

ALIRANS AND THE FALL OF THE OLD ORDER*

Donald Hindley

The Indonesian nationalist struggle produced neither a single nor a dominant political party. Rather, before the declaration of independence in August 1945, during the physical revolution against the Dutch which terminated in December 1949, and in the subsequent years, the nationalist movement has been fragmented into a diversity of political groupings. Even today, after many small parties have disappeared, there remain ten legally active parties; an eleventh, the PKI (Partai Komunis Indonesia), is striving to put together an underground apparatus from the ruins of 1965. As each party is the center of a network of mass organizations, the peasants, youth, women, students and workers are also organizationally fragmented.

The multiplicity of political parties is rooted in the division of Indonesian society into several distinct and self-conscious socio-cultural groupings, or *alirans*,¹ whose distribution has changed little since 1945. The broad outlines of the aliran pattern become apparent through an examination of two fundamental cleavages that cut across society: one religious, the other between holders of traditional and modernist world views.

Although approximately 90 per cent of Indonesia's 110 million people are classified as Moslem, Islamization was experienced with varying degrees of intensity. As a result of this and not of recent secularization, only some 40 to 45 per cent of the population are devout Moslems in the political sense that they express themselves through and give their loyalty to specifically Moslem organizations.² In Java, these *santris*

* An abbreviated version of this paper entitled, "Dilemmas of Consensus and Division: Indonesia's Search for a Political Format," appeared in Government and Opposition, 4, 1 (Winter 1969).

1. On the alirans in Javanese society, see Clifford Geertz, The Social Context of Economic Change: An Indonesian Case Study (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T., 1956), passim; and Geertz, The Religion of Java (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960), passim.
2. In Indonesia's only parliamentary elections, held in September 1955, the Moslem parties received 43.5 per cent of the vote. Herbert Feith, The Indonesian Elections of 1955 (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1957), pp. 58-59.

often live in separate residential locations, clustered around a mosque or prayer house, and are readily distinguishable from the rest of the population by their dress, music, and ritual observances. The strong consciousness of group identity is usually retained even when a santri receives a high level of Western-style education and enters a modern profession.

The non-santri Moslems may be religiously devout, non-religious, or tied to pre-Islamic religious observances, but all are opposed to Moslem-inspired organizations. Many non-santris not only oppose but greatly fear Moslem political domination. While they may detest what they perceive to be santri self-righteousness and hypocritical puritanism, they believe that politically victorious santris would extirpate from Indonesian culture non- and pre-Islamic elements that they hold precious. This non-santri fear of santri power has been a dominant theme in Indonesian politics. About 10 million Indonesians are Christian, either Protestant or Roman Catholic.

If the traditionalist-modernist cleavage is added to the religious, then the socio-cultural bases of Indonesia's major political divisions are made clear. This is not the place to attempt an exhaustive definition of "traditional man" and "modern man," but they differ in two basic respects: attitudes to authority, and attitudes to societal change. Traditional man obeys and defers to persons of established authority (familial, religious, or political), and the younger subordinates himself to the accepted wisdom of his elders. Society is accepted as given, as pre-ordained, and change is perceived as harmful or threatening. Suspiciousness, hostile rejection, and anxiety are the typical reactions toward "Western" cultural imports, whether they be music, cinema, dress, new styles of relationships between the sexes or age groups, or "scientific" and "rational" approaches to problem-solving. Modern man, by contrast, exhibits a questioning of society as presently constituted, a dissatisfaction with some of its parts, a reliance upon "rational" and "scientific" solutions to what are now regarded as "problems," a readiness to sample and adopt some of the Western culture imports. He is capable of questioning and rejecting traditional values and behavior patterns when these do not meet his needs. And as Indonesia's Islamization proceeded unevenly, so has the modernization of its people.

The (politically) devout Moslems, or santris, are split between reformist (modernist) and orthodox (traditionalist) alirans. The Masjumi party, with its related mass organizations, largely represents the former, the Nahdatul Ulama (NU) the latter. Masjumi, banned in 1960 and resurrected in 1968 as the Partai Muslimin Indonesia, while heterogeneous in composition, is based more on the cash-crop, trading, manufacturing, urban and Western-educated sectors of the Moslem community, with the greatest concentration of support in Sunda (West Java) and the Moslem regions of the Outer Islands, especially Sumatra; it is

relatively democratically oriented in its internal operations, and more open to an acceptance and assimilation of elements of Western culture. The NU is more authoritarian, based on the villages of East Java, and suspicious of modernization. Further, much ill-will attended the breakaway of the NU from Masjumi in 1952,³ and subsequent political events did little to reduce the mutual dislike.

The approximately one-half of Indonesians who are neither political santris nor political Christians are divided between traditionalist and modernist alirans. The Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI) is identified with the traditionalist aliran. Much of its leadership emerged from the aristocratic-bureaucratic stratum of Central and East Javanese society. Many PNI activists come from the bureaucracy, which retains much of the aristocratic-colonialist attitudes to societal change. The party's mass support has always come largely from the non-santri, ethnic Javanese peasants who continue to follow the political direction of their "betters," the village chiefs, government officials, and schoolteachers. But the PNI rests on more than this mainly Javanese, traditionalist base. Especially in the early 1960's, the PNI came to attract some non-santri Western-educated young men who wished to modernize society, including the PNI itself, but who could not see themselves joining the then-legal Communist Party.

Apart from the santris and the tradition-oriented non-santris, Indonesian society contains a sector that is both secular and modernist. But even this is broken into two alirans.⁴ The first consists of those with a relatively high level of Western-type education, a rare achievement in the newly independent Indonesia.⁵ Their education has lifted them, if they did not start there already, into positions of high status and good income and into the social elite of the major cities. They have tended to aggregate politically around the Partai Sosialis Indonesia (PSI, banned by Sukarno in 1960), with its developmental, pragmatic, rational and often elitist approach to problems of state and with a marked sympathy for Western states and

-
3. The largest organization in Masjumi is the Muhammadiyah, formed in 1912 as a reformist socio-religious association. The orthodox response was the Nahdatul Ulama, established in 1926. The Japanese brought the two organizations together as Masjumi, though each retained its separate identity.
 4. The PSI and PKI may well not be aliran-based groupings, but represent, at least at the cadre level, the emergence of political groupings based on social class.
 5. In the academic year 1938-9, only 204 Indonesians were graduated from highschool. George McT. Kahin, Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell, 1952), p. 32.

culture. The second, larger, secular and modernist aliran consists of those who have broken free from traditional society but whose lack of adequate educational qualifications has barred entry into high bureaucratic, professional or business positions. This aliran became largely identified with the Communist Party (PKI). The expansion of the PKI depended ultimately on the party's ability to undermine or capture for its own purposes the traditional values, attitudes and behavior patterns of the traditionalist lower classes. The santris proved resistant to this effort; whereas the PNI's mass support suffered serious erosion.

The Christian Indonesians come, in the main, from a few ethnic groups of the Outer Islands: the Toba Bataks of North Sumatra, the Dayaks of Kalimantan (Borneo), the Toradjas of central Sulawesi (Celebes), the Minahasans of northern Sulawesi, and the Florenese, Rotinese, Ambonese and Timorese of East Indonesia. Many of the Chinese ethnic minority have converted to Christianity, more often to Roman Catholicism. Through missionaries and mission schools, the Christian Indonesians have been acquainted with Western culture and are, on the whole, more "modern" and Westernized than their fellow countrymen. Politically, many have supported the two specifically Christian parties, the Partai Katolik and Parkindo (Indonesian Protestant Party), although some have joined other non-santri modernizing parties, such as the PKI and PSI.⁶

Diagram 1:⁷ Alirans and Party Identification

Religion	Traditionalist	Modernist
Santri	NU	Masjumi (PMI)
Christian		Parkindo Partai Katolik
Secular/Moslem Non-Santri	PNI	PKI PSI

6. In the 1955 elections, Parkindo and the Partai Katolik received 2.6 and 2.0 per cent respectively. Feith, Indonesian Elections, p. 58.

7. The diagram ignores the minor parties. It should be noted that the major cleavages weaken, rather than re-enforce, the intensity of ethnic-group loyalties. Thus Masjumi (modernist santri) unites many Outer Islanders, for example, Atjehnese, Mandailing Bataks, Minangkabaus and Makassarrese, with Javanese

Standing apart from the civilian, aliran-based political groupings are the Indonesian armed forces, of which the 300,000-man army⁸ is by far the most powerful. The officer corps of the army⁸ encompasses a broad ethnic and religious range, but it is extremely rare for a higher officer to have emerged from the lower classes or from either of the santri alirans. The higher officers in general have a comparatively high level of Western-type education, they enjoy high social status, and they live in an urban environment. Especially those living in or near the large, relatively cosmopolitan cities of Djakarta and Bandung therefore belong to the modernist, non-santri sector of society. At the same time, there is, particularly among ethnic Javanese officers close to traditional Javanese aristocratic culture, a traditionalist component with, as one of its more visible characteristics, a suspicion of and sometimes open hostility towards the penetration of Western culture.

