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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.

*Indonesian
Socialist
Revolutionary
Party*

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 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)

*State
4/6*

Sukarno's Guided Democracy. p. 108. Indonesia's trade union is primarily political orgs., 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/

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. 171-3. 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. name!"

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