

Decompartmental (1-15)

MOHAMMED, MARK, AND MARHAEN
The Roots of Indonesian Socialism

by Jeanne S. Wints, 1965, Praeger

Desa, traditional pol.org. in villages; (kiai, religious scholar or leader, village) Musjawarah, deliberations of villager mufakat, unanimous decision emerging from these deliberations. gotong royong, mutual assistance or responsibility (p.13) "Gotong royong was exploited with conspicuous success during the Indonesian Rev. for the repair of roads & the constructions of roads, bldgs. & irrigation systems." - close to 90% still live in rural communities.

Modernist Islamic movement developing in Cairo early 20th C. arising as reaction to Wes. penetration into Muslim lands' territories.

Anti-Chinese riots in 1911-12; 1st Indonesian party nationalistic, Serikat Islam had its origin in trade assoc. of Jav. batik merchants in 1913 to halt Ch. incursions. founding of PKI, May '20, by '23 had 50,000 members; attempted coup in '25; crushed. 1st Marxist party there in 1914, with founding of Indische Social Democratische Vereeniging, but its origins predate this. SDAP (Social-Democratische Arbeiderspartij) founded in Amsterdam in 1894 were for eventual self-rule of Indies. 1st Indies pol.org. was also 1st in Southeast Asia. Founders were Dutch socialists under leadership of H.J.P.M. SNEEVLIET, his key man of east'g. 1st CP there; he had been a leftwinger in SDAP - Tribune group which split off in 1909 to form SDP, forerunner of UPH. In '30's OPH changed name to CPN. Sneevliet in Indies was soon joined by members of suppressed National Indische Partij, some Surabians & Dutch & Indonesians; it was this group that developed into Perserikatan Komunis di Indonesia (PKI).

1st phrase of PKI (1920-23) when it was largest Marxist party in Indonesia. (Cf. Ruth T. McVey, "The D.V. of Indonesia CP & its rels with the SU & CPN," 1954, MIT) TAN MALAKA at 4th CI Congress, 1922.

2nd phase, 1928-35, p.89 "The Stalinist C-ists entered the rev. per. with certain 3rd phase (1935-45) decided disadvantages. From the days of the illegal PKI in 1935 they had played an able pol. game.... they had refrained from publicly espousing the Stalinist line during the era of the Nazi-Soviet pact. Disolution of CI in 1943 & the 'right' united front.... enabled C-ists in Indonesia to command a role in rev..." But C-ists in Holland denounced rev. as a "Japanese time-bomb" & labelled Sukarno and Hatta as "Fascist collaborators". Dutch govt. therefore flew them to the Indies, but, when there, they saw scope of rev. & switched. UP policy permitted them to reach positions of high

power within the Rep. govt., extending up to the post of Premier held by Amir Sjarifuddin (and explains) how coalition govt. used as prelude to the ~~MARSHAL SUPREMACY~~ SUPREMACY, 1948 (Cf. FRANK N. TRAGER, ED. MARXISM IN SEASIA: A STUDY OF 4 Countries, 1959.)

p.97 "Tan Malaka strongly opposed the Rep. govt.'s policy of negotiations with Dutch. formed new coalition known as the Persatuan Perjuangannya (P) or Fighting Front - ultimately led to his arrest, but his org. continued to grow because of extreme position against negotiation, leading to coup d'etat. 6/25 inc. kidnapping of Sjahrir & Tan Malaka's rearrest. Then est. new federation Gerakan Revolusi Rakyat (GRR) or People's Rev. Movement. Opposed Stalinist-oriented PDR. Fought bitterly against PKI-led troops at MADIUN. Sukarno-Hatta won fight against Dutch sovereignty est. 12/27/49.

In '59 Sukarno dissolved parliament, reinstated Const. of 1945, became Pres. - Commander-in-Chief - Great Leader of Rev. also serving as Chief Minister. (p.213) In fall of '64 Sukarno gave photo of PKI special post of Minister attached to the Presidium

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From: Mohammed, Marx & Marhaen

Disillusionment in 1928 CI change of line seen in disorg. of PKI.
P. 55. eclectic nature of soc. in Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI) best seen in
Sukarno's famous (1930) speech when on trial, "Indonesia Accuses!" contains one of
the 1st expositions of the doctrine of Marhaenism.

p. 57: kromo and marhaen originally
peasant, altho marhaen has come to mean
prol. as well. "Marhaen, according

to Ensiklopaedia Indonesia (3 vols. Bandung, W. Van Hoeve Ltd., 1954-56) is derived
from the name of a peasant in the Sunda region of Java."

SUKARNO! (the PNI) is a rev. nationalistic party and its mass-character. Its
kromo-ism, its marhaen-ism are not the result of any communistic
principles but exist because the Indonesian community makes it necessary for
the PNI to subscribe to such a marhaenism. It is a necessity, just as European
society makes it necessary for European socialists to adhere to proletarianism.
The Indonesian community is a kromo-istic community, a community which consists
of small peasants, small wage earners, small seamen, in short ... in all fields,
a kromo or a marhaen. A national bourgeoisie strong enough to take up arms
against imperialism does not exist as yet. The Indonesian movement must be
oriented toward the kromo, the marhaen. In their hands lies Indonesia's fate.

major underground movement at time of Japanese invasion was led by Amir Sjarifuddin
arrested 1943 & movement broken up by invaders. Next group sep up by Sjahrir (See
his Out of Exile) socialist, with peasant base in Java
2nd group related to it was University Students' Association, mostly from medical
school at Djakarta. 3rd group headed by Sukarno, Adam Malik who had been
pre-war leaders of the Tan Malaka-led org., Pari, who had est'd. schools for
training pol. leaders. Most important of these schools was
p. 76: ASRAMA INDONESIA MERDEKA (Student Quarters for a Free Indonesia), est'd.
in Djakarta (10/44) UNDER THE AEGIS OF ONE OF THE FIGURES OF THE
OCCUPATION PER., REAR ADMIRAL T. MAEDA, CHIEF OF JAP. NAVAL INTELLIGENCE
IN Indonesia. "Hatta & Sjahrir were invited to speak & there was
supposed to have been a close rel. bet. Maeda & Tan Malaka!"

Sukarno's 5 principles 1st enunciated on (5/1/45) nationalism, transcending
tribal & religious ties & based
Cf. BIRTH of PANTJA SILA : on "unity bet. men & place."

(2) internationalism, later translated as
humanitarianism: "Int-ism cannot

flower if it is not rooted in the soil of nationalism. Nat-ism cannot flower
if it does not grow within the garden of int.-ism."

(3) representative govt. (4) principle of
prosperity. (5) belief in one god.

Views of Hatta & the Sjahrir Socialists. (Cf. latter's Political Manifesto, 11.1/45)

Sukarno's Guided Democracy. p. 108. Indonesia's trade union is primarily political org.,
SOBSI, from start in '46 controlled by PKI. (1955) election results--PKI strongest
mass party. PNI won though & defined marhaenism as "social-national-democracy".
On 10.28/56 (Pres. Sukarno): "I propose that the leaders of the people confer &
decide TO BURY ALL PARTIES." (Antara Daily News Bull. 11/8/56)

Against free-fight liberalism (p. 168) & Nat. Planning BD 56)

"Guided dem. is a dem. to implement this blueprint and in implementing this blueprint
there should be guidance, the guidance of... really expert men. This is the essence
of guided dem."--12 points on guided dem., pp. 171-2. In mid-1960 as he installed
gotong-rojong, Sukarno declared: "Let us cling to our own characteristics, let
us cling to the only right standpoint for Guided Dem. name!"

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