Indonesian officers may feel an affinity with the civilian political party representing their respective aliran backgrounds, more usually the PSI or the PNI, but they have refused to subordinate themselves to party control. This is not only because of ordinary institutional loyalty to the army. Men and youths had joined the Republican army for political reasons, and the officers believe that the army, not the civilians, was largely instrumental in the defeat of the Dutch and the creation of an independent Indonesia. Nor was the officers' sense of apartness, superiority and political mission to be reduced by the behavior and "accomplishments" of the aliran-fragmented civilian parties in the period following the Dutch withdrawal.

urban santris and many Sundanese of West Java. The NU (traditionalist santri), while dominant among santri Madurese and East Javanese, is strong in South Kalimantan. The PNI (traditionalist non-santri), though heavily ethnic Javanese, receives significant support outside that base. The PKI, under its Sumatran chairman, D. N. Aidit (1951-1965), spread from the ethnic Javanese heartland to include non-traditional moderns across Indonesia. And each Christian party encompasses a wide ethnic range. The alirans, then, are cross-ethnic in nature, which helps account for the lack of strong separatist movements in Indonesia. It should also be noted that each aliran, with the exception of those centered politically on the PSI and PKI, encompasses a broad range of socio-economic classes.

8. So far the rank and file of the army has been politically quiescent. The officers strive to develop a traditionalist bapak (father) relationship with their men.

We have seen that Indonesia attained independence with a multiplicity of political parties and an army whose officers manifested a high élan and political interest as members of a successful nationalist organization. The santris could trace back their nationalist activism to the establishment of the Sarekat Islam in 1912; the PKI to 1920; the PNI to 1927. No major party was willing or able, because each was based on a self-conscious and distinct socio-cultural aliran, to merge its separate identity and interests into an all-embracing single organization. Even the Japanese-enforced temporary unity of the santri groups was sundered with the breakaway from Masjumi of the PSII in 1947, and the NU in 1952.

If the newly independent Republic lacked a dominant nationalist party, it was also wanting in a tested political system. The Dutch had denied Indonesians experience in top-level administration and in the processes by which national leadership and policies may be achieved through the aggregation and compromise of a diversity of group and individual interests.

Shortly after the declaration of independence, the Indonesian nationalists opted for a democratic (which meant, in the Indonesian context, multi-party) parliamentary system. This was formally instituted after the Dutch withdrawal in the 1950 Provisional Constitution with its figurehead President and cabinet responsible to a parliament composed of representatives of the political parties. Very few leaders, however, and, of course, none of the masses were especially committed to this system. For parliamentary democracy to have survived, it would have had to win and retain the voluntary allegiance of at least the more important political strata--and this would have occurred only if the democratic system's outputs were satisfactory to them. But such an accomplishment was highly improbable given a welter of adverse circumstances: society and the party system divided into several, in many ways irreconcilable, groupings; limited material resources available to the state;⁹ an at best semi-skilled, and soon over-staffed, bureaucracy; a new political system in which the "rules of the game" had still to be agreed upon; and powerful political elements constitutionally either outside the system (the army) or relegated to a minor role within it (President Sukarno).

9. At the time of the peace treaty with the Dutch, December 1949, Indonesia was not only a poor country, but was saddled with nearly \$1.13 billions in debts to the Netherlands. Furthermore, almost all large plantation, commercial and industrial enterprises were in the hands of either aliens or citizens of Chinese descent. The political system, was, therefore, subject to great pressure from those Indonesians seeking material, status or power advancement.

Parliamentary democracy did not survive. It degenerated into a succession of immobilist, multi-party coalition governments, characterized by feuding within and between the coalition parties and increasing bitterness between the in-parties and the out. The composition of the coalition governments changed, but a pattern of party alignment was already evident by 1954: the modernist Masjumi and PSI on one side, the PNI and NU on the other. While many factors helped produce this alignment, the most fundamental hostility and competition were those between the PNI and Masjumi, largely motored by the former's aliran fear of the largest, most dynamic of the santri parties.¹⁰ This overriding preoccupation of PNI leaders, shared by President Sukarno, facilitated the latter's efforts to gain a dominant, albeit indirect, role in the PNI. This preoccupation also opened the way for what became during 1954 a *de facto* alliance between the PNI and the communists.¹¹

General elections, held at last in September 1955, could not infuse either national unity or national purpose into the parliamentary system. The election campaign produced fresh crescendos of obloquy in the struggle between the opposing parties. The balloting reduced the number of parties represented in parliament, but as the bulk of the voting proceeded in accordance with aliran identity, four parties received roughly

-
10. It may appear at first sight incongruous that on each side of the alignment a santri party was allied with a secular party. The PNI and NU collaborated because it was mutually beneficial to do so. It served the PNI to foster non-Masjumi santri parties in order to undercut the strength of Masjumi, and to exclude Masjumi from the authority and patronage accruing to government position. Coalition with the NU also muted the Masjumi's outcry that the government excluded Moslems. The NU leaders, embittered from their experience while within Masjumi, gained control of government patronage, especially the Ministry of Religious Affairs. In authoritarian command of their own party, they could easily silence any pleas for united santri political action. The leaders of the PSI and Masjumi, as pragmatic modernists, shared a similar outlook on questions of government policy. It may be significant that their chairmen, Sjahrir and Natsir respectively, were both Minangkabaus.
11. Sukarno was a founder of the original PNI in 1927, but organizationally unattached since his imprisonment by the Dutch in the early 1930's. On the PNI-PKI alliance, see Donald Hindley, The Communist Party of Indonesia, 1951-1963 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California, 1964), pp. 246-55.

equal votes and several others retained seats.¹² A post-election attempt to re-establish a working coalition between the PNI and Masjumi quickly collapsed. By the beginning of 1957, the multi-party system and aliran anxieties and hostilities held the cabinet as immobilist as ever, several regions in the Outer Islands had rejected Djakarta's authority, national prosperity promised through independence remained a mirage, and the Dutch gave no indication of relinquishing their hold on West Irian. The PKI was by now the largest party on Java, and expanding rapidly elsewhere.

At this juncture, many army officers, some of whom were perhaps influenced by PSI leaders,¹³ voiced strong disapproval of the existing political system. They charged that multi-party democracy exacerbated division within the country, provided the opportunity for the growth of the PKI, and tackled successfully neither economic problems nor the national claim to West Irian. In short, they argued, the party-based governments lacked authority and purpose, other than the enrichment of party leaders. The alternatives to the existing system were not given precise form, but demands were raised for the abolition of all parties and for firm, authoritative government.

Sukarno responded to this situation by the gradual formulation of the concept of Guided Democracy, formally initiated in July 1959 by the decreed restoration of the 1945 Constitution.¹⁴ From the start, Guided Democracy was an arrangement of convenience. The officer corps, in command of the most powerful organization in the country, wanted strong government in which the army would play a major role. But while the officer corps could unite to defend its institutional interests, it was too

-
12. The four main parties received 22.3 (PNI), 20.9 (Masjumi), 18.4 (NU), and 16.4 (PKI) per cent respectively; 24 other political groups received at least one seat under the system of proportional representation.
 13. The PSI, while heavy in highly educated supporters, proved light in popular appeal. In the 1955 election, the PSI won only 2.0 per cent of the vote.
 14. The 1945 Constitution will be described in greater detail below. It provides for a powerful presidency, and had been shelved shortly after the initial writing. Sukarno acted outside the provisions of the 1950 Provisional Constitution in decreeing the reintroduction of the earlier constitution. The opportunity to do so arose with a deadlock in the Constituent Assembly, elected in December 1955, between, significantly, the santri parties and the rest. On Guided Democracy, and the circumstances of its formulation, see Herbert Feith, "Dynamics of Guided Democracy," in Ruth T. McVey, ed., Indonesia (New Haven: HRAF, 1963).

deeply fragmented to consider an attempt to rule alone. Sukarno, the most powerful individual in Indonesia and hungry to extend that power, was eager to restore a strong executive, but could not countenance a simple Sukarno-army government. That would have raised the danger of his becoming his partner's captive. The parties were relieved.

Guided Democracy was at root a competitive alliance between Sukarno and the army leadership. For both partners, there remained the question of what to do with the political parties. Sukarno might have preferred to create a monolithic state party controlled by himself, but this proved impracticable. Because he needed parties both to counterbalance the army and, through parliament and the MPRS (Provisional People's Consultative Congress),¹⁵ to legitimize his rule, he was compelled to accept the aliran-based parties' insistence on retaining their separate identities. He therefore blocked the desire of army officers to ban all parties, and in 1960, his opposition frustrated army attempts to merge all trade unions and youth organizations, most of which were affiliated to the parties, into single, army-controlled bodies. Sukarno's approach to the parties was a mixture of coercion and persuasion. Although his dissolution of most minor parties received the approbation of the army and the major parties, in September 1960, he banned Masjumi and the PSI for refusing to render him unquestioning support. The survival of a party became dependent upon its public support for government policies, including public adherence to the principle of Nasakom (nationalist-religious-communist) unity for the completion of the Revolution. In this way, the political divisions within the civilian population were either formally removed, or papered over. At the same time, Sukarno provided the leaders of amenable parties with certain rewards: within the limits of open avowal of support for the government, their parties were allowed to continue their activities; they themselves were granted, if not power, wealth, honors and positions of high status (as within the newly appointed legislative bodies). The PKI, now with the added advantage of presidential favor, continued both to grow and to educate its cadres. As the largest, best organized and most anti-Western of the parties, it enjoyed the least unequal relationship with the President.

