	6.5
1979	6.3	1993	6.5
1980	9.9	1994	7.5
1981	7.9	1995	8.2
1982	2.2	1996	8.0
1983	4.2	1997	4.7

Source: Indonesia Statistics

7%. The lowest rate of the economy growth happened in 1982, that's 2.2% and the highest ones in 1973, that's 11.3 %.

With that economic growth, the sum of low income citizen also got a significant decrease. In the year of 1970, the sum of low income citizen in Indonesia was estimated at 55.4 million people, or around 47.4% from overall population of Indonesia at the time; 117.0 million people. In 1996, the sum of low income citizen, remain 22.5 million people or around 11.3% from overall population.

In the Table 2, seen that's found the real difference decrease from the sum of low income citizen in town or out of town. In 1970 the sum of low income citizen in out of town is 44.2 million people or 40.4% become 15.3 million people or 12.3% in 1996. While in the town are down from 10.0 million people (38.8%) to be 7.2 million people (9.7%). This change indicates that the decrease sum of low income citizens are quicker in out of town than in the town.

TABLE 2. Indonesia population under poverty line 1970-1998

Year	Poverty Line (Rp/Month)		Population (Million)		
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Indonesia
1970	999	1.240	48.3	7.1	55.4
1976	2.849	4.522	44.2	10.0	54.2
1980	4.449	6.831	32.8	9.5	42.3
1990	13.295	20.614	17.8	9.4	27.2
1996	27.413	38.246	15.3	7.2	22.5
1998	41.588	52.470	56.8	22.6	79.4

Source: Indonesia Statistics

The monetary crisis was started in the middle of 1997 had caused the sum of low income citizens in Indonesia increased. Until, in the middle of 1998 the formal data from the government showed the low income citizens increase to be 79.4 million people or 39.1% from overall population which meant to be worse than the situation in 1970.

RELATIVE INEQUALITY

By using an out put data or consumption can be understood that the pattern of income distribution inequality in Indonesia didn't improve consistently.

As a general description, a number of Gini coefficient based on the variety results of the study can be seen in Table 3.

Although the source of data are not uniform, but number of Gini coefficient showed in Table 3 indicated that from 1965 until 1996, that the beginning of income distribution tended to be better, but worse then.

Gini coefficient which is previously moves down, then go up again showing that the hypothetical “up side down U” Kuznets is not in effect. If those numbers are made in a curve, the result will be curve “V and U” or opposite hypothetical Kuznets.

TABLE 3. Indonesia Gini Coefficient 1965-1996

Year	Gini
1970	0.35
1975	0.33
1978	0.38
1980	0.34
1981	0.33
1984	0.32
1987	0.32
1990	0.32
1993	0.34
1996	0.36

Source: Indonesia Statistics

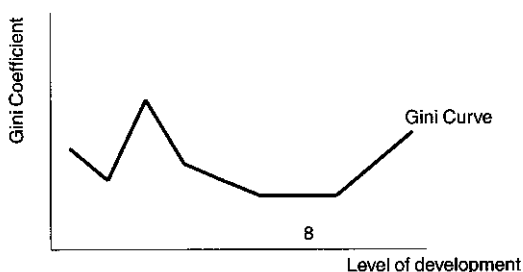


FIGURE 3. Indonesia Gini Curve

By using World Bank’s approach found that the rate of income distribution inequality classified in low inequality in Indonesia. Therefore, government always believes that Indonesia, the problem is not carried out, so the government doesn’t regard the problem of income distribution

inequality become a source of the state stability and the social jealous in Indonesia.

Eventhough, as showed clearly on Table 4 that the pattern of the low inequality empirical shows a bad phenomenon. Based on a number on the Table 4 can be concluded that the case in Indonesia shows a distorted situation from the World Bank's theory or Ahluwalia's reference with the portion of income which is received by 40% low income citizens and 20% high income citizens. It seems that the analysis of Ahluwalia is not completely in effect in Indonesia. The percentage of income which is accepted by 40% low income citizens, of course tend to go down than go up again. But the percentage of income which is accepted by 20% high income citizens, after rise up, then rise down, and in fact it returns to rise up, so its curve can be seen in Figure 4.

TABLE 4. Distributon of income by group 1969-1970

Year	Distribution of Income by Group		
	40% Low	40% Middle	20% High
1969	20,65	38,70	40,65
1978	18,13	36,53	45,34
1980	19,55	38,28	42,27
1984	20,75	37,28	41,97
1987	20,87	37,48	41,65
1990	21,31	36,75	41,94
1993	20,34	36,90	42,76
1996	20,25	35,05	44,70

Source: Indonesia Statistics

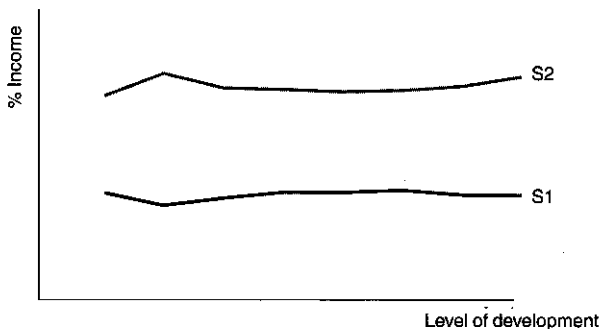


FIGURE 4. Distributon of income by group

By using Kuznets method, World Bank and Ahluwalia are found that is the income distribution in a long term is not consistent in Indonesia. The share of income which is accepted by high income citizens, certainly become bigger. While the rise of portion which is received by low income citizens is not going on consistently. Then, the portion or the share for medium income citizens extremely seems to be decrease.

