

MOHAMMED, MARX, AND MARHAEN
The Roots of Indonesian Socialism

by Jeanne S. Mintz, 1965, Praeger

Desa, traditional pol.org. in villages ;(kiai ,religious scholar or leader,village)
Musjawarah, deliberations of villagers
mufakat,unanimous decision emerging from these deliberations.
gotong rojong, mutual assistance or responsibility (p.11:"Gotong rojongs was
exploited with conspicuous success during the Indonesian Rev..for the repair of
rrds.&the constructions of rds.,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 Moslem lands & societies.

Anti-Chinese riots in 1911-12;1st Indonesian/party .nationalistic,Sarekat Islam
had its origin in trade assoc. of Jav.batik merchants in 1912 to halt Ch.invasions.
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 Sociaal Democratische
Vereeniging, but its origins predate this—SDAP (Social-Democratische
Arbeiderspartij) founded in Amsterdam in 1894 were for eventual self-rule of Indies.
1st Indian pol.org. was also 1st in Southeast Asia.Founders were Dutch
socialists under leadership of H.J.W.M.SNEEVLIET, is key man of ext'g. CP there;
he had been a leftwinger in SDAP—Tribunist group which split off in 1923 to form
SDP,forerunner of GPH.In '30's GPH changed name to CPB). Sneevlit in Indies
was soon joined by members of suppressed Nationale Indische Partij, some Surinamese
&Dutch&Indonesians;it was this group that developed into Perserikatan Komunis
di Indonesia(PKI).

1st phase of PKI [1920-2] when it was largest Marxist party in Indonesia.(Cf. Ruth
T.McVey,"The D.v. of Indonesia CPIt's rels with the SU &CP,"1954,WIP)
TAN MALAKA at 4th CI Congress, 1922.

2nd phase, 1928-35, p.89 The Stalinist C-ists entered the rev.permitting 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...Dissolution
of CI in 1943 &the 'right' united front....enabled C-ists in Indonesia to
command a role in rev... But C-ists in ~~Indonesia~~ Holland denounced rev.as a
*****Japanese time-bomb***** &labelled Sukarno and Hatta as "Fascist collaborationists"
Dutch govt.therefore flew them to the Indies, but, when there, they ~~soon~~ escape
of rev.&switched. UF policy permitted them "to reac^t positions of the 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 ~~MAJU~~ ~~DEMOCRATISME~~, 1945
(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 Perserikatan Perjuangan (for Fighting Front—
ultimately led to his arrest, but his org.continued to grow because of extreme
position against negotiation, leading to coup d'estat 6/45 inc.ki mappia(?) of Sjahrir
&Tan Malaka's rearrest. Then est.new federation Gerakan Revolusi Rakjat (GR)
or People's Rev.Movement.Opposed Stalinist-oriented PDI.Fought bitterly ~~against~~
PKI-led troops at MADURE. Sukarno-Hatta won fight against Inter sovereignty est.12/27/

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

From: Mohammed, Marx & Marhaen

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Disillusionment in 1928 CI change of line seen in disorg. of PKI.
P.55. eclectic nature of soc. in Partai Nasional Indonesia (PKI) 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."

SUKARNOL" (the PKI) is a rev.nationalistic party abd 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 PKI 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 whidh 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 set 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 FEN., 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 6/1/45
Cf. BIRTH of PANTJA SILA :

(1) nationalism, transcending
tribal & religious ties & based
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 unio is primarily politica orgs.,
SOBSI, from start in '46 controlled by PKI. (1955) election results--PKI strongest
mass party--PKI won thought& 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) & re Nat.Planning BDG
"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.171-3. 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..namel:

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