If Guided Democracy was an arrangement of convenience, resulting from the inability of any one political force to eliminate the others, it was also, from the start, necessarily temporary in nature. The system was a juggling act dependent upon the skill of Sukarno in manipulating the fragmented political forces around him. But the juggler was mortal, the archi-

15. Under the 1945 Constitution, the MPR(S) is "the highest authority of the State," which determines the broad lines of national policy and elects the President who is responsible to it.

fect of no dominant political organization that could survive his own removal from the political stage. Further, he was manipulating strongly antagonistic institutions and alirans. The enforced reiteration of national and Nasakom unity only masked mutual hostility, while both the army leaders and the communists believed that eventually one of them must eliminate the other. Guided Democracy also pretended that the modernist santri sector, large in numbers, and the PSI-oriented intellectuals did not exist.

The six years of Guided Democracy did nothing to reduce the system's inherent contradictions. The santris were resentful of their exclusion from the center of power, a resentment unalleviated by the status and wealth of a few NU leaders and Sukarno's promise of the largest mosque in Southeast Asia. The continued growth of the PKI, in part due to Sukarno's obvious favor, only served to increase the hostility and fear of the santris and officer corps. But why were the santris and officers so bitterly hostile to the PKI? The PKI had wooed the NU as an ally since 1954 and stressed that while the party itself could not espouse a religion, its members certainly could. Communists had assisted the army central command in the suppression of the PRRI-Permesta rebellion of 1958-1961 and, in recent years, had expressed adherence to the unity of the People and the Armed Forces in the defense and promotion of the Revolution. One source of undying hatred was the abortive communist rebellion in September 1948. Communists and santris had butchered one another at that time, while the officer corps as a whole viewed the rebellion as an act of treason perpetrated while the young Republic was at war with the Dutch. Both santris and officers saw, in a PKI victory, their own political downfall and probably the physical liquidation of many of their leaders. Moreover, by 1965, the PKI was launching attacks against the "bureaucratic capitalist" officers in charge of Dutch enterprises seized in December 1957, and against the "feudal" santri landlords.¹⁶ In short, then, the santri and army leaders were under no illusion regarding the PKI's goal of total power. No communist strategy or tactic, no public affirmation of Nasakom unity, could erase this awareness--an awareness shared by most other non-communist leaders, including those of the PNI. The PKI was unquestionably, whatever its professed appearance, the party of the non-santri, less privileged sector of society, seeking the complete re-ordering of the political and socio-economic systems.

16. In Java, there are few large landlords, but especially in East Java, the relatively large landholdings are often owned by kijais, or Moslem religious scholars. The PKI campaign of 1964 and 1965 against "feudal" landlords was not aimed against santris as such, but the santri community was fully aware that the kiajis were in fact under attack from outside the community.

Indonesia's surface political calm was shattered in the early hours of October 1, 1965 with the murder in Djakarta of six generals of the army central command. Commander-in-Chief Lt. General Achmad Yani was among those killed. The so-called September 30 Movement was under way. A definitive analysis of this movement may never be written: all its leading actors have been either murdered without trial or brought to trial after months in military prison. My own tentative reconstruction follows.

As of the middle of 1965, the PKI leaders knew that despite universal protestation of fidelity to Nasakom unity, their enemies were still numerous and powerful: the bulk of the officer corps, the santris, most of the better-educated classes, most bureaucrats, and even a majority of the PNI. They also knew that the party's three million members and, even more, the fifteen million or so members of its ancillary mass organizations, were unprepared organizationally, materially, and psychologically for civil war. The party had won substantial support among the lower classes of the traditionalist non-santri aliran in legal competition and with, for some years, the President's assistance. But it had failed to instill class militancy and rejection of established authority in more than a small number. On the other hand, the communist leadership looked forward to several more years of Sukarno as a benevolent president, and therefore the opportunity to work to avoid a clash with the army or, if one were to prove unavoidable, to prepare the party better for that eventuality. The party could continue its efforts to infiltrate the armed forces, build its organization so as to overawe the wavering, consolidate its position as heir-apparent in order to win over the opportunists and loyal Sukarnoists, demonstrate its concern with and competence to solve the manifest problems of the state, prepare its cadres in skills necessary for governing, and heighten the class consciousness (and, hopefully, militancy) of both its cadres and mass following. In addition, President Sukarno, First Deputy Prime Minister Subandrio, and air force chief Omar Dani had consented to the creation of a civilian "Fifth Armed Force" (alongside the army, navy, air force and police) which many feared would consist largely of communists and communist sympathizers.¹⁸

17. A large part of the information used in this reconstruction was obtained from unpublished trial and interrogation records made available to the author by lawyer-officers of the army. For a detailed recounting of the events, written under army auspices, see Nugroho Notosusanto and Ismail Saleh, The Coup Attempt of the "September 30 Movement" in Indonesia (Djakarta, mimeo., 1967). It should be noted that many of those brought to trial were subjected to prior torture.

18. Omar Dani had been sent to China by Sukarno in mid-September 1965. Part of his mission was to arrange the delivery of

Then, in August 1965, Subandrio urgently recalled PKI chairman D. N. Aidit from a visit to China. The President's health had deteriorated, it was feared, drastically. Aidit brought with him a team of Chinese doctors and was soon informed that, given the President's life style, Sukarno faced imminent death or paralysis. Immediate and drastic action was required. Aidit had to assume that if Sukarno was removed from effective leadership, then the army generals would at once launch an attack against the unprepared party. The September 30 Movement was conceived to avert this threat.

Most, if not all, parties had been probing for a long time the political sympathies and susceptibilities of officers in the armed forces. By the end of 1964, at the latest, the communist efforts in this direction had been coordinated within a secret Special Bureau responsible directly to Aidit. The Bureau had discovered within the air force strong resentment against the army's military and political preponderance; within the army a small number of officers were deeply disgruntled. The causes of this army disaffection are not known with certainty. It may be significant that almost all the disaffected officers were ethnic Javanese; they may have resented the cosmopolitan, Westernized, and often corrupt way of life of many of the Djakarta generals. Most were middle and lower-middle level officers, who may have resented their relatively lowly position in the army hierarchy.¹⁹ In their trials, several intimated that they resented the generals' refusal to raise the level of military confrontation with Malaysia and its Commonwealth allies. And all who survived to stand trial claimed that they believed that a Generals' Council existed with plans to overthrow President Sukarno and re-establish a "non-revolutionary, pro-Western" regime.²⁰ In short, the

100,000 light weapons. At his trial in December 1966, he claimed that 25,000 of these were needed by the air force. It was widely presumed that the remainder were for the Fifth Armed Force. The Dani mission was kept secret from General Nasution, the Minister of Defense, and from the army leadership. During 1965, the air force had begun to give military training to youths largely recruited by and from the PKI mass organizations.

19. Almost all officers are of the same generation, having joined the armed forces as youths or young men during the Revolution. There is a close correlation between level in the army hierarchy and level of Western-type education. On October 1, Decision no. 2 of the Movement abolished all ranks above that of Lt. Colonel.
20. The rumor of such a Generals' Council had been spread by the PKI since early in 1965. Regardless of whether or not a Generals' Council existed, the rumor was useful to the PKI: it helped to create division within the officer corps, to increase Sukarno's suspicion of the generals' intentions,

Party's air force allies seem to have been motivated in part by inter-service rivalry, which Sukarno had fostered meticulously, while the army elements came largely from the non-traditional, non-santri, but relatively deprived sector of society which, in its civilian component, was the "natural" clientele of the PKI. Some of the participant officers may have been already voluntarily under party orders, but no irrefutable evidence of this has yet been presented.

It is not clear whether the Special Bureau brought together army and air force officers known by the party to be opposed to the Djakarta generals, or whether the officers had come together independently of party efforts. But it does seem certain that the Special Bureau (and, through the Bureau, Aidit) and the officers worked together to refine the plans for what became the September 30 Movement.

The plotters' choice of action was circumscribed by several important conditions. First, the party's mass support was unprepared for militant action. Second, the anti-communist forces, civilian and military alike, were still very strong. Third, the military forces available to the Movement were relatively few in number--in Djakarta, the Movement finally managed to mobilize about four battalions of troops and approximately 2,000 virtually untrained and unarmed members of the communist youth and women's organizations.²¹ Fourth, there was the danger that the plans would be exposed. And fifth, given the first three conditions, the success of the Movement ultimately depended on Sukarno's approval. The Movement leaders decided against informing the President in advance. They probably calculated that he might reject the whole idea, or decide to bring the offending officers to trial, thereby giving them time to reorganize their forces and expose the party's involvement. Also, Sukarno usually waited to see how a situation was developing before joining what eventually appeared to be the winning side. It was decided, then, to present him with a *fait accompli* which he was expected to endorse: as long as his own position was not seen to be threatened, he would be glad to be rid of those generals who opposed many of his policies, and who presented a power threat

and to prepare air force officers and others tied by loyalty or rewards to Sukarno for cooperation with the party. I view the rumor as, initially, a multi-faceted instrument, not as evidence that Aidit already contemplated the September 30 Movement as early as the beginning of 1965.