Data which is analyzed base on user data or consumption. Therefore, in a daily life appear the difference in a consumption pattern as a sensitive factor on the social jealous problem. That's why, seen through the relative inequality factor, the national stability also become very sensitive because the problem of income distribution inequality.

In relation to that case, generally, in the beginning of the reformation and the decline of New Order regime, a number of riots happened in the towns. Concern with this aspect, the inequality of income distribution has affects on the riots or the disturbance of the state stability. Need to be recorded that the pattern which is described above, it appears that the portion 40% for medium income citizens which decrease showing a sign of threat of social problem in the medium class, especially in the towns.

As it appears on the indicator of the growth of low income citizen sum and the changes of inequality pattern which is above explained, so it can be concluded that the economy matters as a trigger for happening a social riot.

ABSOLUTE INEQUALITY

Meanwhile, that can be seen absolutely how the comparison of income per capita for high income citizens, medium class, and lower class. For this thing, can be used formal data about population and Gross Domestic Product.

In Table 5, showed that in 1996 amount 80% or 158.72 million people of Indonesia accepting smaller income than income per capita, that is only US\$ 564.47 for 40% low income citizens, and US\$ 577.02 for 40% medium ones. It is in proportion to average national income percapita US\$ 1,115.00. While, average income is 20% more for high income class over gross national product, that is US\$ 2,492.03 amount.

The condition is getting worse again after monetary crisis when income per capita go down from US\$ 1,115 become US\$ 449.20. While, the sum of low income citizens return increase to be 39.1% or 79.3 million people. This means that it has been more than in 1970 which is only 55.4 million people.

TABLE 5. Income per capita by group 1996

Group	% PDB	Population (Million)	GDB (Million US\$)	Per Capita Income (US\$)
20% High	44,70	39,68	98.883,55	2.492.03
40% Midle	35,05	79,36	77.536,21	977,02
40% Low	20,25	79,36	44.796,24	564,47
National	100,00	198,40	221.216,00	1.115.00

Source: Indonesia Statistics

Same with another inequality as showed above, the absolute inequality between high class, low class, and this medium class. Strengthen a conclusion that the problem of income inequality as a very influential factor for creating social jealousy and further to be very potential to disturb the stability of the country.

CONCLUSION

This study shows that Gini coefficient 0.36 (close to zero) and 40% low income citizens accepting 20.05% from national income. Therefore, it can be concluded that the income distribution in Indonesia well-classified or include in low inequality category.

This study shows that the income distribution in Indonesia different from which is described by hypothetical Kuznets curve and a concave curve and a dome curve of Ahluwalia. But, in Indonesia is curve "V" and "U" and two curves.

The portion of national income which is accepted by high income group getting bigger. While, the portion which is received by low income ones do not improve consistently. Then, the portion that is gained by medium income class actually become smaller.

Meanwhile, the high economic growth has supported the increase of areal income per capita. But, the increase of income per capita based on the classification of society is not same. The increase of income 20% for high income citizens going on faster than 80% for low income citizens. Hence, the absolute inequality of income between 20% for high income citizens and 40% for low income citizens is very big (US\$ 2,452.03 and US\$ 567.47). Consequently, found the difference of contrastive consumption pattern as well. This condition indicates a worse situation, that is Gross Domestic Product which is accepted by 80% low income

citizens and medium income citizens tend to decrease, while the portion accepted by high income citizens actually increase.

In the context of socialized life harmony, the equality which is described above, that is obviously a source of social-jealous where anytime become a sensitive issue among the groups threatening the national stability. On the other word, because the unsatisfaction feeling and social jealous from the larger society groups seem to be cristalized, then the government is not capable to do any controlling.

According to that case, it can be concluded that the high economic growth and the good income distribution do not guarantee a social harmony yet. Therefore, if the income distribution is taken as a determining factor for the social stability, the inequality distribution problem may not inference with conventional methode only, as Gini's index and World Bank's criteria.

This tudy shows that many other indicators must be considered to understand income distribution situation in the developing country, like Indonesia. For instance, the sum of low income citizens, absolute inequality, consumption inequality, structural inequality, and ethnic inequality.

Without concerning these factors, which studies show that the income distribution inequality can't be guessed, that the country will not be stricken social riots dissaster.

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