21. The use of the communist youths, who had received a smattering of military training from the air force, was apparently decided upon only when the plotters failed to win a larger number of troops to the movement.

to his pre-eminent position.²²

The September 30 Movement, as finally conceived, was not a coup to establish a communist government: the communist forces were too weak, their enemies too strong, and probably many of their military allies would not have condoned such a thing. In Djakarta, a small military force was to assassinate seven of the twelve-member, anti-communist army central command. Supporting military action was planned for several cities outside the capital, notably Medan, Semarang and Jogjakarta. Once the generals had been disposed of, Sukarno was to be asked to appoint a new army leadership chosen from persons more pliant to his wishes. A 45-member Revolutionary Council would be created as the temporary center of national authority, its members to include six military plotters, the commanders of the air force, navy, police and marines, eleven other military officers (including six generals), Subandrio, and prominent santris, secular nationalists and Christians. Only about five would be communists or known communist associates, none of them PKI leaders. Similar revolutionary councils would be established in the regions, while throughout the country, PKI cadres would mobilize the party's masses and Nasakom leaders for petitions, pronouncements and demonstrations in support of the stated goal of the "internal army affair": safeguarding the Revolution and its Great Leader. In short, the immediate danger to the PKI would be averted. The core of the anti-communist army leadership would be destroyed and replaced by one less independent of Sukarno and therefore committed to weeding out the remaining reactionaries. And the general tenor of political life would have shifted to the left--without provoking a massive anti-communist reaction.

Six of the seven target generals were killed on schedule; only General Nasution, Minister of Defense and Security, escaped. Leadership was seized of the Diponegoro (Central Java) Division and the Jogjakarta regional army command. The radio stations in Djakarta, Semarang, and Jogjakarta were occupied. The membership of the national Revolutionary Council was announced. And Sukarno gladly consented to appoint Maj. General Pranoto Rekso-samudro, the plotters' choice, as caretaker commander of the army. The President also ordered a halt to all operations for or against the Movement, promising his own determination of a settlement.

22. The army central command had opposed escalation of the confrontation with Malaysia, had opposed communist membership in the cabinet, and was generally lukewarm towards Sukarno's radical sloganeering and anti-Western vituperation. It has been suggested, first by Herbert Feith, that Sukarno wished the PKI and not the army to be his heir. The army leadership was, from his viewpoint, rightist. The PKI, on the other hand, would enshrine him as the Sun Yat-sen, rather than the Chiang Kai-shek, of his people.

But the Movement failed. It failed, in the first place, because Sukarno, in his cautiousness, refused to give forceful and public endorsement before he knew of the reaction of the rest of the army--and, presumably, before he was sure of the full intentions of the Movement's leaders. In the second place, it failed because, quite unexpectedly, Maj. General Suharto, the heretofore politically quiescent commander of KOSTRAD (Strategic Army Reserve, with headquarters in Djakarta), quietly disobeyed Sukarno's instructions for a halt to operations and assembled loyal troops who, by the morning of October 2, had overwhelmed the Movement's forces in the capital. The political antagonisms glossed over by Guided Democracy were now to explode to the surface.

Indonesian politics since the failure of the September 30 Movement have largely centered around three questions.²³ The first was the role to be permitted the PKI. This was answered by the banning of the party and its mass organizations on March 12, 1966, and by the July 5, 1966 prohibition on the dissemination or promotion of the ideology and teachings of Communism/Marxism-Leninism. The second question was the authority and power to be wielded by President Sukarno. On March 12, 1967, the MPRS removed Sukarno from the presidency and ordered him to cease all political activity. And with the elimination of the PKI and Sukarno, the third question was raised: what political system should replace Guided Democracy?

The desire to destroy the PKI was shared by the great majority of non-communists--whether military or civilian, Moslem or Christian, santri or secular nationalist--because the party's ultimate objective was seen to be a monopoly of power with an attendant radical re-ordering of society. But President Sukarno from the start strongly opposed action against the communists. He termed the September 30 Movement "a ripple in the ocean," a "normal thing" in a revolution, an internal army affair. He ordered a halt to anti-communist activity, threatening to ban any party whose leaders or members ignored his command. And, it must be remembered, as of October 1965, Sukarno occupied an awesome position at the pinnacle of several years of publicly unchallengeable political supremacy. Who, then, took the initiative in opposing his will? At the forefront of the campaign to destroy the PKI was an alliance of three distinct groups: the army leadership, a coalition of several political parties, and KAMI (Indonesian University Students' Action Front), a new

23. Much of the information contained in the remainder of this essay was derived from interviews held in Indonesia from May through December 1967; the informants must remain anonymous. The research was made possible by financial assistance from the Rockefeller Foundation.

university student organization. Only when it was amply clear that Sukarno could be safely defied on this issue did other individuals and groups join in the destruction.

Maj. General Suharto, by his initiative in rallying the forces that destroyed the September 30 Movement in Djakarta, was catapulted into leadership of the entire army--formalized on October 15, 1965 when Sukarno was compelled, by army insistence, to appoint Suharto as army commander-in-chief in place of Maj. General Pranoto selected on October 1. As army commander, Suharto took immediate action both to consolidate his control of the army and to eradicate the PKI. On October 1, officers holding five of the eleven senior positions in the army central command had been murdered. By the end of November, Suharto held the highest position, nine others were held by men politically loyal to him,²⁴ thereby giving the army command greater political cohesion than at any previous time. Outside Djakarta, the political loyalties of two regional army commands were suspect on the communist question: on October 29, the commander of North Sumatra was replaced, and in mid-October a purge was begun of the Diponegoro (Central Java) Division.²⁵ The purge of the air force began after the removal, on November 24, of Omar Dani, who had collaborated with the September 30 Movement.

While consolidating his control of the army, Suharto set in motion the destruction of the PKI. In mid-October, units of the RPKAD (Army Para-Commando Regiment), the crack army regiment, were sent into Central Java. There they re-asserted Djakarta's control over the pro-Movement elements of the Diponegoro Division and found that the PKI leaders were unwilling or unable to organize an effective self-defense, let alone aggressive action.²⁶ With order re-established, the RPKAD initiated the

24. Nine of the eleven were new to their positions, including Suharto and eight he appointed. Of the two who were retained from before October 1, one, Alamsjah, remains today Suharto's closest political confidant; the other, Mursjid, a Sukarno loyalist, was removed in May 1966. General Nasution remained Minister of Defense and Security.

25. A well-placed informant said that 430 Diponegoro officers were eventually purged. Official army statements placed the total number of all men purged from the Diponegoro as 1,000.

26. Aidit fled from Djakarta to Central Java early on October 2, 1965. It is not clear what he did there after the first few days, but it appears that he made no effort to organize armed self-defense until after the arrival of the RPKAD. He probably advised the cadres to take no provocative action, rather to rely on President Sukarno to find a way to protect the party from its enemies. Aidit was captured near Surakarta on November 22 and shot the next day.

wholesale arrest, and often murder, of communist cadres. But even before the RPKAD was sent into Central Java, the information section of the army central command was informing the officer corps of the communist character of the September 30 Movement and of atrocities allegedly perpetrated by the communists against their military victims. Communist and pro-communist newspapers were closed, a mounting anti-communist hysteria was energetically fanned. Once the central command's general attitude to the PKI was known, several army regional commanders took their own initiative to apprehend and butcher PKI members and sympathizers. A wave of blood swept from Atjeh and North Sumatra across Central and East Java to Bali. In all, perhaps 250,000 persons were killed, an equal number herded into prisons and hastily constructed concentration camps.²⁷

Everywhere the authorities received broad assistance in seeking out the communists. Their most assiduous assistants were, however, the santri youths who brought to their work the enthusiasm of a holy war. As for the mass killings, these seem to have occurred only where the local army commanders or the RPKAD gave active encouragement.²⁸ In this enterprise, too, the santri youths were the chief civilian participants, whether those in Atjeh, affiliated with the Masjumi before its Sukarno-enforced dissolution in 1960, or those in East and Central Java, mostly from ANSOR, the NU's youth organization.²⁹ The apprehension of the communists was facilitated by three circumstances: first, the PKI had been a legal, above-ground organization for over thirteen years, its cadres and members openly active and living among non-communists; second, the party had made no preparations for going underground--the necessary haste and secrecy with which the September 30 Movement was formulated gave no time

27. Informed foreign observers have estimated the number of dead as high as one million.

28. I have seen no evidence that Suharto ordered the killings, but he took no action to stop them. General Nasution certainly gave thinly veiled exhortations for bloody action--perhaps spurred by the death of a daughter at the hands of the killer squad that attacked his house. The mass killings were, however, confined to a relatively few districts--Atjeh, parts of North Sumatra, parts of Central and East Java, and Bali--in all of which the local commanders or the RPKAD promoted or facilitated them. Where such army stimulus was withheld, as in the case of the strongly anti-communist Siliwangi (West Java) Division or the Djakarta command, mass killings did not occur.

29. Parts of North Sumatra where killings occurred are Protestant; Bali is, of course, Bali-Hindu. I have found as yet no satisfactory explanation of the ferocity exhibited in these two areas.

for this; and third, the party leadership decided to attempt to ride out the storm as innocent victims of calumny, hoping for Sukarno to save them, and waiting until too late to order the cadres underground.³⁰

October 1 was an even more confusing day for the civilians of Djakarta than for the officers not involved in the totally unexpected September 30 Movement. Neither the radio announcements nor the unintelligible troop movements gave any indication of the broader political intentions or support of those who had taken action against several generals. In these circumstances, many political leaders wisely left town or went into hiding or refused to answer callers. Then, for several days after the murders, when the power of Sukarno and the as-yet unbroken PKI still loomed extremely large, it was known that the one had not condemned the Movement while the other had publicly tendered its support.³¹ And yet, while the situation was still in doubt, a few civilians did take action to use the September 30 Movement as the excuse for a public attack on the Communist Party.

By the evening of October 1, several Moslems had met and agreed to form a Moslem Action Command Against Communism. These initial, and very few, activists were members of HMI (Moslem University Students' Association), PII (Moslem Highschool Students), Gasbiindo (Indonesian Moslem Trade Union Association), and the Muhammadiyah, all of them organizations formerly affiliated with Masjumi. The only party notable willing to be involved on that first day was Subchan, a vice-chairman of the NU and, in many ways, atypical of his party's leadership.³² That evening

-
30. The unpreparedness of the PKI for underground existence is illustrated by the fate of its nine-member Politbureau. On October 1, 1965, one member was in Peking, where he still resides; three were killed and one arrested by December 1965; one was killed and two arrested during 1966; and the remaining survivor in Indonesia was killed in July 1968.
31. For the statements issued on October 1 and in the days immediately following by the Movement, President Sukarno, the army leadership, the air force commander, and six of the political parties, see Indonesia, no. 1 (April 1966), pp. 131-204.
32. Subchan was in his thirties, a successful businessman, fluent in English, from a santri family of Central Java. Although he had not attended a university, he had taught business administration, briefly, at college in the United States. He was already "notorious" for an NU leader: his friendships, political and otherwise, extended far beyond the closed NU family to include military men, Chinese Catholics (of Indonesian citizenship), and Westerners; he was known to enjoy elements of Western non-santri culture. Prior to October 1,

the group made contact with the army leadership, in the person of Djakarta commander Maj. General Umar Wirahadikusumah, which agreed to give them a few weapons. More importantly, Umar approved the formation of KAP-Gestapu (Action Front for the Crushing of Gestapu, Gestapu being an abbreviation of the Indonesian for September 30 Movement). The plans for the more narrowly based, specifically Moslem Action Command were quietly dropped. Already, then, the army leadership had proffered its encouragement and, as yet less clearly apparent, protection for those who would spearhead a civilian campaign against the PKI.

On October 4, 1965, KAP-Gestapu held its first public rally. A few hundred attended. The rally endorsed a statement urging Sukarno to ban the PKI and its mass organizations, close all newspapers that had expressed support for Gestapu, and effect a purge, from the cabinet downwards, of all who had supported, assisted or sympathized with Gestapu. The statement was signed by persons claiming to represent twenty-five organizations: twenty-three of them were santri, mostly of former Masjumi affiliation; only two were non-santri, the Front Katolik (the body which brought together the Partai Katolik and its ancillary organizations) and IPKI (a small, secular political party with army connections). On October 5, the NU finally called for the dissolution of the PKI and its mass organizations; at about the same time, the NU leadership unofficially encouraged its East Java adherents to physically eradicate the communists. A second KAP-Gestapu rally, held on October 8, gathered a crowd of several thousands. By this date the Protestants had joined. After the rally, the PKI central headquarters was sacked, with the assistance of a passing army patrol. On October 21, a KAP-Gestapu statement reiterating the demands of October 4 was signed by Subchan as chairman, Harry Tjan (an ethnic Chinese and secretary-general of the Partai Katolik) as secretary-general, and all political parties except the PKI and PNI-Ali.³³

In short, KAP-Gestapu was the initiative of Subchan, students and youth of santri organizations, and Catholics, with the blessing of the army central leadership. Only when it became clear that army benevolence had been extended, that Sukarno's will was being flouted in the issue, and that the crushing of the PKI had begun with little if any resistance, did all parties

he had assisted HMI against violent PKI demands for its dissolution. He is, in short, a modernist belonging to a basically authoritarian and traditionalist party.

33. In August 1965, several PNI leaders had been expelled, on Sukarno's insistence, as rightists. On October 5, they formed what became known as the PNI-Osa, after its chairman Osa Maliki. The main PNI, which retained the loyalty of the overwhelming majority of the PNI, became known as PNI-Ali, after chairman Ali Sastroamidjojo. The PNI-Osa participated in the KAP-Gestapu.

join, except for the PNI-Ali. Parkindo, the Protestant Party, remained lukewarm to KAP-Gestapu for two reasons: first, its leader, Johannes Leimena, was a Deputy Prime Minister beholden to Sukarno; second, from the start the Protestants feared that the Moslems would somehow seize the opportunity of an anti-communist campaign to gain political ascendancy. The PNI-Ali, while privately pleased to see the PKI destroyed, was unwilling to lose Sukarno's favor by openly opposing his continued defense of the Nasakom principle.³⁴

Besides KAP-Gestapu, KAMI was the other major civilian organization to press the attack on the PKI in defiance of Sukarno's expressed wishes. KAMI was also formed with the army's blessing, on October 25, 1965, as an alliance of several student associations and individual students. Its strength was, and remains, concentrated in the two large, relatively cosmopolitan cities of Djakarta and Bandung, more specifically in three elite universities: the University of Indonesia in the capital, and the University of Padjadjaran and the Technical Institute in Bandung. Very few activists were non-santri ethnic Javanese although the students in Djakarta and Bandung came from all over Indonesia. The leadership came to consist of the santris in HMI and PMII (the small NU university students' association), the Roman Catholic students in their own association, PMKRI, and what I term, for convenience, PSI-type students. Many of this last group were independents, some were members of the IPKI student association, MAPANTJAS, and others of SOMAL, the federation of local university student associations. While all students in the elite universities have a relatively high level of Western-style education, by PSI-type, I mean those who are also secularized, highly Westernized, and often, as is generally the case with Indonesian university students, from urban families of reasonable means; that is, of the outlook and background associated far more with the PSI than with any other party.³⁵ As in the case of KAP-Gestapu, the PNI and Protestant student organizations gave at best lukewarm support to KAMI.

In short, the attack on the Communist Party was spearheaded by an alliance comprising the army officer corps, the santris, both modernist and traditionalist (the erstwhile Masjumi affiliates usually taking action ahead of the more cautious NU leadership since they had less to lose from Sukarno's wrath), the Christians, and what I have termed the PSI-type group. Many

34. Only on December 23, 1965 did the PNI-Ali publicly propose to the President that the Communist Party be banned. By which time the PKI was largely destroyed.

35. Several of the students included in the PSI-type category do come from PSI families. Most do not, and would resent my terminology.

Protestants and PNI supporters individually assisted in the eradication of the PKI, but their national organizations remained peripheral.

To destroy the PKI, or even to endorse its destruction, entailed a rejection of Sukarno's authority, at least on one important issue. But the active anti-communists were careful to render all public deference to the President, to call themselves progressive revolutionaries, and to give noisy adherence to all of Sukarno's policies and teachings other than Nasakom unity. Gestapu was condemned by them, if not by Sukarno, as a counter-revolutionary coup to overthrow the beloved President. It was possible that Sukarno could have retained most, if not all, of his authority, certainly his title, wealth and palaces, if only he had joined the condemnation of the communists. But he did not. It is difficult to explain this self-destructive stubbornness. Perhaps Sukarno was too old to adjust to a radically altered situation. Perhaps he had become dependent on the advice of the communist leaders. Perhaps he calculated that the PKI or a neo-PKI was essential if he was to prevent army dominance. Perhaps, too, the adulation and success of the preceding years led him to overestimate the power of his charisma and manipulative skills.³⁶ Whatever the reason, he condemned the mass killings, affirmed his belief in the party's innocence, praised the communists' nationalist and progressive record, and even gave one Politbureau member, Njoto, the protection of his palace.

In December 1965 and January 1966, battle lines were being drawn between Sukarno and those who wished to reduce his authority even further. Many KAP-Gestapu and KAMI leaders, despite their protestations of love for the Great Leader of the Revolution, were obviously eager to cut down his power. They came, after all, from PSI and santri, especially Masjumi backgrounds; a high proportion of them also came from the Outer Islands, from regions that had risen against Sukarno in the 1958 PRRI-Permesta rebellion. And suspicions as to his involvement in the September 30 Movement were aroused by his behavior on October 1, his continued defense of the PKI, and the results of interrogations of Gestapu prisoners. Which meant that by the end of 1965, KAP-Gestapu, KAMI and many army leaders were convinced that not only did Sukarno intend to retain his previous policies of militant anti-Western confrontation, with its attendant economic chaos, but that he had been genuinely, rather

36. Another explanation, supported by intensive research, asserts that Sukarno was genuinely committed to the Nasakom principle, with the implication that he held to it even when to do so spelled his political demise; Bernhard Dahm, Sukarno and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell, 1969), passim.

than tactically or opportunistically, attached to the Nasakom principle. A conviction was crystallizing that Sukarno had worked for an ultimate communist victory.

In January 1966, the civilian radicals were demanding a new cabinet, the dissolution of the PKI, and the cancellation of recent price increases. Specific non-communist ministers, including Subandrio, were under violent attack. Constant student demonstrations kept the capital in turmoil. At this point, Sukarno counterattacked the radicals and, indirectly, their army supporters. In so doing, he was no longer virtually alone, as he had been in his defense of the PKI.

Among civilians, Sukarno could rely on the support of the PNI-Ali, a few older NU leaders, and some Protestants. The PNI had become publicly committed to the President's vision of a continuous, statist, "romantic," and anti-Western revolution. More importantly, it viewed the reassertion of Sukarno's authority as the only defense against the resurgence of santri power and the expansion of army power. The PNI's leaders calculated further that their party's future influence and access to patronage depended upon gaining presidential favor, a task made easier by the elimination of the PKI, for the PNI was now the only major non-santri party. As we have seen, several Parkindo and NU leaders owed privileged positions to Sukarno, and remained loyal to him. Parkindo, as the PNI, also feared the santri element in the radical movement.

In the army, many officers still regarded Sukarno with awe and veneration as the father of the nation, Indonesia's first and only president; others owed their positions, or extra riches and favors, to his patronage; some were wedded to his policy of escalating confrontation; and an unknown number quietly hoped to occupy the positions of the Sukarno-defying officers above them. The two ethnic Javanese divisions, the Diponegoro (Central Java) and Brawidjaja (East Java), could be expected to be largely loyal: Sukarno, though part-Balinese by birth, was in many respects a modern Javanese sultan, while his opponents included many santris, Outer Islanders, and Siliwangi officers.³⁷ The navy, especially the KKO (Marine Corps), was generally loyal to Sukarno, if only because he had energetically fostered its growth as a counterweight to the army; most of the KKO, with its headquarters in Surabaya, were also ethnic Javanese. The air force, for similar inter-service reasons, was expected to be loyal. And of immediate availability to Sukarno was the intensely loyal Tjakrabirawa Regiment, the presidential guard.

37. The effectiveness of Diponegoro support was severely limited by the anti-Gestapu purge that was taking place. Further, Suharto is a Diponegoro officer and a former commander of the division.

The internal confrontation of forces occurred during the first ten weeks of 1966. Sukarno threatened "non-revolutionary" officers with dire punishment; instructed non-KAMI students and loyalist troops to use force against the student demonstrators; and called for the formation of a Sukarno Bloc that would include and control all political parties and mass organizations. In February, he banned KAMI and, on the 24th, announced a cabinet reshuffle. General Nasution was replaced as Minister of Defense and many who had cooperated with the PKI either appeared or reappeared. On March 10, he harangued the leaders of all parties into a condemnation of the continuing, massive student demonstrations. The next day, however, troops surrounded the Djakarta palace where a meeting of the cabinet was in progress. Sukarno left hurriedly by helicopter for the palace at Bogor, forty miles to the south and, in the afternoon, signed the March 11 Order. The order authorized General Suharto "to take any steps considered as necessary to ensure the security, calm and stability of the Government machinery and the process of the Revolution." Sukarno had concluded that he must retreat or else risk a civil war of uncertain outcome.

The civilian spearhead thrust against Sukarno's cabinet, its policies, and indirectly, but unmistakably, his authority, consisted of the students of Djakarta and Bandung organized in KAMI. By late 1965, university students had been joined by the highschoools. When KAMI came under strong attack from Sukarno forces, the highschool students established their own action front, KAPPI, which took command of the demonstrations after KAMI was banned. As with KAMI, the KAPPI leadership was derived from three groups: the santris, the Catholics, and those of the PSI type.³⁸ By far the largest and most active member organization was, and is, the Masjumi-oriented PII (Moslem Highschool Students).

With the *de facto* demise of the PKI, KAP-Gestapu lost its momentum, although occasional joint statements were still issued under the new name of Front Pantjasila. When Sukarno launched his attack on the radicals, most party leaders ran for cover, with rare exceptions such as Subchan of the NU and Harry Tjan of the Partai Katolik. The students were left almost totally

38. In July 1966, the KAPPI Presidium consisted of five members from santri associations, one Catholic, one from IPPI-Pantjasila (a secular, rump organization of highschoool students formed after the communists had captured control of the original IPPI), and one from the Association of Highschool Economics Students. KAPPI leaders said that the Catholics were far less active in KAPPI than in KAMI because the priests had greater control of the students at that level and generally shied away from political involvement.

isolated among civilians and would have succumbed rapidly before the sustained power of loyalist Sukarno armed forces or even of Sukarnoist civilians. They were saved by certain army elements in Djakarta and Bandung.

With few exceptions, the army officer corps had applauded the elimination of the PKI. On the question of Sukarno's political role, however, the army was divided, as we have seen. The vanguard of the efforts within the army first to reduce, then to eliminate, his power was taken by five distinct groups, all of them located in Djakarta and Bandung. The five groups were: the army central command, under General Suharto; the Siliwangi (West Java) Division; KOSTRAD (Strategic Army Reserve); the RPKAD; and a miscellany of officers gathered loosely around General Nasution. They represented the least provincial, most Western-educated, Westernized, cosmopolitan segment of the officer corps. Not surprisingly they drew many political and economic advisors from the PSI and others of a PSI-type background. While the five army groups disagreed on such questions as method and pace, they shared several reasons for wanting to control the President politically. First, they wished to free the army from what had been the constant intrigues and interference of Sukarno. Second, they wished to preserve, or expand, the increased political authority that the army had acquired since October 1. Third, they wanted no return to the Guided Democracy practice of universal grovelling before the President's every utterance. And fourth, they opposed major policies that Sukarno refused to discard. They not only rejected the President's continued defense of the PKI, his repeated and public adherence to Marxism, his embracing of Peking; they wished to end his economically disastrous obsession with anti-Western confrontation and prestige projects, to concentrate the government's efforts on a rationally conceived solution to the nation's abysmal economic condition. By March 1966, the leaders of these several military groups also feared that should Sukarno reassert his supremacy, then they as individuals would suffer his wrath for having so openly opposed his will on the communist question and for their support of the civilian radical groups.

Suharto, in control of the army central command, felt it necessary to restrict Sukarno's power for these reasons. Sukarno's continuing intransigence and plotting then forced him to the reluctant conclusion that the national welfare, as he perceived it, required the complete elimination of the President's power and prestige. His willingness and ability to take action towards that objective increased as he strengthened his control over the armed forces.

The Siliwangi Division is the elite division of Indonesia. Since its creation during the Revolution, the Siliwangi officer corps has been national in origin, rather than from one region,

as is the case of most other divisions,³⁹ and of a relatively high level of Western-style education. Because of these characteristics and perhaps, too, because the division is located near the capital,⁴⁰ the Siliwangi officer corps has always been unusually concerned with national politics. Meetings of present and past Siliwangi officers are held regularly to discuss the political situation, and Siliwangi officers posted outside the region return frequently to Bandung to discuss politics with the division's commanders.⁴¹ The Siliwangi officers exert a political influence far beyond their own region because they have been given command posts elsewhere:⁴² they are generally more highly educated and, after October 1, 1965, more reliable politically than officers from other divisions.

KOSTRAD commands the more elite, militarily prepared units of the separate regional divisions, as of late 1967 some 50,000 troops. From shortly after October 1, 1965, its commander has been Maj. General Kemal Idris of the Siliwangi Division, one of the handful of most active anti-Sukarnoists.⁴³ The only KOSTRAD

-
39. Among the politically prominent Siliwangi generals are: Nasution (Mandailing Batak), Dharsono (Javanese, raised in Sunda), Kemal Idris (Minangkabau), Ishak Djuarsa (Sundanese), Suwanto (Javanese), Umar Wirahadikusumah (Sundanese), Witono (Javanese Roman Catholic), and Amir Machmud (Sundanese).
40. Until 1960, Djakarta was within the West Java (Siliwangi) command.
41. Of course unanimity of political attitudes, objectives and tactics does not exist within the Siliwangi officer corps. There is, however, a high degree of commonality of political outlook. When Maj. General Ibrahim Adjie, commander of the Siliwangi, attempted to use the division to aid Sukarno in the March 1966 crisis, his orders were ignored and he immediately lost de facto command. The deputy commander, Maj. General Dharsono, whose strongly anti-Sukarno feelings were shared by the great majority of the division's officers, formally replaced him in July 1966.
42. Early in 1967, for example, the following commands were held by Siliwangi officers: KOSTRAD, the inter-regional commands of Sumatra, Kalimantan, and East Indonesia, and the regional commands of Atjeh, West Sumatra, South Sumatra, Djakarta, West Java, South and Southeast Sulawesi, and Maluku. Indonesia, no. 3 (April 1967), pp. 211-215.
43. Kemal is Minangkabau, born in Bali and raised in Djakarta. His father was a professor of veterinary science, and his wife is of Madurese stock. He participated in the abortive October 17, 1952 Affair in Djakarta. On the Affair, see Feith, The Decline of Constitutional Democracy, pp. 246-273.

unit not also included in the separate regional commands is the RPKAD, by far the most elite group in the Indonesian army. At the time of the September 30 Movement, it consisted of only four battalions, two of which were in Djakarta and constituted the main force which crushed the Gestapu there. The RPKAD was later used, as we have seen, to assert the control of the Suharto command over Central and East Java. By the end of 1967, the RPKAD consisted of the equivalent of twelve battalions. The commander of the RPKAD in October 1965 was a Javanese, Colonel Sarwo Edhie. Sarwo was violently anti-communist, and in the conviction that Sukarno was pro-Gestapu and pro-communist, he became as strongly anti-Sukarno. He established close rapport with the radical youth and student organizations and was, with Kemal Idris, the students' main source of assistance and protection. It was Sarwo and Kemal who had their troops, without identifying insignia, surround the Djakarta palace on March 11, 1966.

General Nasution, the senior officer in the army, was Minister of Defense and Security from late 1955 until the new cabinet of February 1966. He has held no command position since Sukarno removed him as commander-in-chief of the army in 1962, and his high political ambitions have been constantly thwarted by the President. He is notorious for his vacillations in times of crisis but is strongly anti-communist and anti-Sukarno. His political influence is difficult to define. On October 1, having escaped the Gestapu killer squad, he gave encouragement to Suharto in his defiance of the President's order to halt all military operations; in subsequent months, he encouraged the massacre of communists; and, through intermediaries, gave assistance to the radical youth and student groups. It is said that he commands the loyalty of several officers of the special military tribunals created to try the leaders of the September 30 Movement. The trials were conducted in such a way as to emphasize not only Communist control of the Movement but also Sukarno's sympathy for it. In June 1966, Nasution became chairman of the MPRS, a position he used in pressing the attack against the President's remaining authority.

The strength of this military combination of the army central command, KOSTRAD, the RPKAD, the Siliwangi Division, and the Nasution loyalists persuaded Sukarno to effect the tactical retreat to the March 11 Order. But he soon renewed both his defense of Marxism and his old policies and his attempts to regain his former supremacy. Because he did so, the same combination now proceeded to destroy him politically.⁴⁴ He could not

44. Aspects of the story of his destruction have been chronicled elsewhere. See Donald Hindley, "Indonesian Politics 1965-7: The September 30 Movement and the Fall of Sukarno," The World Today, 24, no. 8 (August 1968), pp. 350-356; Roger K. Paget, "The Military in Indonesian Politics: The Burden of Power," Pacific Affairs, 40, nos. 3 and 4 (Fall and Winter 1967-68), pp. 294-314; and Justus M. van der Kroef, "Sukarno's Fall," Orbis, 11, no. 2 (Summer 1967), pp. 506-531.

be removed immediately without danger of a civil war because he still commanded significant popular and military support.

It is not suggested that the separate army activist groups achieved a detailed coordination in their actions towards the common objective. They differed in style and pace. Usually KOSTRAD, the RPKAD and the Siliwangi, with their closer ties to the student radicals, sought to move more rapidly, more forcefully. They were far more overt in their anti-Sukarno intentions. Suharto, in character, moved cautiously. He conceived the erosion of Sukarno's power bases to be a gradual process that must neither provoke civil war nor produce a deep alienation of the Sukarno loyalists. The Sukarnoists were subjected to persuasion as well as coercion. Sukarno himself was treated with the utmost deference. One witnessed, then, the other activist military groups trying constantly to push Suharto towards a pace and style more consonant with their wishes. But Suharto was acknowledged by all groups as the highest authority within the officer corps.⁴⁵ When he considered the civilian radicals to be moving, with army encouragement, in a manner or at a pace likely to provoke a violent reaction, he insisted upon and gained the agreement of all army activist groups to hold the civilians in check.

In addition to the differences of style and pace, there was also a rough, but never complete, division of labor between the activist military groups: Suharto concentrating on consolidation of non-communist, non-Sukarnoist control of the army and the government apparatus; the RPKAD, KOSTRAD and the Siliwangi on overt threats of violence against the recalcitrant, and on relations with the civilian radicals; and Nasution, as chairman of the MPRS, on ensuring that the decline in Sukarno's power position received proper constitutional ratification.

Sukarno's power bases were undermined by simultaneous action in four separate fields: in the armed forces; in the government apparatus; in the political parties and their mass organizations; and in parliament and the MPRS.

Control of the armed forces was the decisive factor in the struggle between Sukarno and his opponents. We have seen how Suharto, after the collapse of the September 30 Movement, consolidated his control over the army central command and began both the purge of pro-communists from the armed forces and the

45. Suharto was commander-in-chief of the army from October 1965, and holder of the March 11 Order. In addition, he became Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense and Security as of the March 30, 1966 cabinet reshuffle; chairman of the cabinet presidium in the cabinet of July 30, 1966; Acting President in March 1967; and President in March 1968.

appointment of regional commanders politically loyal to himself. After the March 11 Order, this dual process was sustained but was now also aimed at officers believed to be Sukarno loyalists. For example, in May 1966, the last Sukarnoist officer was removed from the army central command;⁴⁶ in June, the command of the Diponegoro Division was changed; and in July, Maj. General Ibrahim Adjie was replaced as Siliwangi commander by Maj. General Dharsono.⁴⁷ Of immediate impact on Sukarno's sense of freedom and security, Suharto disbanded the Tjakrabirawa Regiment on March 28, 1966, giving charge of guarding the President to units of the military police loyal to himself. Thus, by the end of 1966, the only important regional commands still containing significant numbers of Sukarnoist officers were in the ethnic Javanese heartland, Central and East Java. But the Diponegoro Division was deeply purged, demoralized, commanded by Maj. General Surono, a personal friend of Suharto, and watched over by RPKAD units stationed near Semarang, Magelang and Surakarta. The Brawidjaja (East Java) Division, never politically united or aggressive, remained Sukarnoist but too remote from the center of political action and relatively too weak to be of much concern to the principal actors in Djakarta and Bandung. After the appointment of Maj. General Jasin as Brawidjaja commander in April 1967, that division too was brought largely to heel. Sympathy for Sukarno might remain, but professional security and promotion depended upon overt loyalty to Suharto.⁴⁸

Under the authority bestowed by the March 11 Order, Suharto on March 18, 1966 ordered the arrest of fifteen cabinet ministers, including Subandrio, Sukarno's closest aide.⁴⁹ The

-
46. That is, Maj. General Mursjid, First Deputy to the Commander of the Army, whom Sukarno had appointed as Deputy Minister of Defense and Security in the Cabinet of February 24, 1966.
47. The replacement of suspect commanders was continued beyond 1966. For example, between April and July 1967, intensely anti-Sukarno officers were given command of East Java, North Sumatra, South Sumatra and West Kalimantan.
48. Outside of the army, the only militarily significant group to retain loyalty for Sukarno and yet remain unpurged, is the KKO, the navy's marines, some several thousand strong. KKO members employed physical violence against civilian radicals, especially in East Java where it has its headquarters, until late in 1967. KOSTRAD, RPKAD and Siliwangi leaders urged Suharto to meet the KKO head on. Suharto preferred to prevent possible bloodshed and to win the loyalty of its commanders by a combination of persuasion and ultimate threat. One KKO general is the popular governor of Djakarta.
49. Subandrio was subsequently tried for involvement in the September 30 Movement, and received the death penalty in October 1966.

"reshuffled" cabinet of March 30, 1966 excluded almost all who had been closely identified with Sukarno. Subsequent reshuffles and new cabinets brought in an increasing proportion of anti-Sukarnoists. At the same time, PNI-Ali adherents were purged from government departments and services, nationalized enterprises, and universities.

As of the beginning of March 1966, the PKI retained legal standing, while the PNI-Ali remained deeply loyal to Sukarno. The leaders of several other parties had been compromised as willing sycophants during the period of Guided Democracy. On March 12, Suharto banned the PKI and all its ancillary organizations; the hunt for surviving cadres continued with considerable success. The PNI-Ali was a different problem. The party was non-communist, in fact largely anti-communist, and with the banning of the PKI was the only spokesman for the millions of non-santri, ethnic Javanese as well as for much of the bureaucracy. The military and civilian radicals wished to proscribe the party outright. Suharto, as usual, chose the carrot and the stick. In April, 1966, an army-enforced "unity" congress was held in Bandung. The PNI-Ali leadership was compelled to relinquish control of the party to the PNI-Osa group, which in turn proceeded to purge the party at lower levels and the party's mass organizations. The new leaders elicited little loyalty. In Central and East Java, with local army or KKO encouragement, party adherents took violent action during 1966 and the first months of 1967 against youth and student radicals. This budding militancy was crushed by demonstrations of army power--and by the reminder of what had happened to the communists.⁵⁰ Under continued army pressure, the PNI was forced to disown Sukarno's teachings and, when parliament or the MPRS voted on a Sukarno issue, to take part in the unanimous decisions. In return, the PNI was permitted to survive and to retain its positions in the MPRS and the various legislative bodies. And so the major political parties that might have afforded Sukarno mass support were in one case physically destroyed, in the other purged and domesticated. Lesser parties, such as the Moslem PSII and Perti, quietly replaced leaders who had identified themselves too closely with Sukarno.

Once the political power relationships had been shifted, Suharto was insistent that they receive proper constitutional ratification. While parliament played an important role in this context, the three sessions of the MPRS best illustrate the

50. Several prominent PNI-Ali activists were imprisoned or placed under house arrest for varying lengths of time after March 11, 1966. The secretary-general, Surachman, was among those ministers whose arrest was ordered on March 18. He escaped at that time, but was reported to have been killed in East Java in July 1968 while fighting alongside communist guerrillas.

Suharto approach (with, of course, the special assistance of Nasution): the Fourth Session on June 20-July 5, 1966; the Special Session of March 7-12, 1967; and the Fifth Session of March 21-30, 1969.⁵¹ By the time of the MPRS Fourth Session, the communist and pro-communist members had been evicted, the PNI-Ali representatives replaced by the PNI-Osa group. The new MPRS leadership, elected at the opening session under army insistence, consisted of General Nasution as chairman, and four vice-chairmen: Subchan (NU), an army general, Osa Maliki (PNI-Osa), and M. Siregar (Protestant Batak). While the PNI and several military members attempted to soften the anti-Sukarno thrust, the pressure of the activist military group, the santris and the Catholics from within, and of student demonstrations from without, ensured that Sukarno emerged deeply scathed--though still treated with outward deference.

The MPRS Fourth Session endorsed the March 11 Order, making it operative until such time as an MPR could be elected. The title of President for Life was revoked as unconstitutional and Sukarno was ordered, under the terms of the 1945 Constitution, to render to the MPRS a full account of his conduct of the Presidency, especially with reference to the September 30 Movement and its epilogue, and the economic and moral decline of the country under his leadership. A review was ordered of all presidential decrees and regulations issued since July 5, 1959 and of Sukarno's teachings to ensure that they complied with the Pantjasila⁵² and the 1945 Constitution. Suharto, as holder of

51. For the decisions of these MPRS sessions, see Decisions of the Fourth Plenary Session of the MPRS . . . (Djakarta: Dept. of Information, 1966); Sidang Istimewa MPRS Pada Tahun 1967 (Djakarta: MPRS, 1967); and Sekitar Hasil-Hasil Sidang Umum Ke-V MPRS . . . (Djakarta: MPRS, 1968). Under the 1945 Constitution, the MPR (or MPRS, Provisional MPR) is "the highest authority of the State," empowered to elect the President and Vice-President, determine the constitution, and decide the broad lines of State policy. The President is "subordinate to and responsible to" the MPR. The vice-presidency has remained vacant since the resignation of Mohammad Hatta in November 1956. So far the MPRS has been appointed by the executive, and consists of the members of parliament and an equal number of notables and representatives from the regions, the armed forces, and religious and functional groups. As of February 10, 1968, parliament had 414 members: 247 from political parties, the two largest being the PNI with 78 and the NU with 75; 75 from the armed forces; 77 from functional groups; and 15 from professional organizations.

52. The Pantjasila was formulated by Sukarno on June 1, 1945, and has come to be generally accepted as expressing the five basic principles of Indonesian nationalism. Difficult of translation, they may be given as: nationalism, internationalism, representative government, prosperity, and belief in God the Almighty.

the March 11 Order, was instructed to form a new cabinet; and the MPRS stipulated that he would become Acting President if the President was prevented from performing his duties. Finally, in a review of foreign policy, the MPRS rejected Sukarno's position. And each decision was taken unanimously. The power of the military activists ensured that.

By the time of the MPRS Special Session of March 1967, Suharto was prepared to exclude Sukarno completely from power. Again the santris, Christians and action fronts (now represented) were eager allies. Again some military members and the PNI had to be coerced into acquiescence. But the ground had been well prepared. The Sukarno loyalists had been removed from important army positions; the PNI was in disarray and fearful of dissolution. The religious parties and the action fronts were demanding not only the removal of Sukarno from the presidency, but his trial before the special military tribunal for involvement in the September 30 Movement--with Suharto providing, at parliament's request, evidence quite sufficient to convict Sukarno.⁵³ And Sukarno gave his fullest assistance. His scornful rejection of responsibility to the MPRS⁵⁴ gave his enemies, through the MPRS, the constitutional right to exclude him from the presidency. On March 12, 1967, the MPRS decided unanimously to appoint Suharto as Acting President. The MPRS mandate was withdrawn from Sukarno, who was forbidden to engage in any political activity until general elections. To encourage compliance from Sukarno and his loyalists, but at the same time to save him from the extreme demands of his enemies, the MPRS stipulated that the settlement of legal questions concerning Sukarno would be effected under the law. Suharto was made responsible for seeing that this was done (or left undone, as the case may be).

Some officers and the PNI insisted that although Sukarno was no longer active President, he was President nonetheless. Suharto, sure of his power, quickly dispelled such illusions. Sukarno's picture was removed from all public places, while the former President was confined to the Bogor palace, cut off from his supporters. Sukarno became, as Suharto wished it, an unperson. The MPRS Fifth Session noted that the Special Session of a year earlier had discharged Sukarno as President. On March 28, 1968, General Suharto was appointed as Indonesia's second President.

If control of military power was the decisive factor in the destruction of Sukarno's position, the civilians were no

53. See "Laporan Pangkopkam Tanggal 1 February 1967," pp. 57-170 in Proses Pelaksanaan Keputusan MPRS No. 5/MPRS/1966 . . . (Jakarta: MPRS, 1967).

54. See his "Pelengkapan Pidato Nawaksara," dated January 10, 1967, in ibid., pp. 25-31.

mere bystanders. As the power of the activist military groups waxed, so did the enthusiasm of most leaders of the santri and Christian parties for cutting him down by due constitutional process through their representation in parliament and the MPRS. But while the party leaders remained cautious, the radical civilian groups acted aggressively.

KOSTRAD, the RPKAD and the Siliwangi maintained the closest contacts with KAMI, KAPPI and the other action fronts.⁵⁵ The relationship was not one of army control. The two sides, military and civilian, had a common objective, and each was useful to the other. Without military backing, the action fronts would have been broken not only by pro-Sukarno military units but also, in Java, by the numerically far superior adherents of the PKI and PNI. In return for this protection, the action fronts performed a political role of great value to the military activists. They organized demonstrations against Sukarno, his aides and his policies, thereby giving the appearance of democratic, popular support for anti-Sukarno moves. They denounced Sukarno as a dictator, a communist stooge (or, worse, a willing accomplice), a corrupt, immoral betrayer of the people's welfare. The action fronts, too, harangued and harassed the political parties, parliament and the MPRS into taking a more overt and militant stand on the question of Sukarno's remaining authority. From early September 1966, they raised the demand that Sukarno be brought to trial for his complicity in the September 30 Movement. And they were the first to demand publicly his ejection from the presidency. The action fronts always outpaced Suharto's formal moves against Sukarno, which enabled Suharto to pose as one seeking a compromise between "popular demands" and continuing respect for Sukarno. But when the civilians moved so far ahead as to threaten to create a violent reaction, Suharto brought them firmly back into line.⁵⁶

55. During 1966, about ten action fronts were active. The most vocal were KAMI, KAPPI, KASI (university graduates), and KAPI (high school students), an offshoot from KAPPI.

56. A notable example of this occurred on October 3, 1966. The student radicals had been mounting a noisy campaign to demand the trial of Sukarno and his immediate removal from the presidency. Sukarnoists, both military and civilian, began physical attacks on the students in several towns of Sumatra and Java. In Djakarta, on October 3, troops were used to quell the students' buoyancy, and Sarwo Edhie, commander of the RPKAD, gave them a lecture on political realities. The extreme anti-Sukarno demands were then quietly shelved until mid-December, by which time the military groups were convinced that Sukarno could be removed without fear of widespread violence.

With the political demise of Sukarno, the Orba (Orde Baru, New Order) forces faced the question of what political system should replace the old. In the struggle against Sukarno, they had committed themselves to certain broad outlines of the future system, for Sukarno had been attacked constitutionally on the grounds that he had transgressed the 1945 Constitution and trampled upon the people's democratic freedoms.

The 1945 Constitution is sparsely worded.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, the constitution or its appended elucidations state that "the government is based upon constitutionalism, not absolutism"; that one of the fundamental characteristics of the system of government is "sovereignty of the people, based upon democracy and deliberation among representatives." The sovereignty of the people is expressed, at the highest level, through the MPR, "the highest authority of the State," "the embodiment of the whole people." The MPR determines the broad lines of State policy and elects the President, who is both subordinate to and responsible to it. While the President may initiate legislation, "the position of the Parliament is strong." Parliament is the highest legislative body, while its approval is required for the budget and all laws originating with the executive. Further, parliament may not be dissolved by the President, and its members sit in the MPR to which the President *is* responsible.

Important questions are left by the 1945 Constitution for future deliberation. The Constitution does not designate, for example, how the MPR and parliament (and lower legislative bodies) are to be chosen. The Constitution makes no reference to what sort of party system, if any, should operate. Nor, of course, does the Constitution determine the amount or type of pressure the executive and extra-constitutional forces may apply to the members of the MPR and parliament.

During 1967 and the early months of 1968, four major groups were active in the pressuring, bargaining and propagandizing that had shaped the new political system to the extent that it had been delineated by the time of this writing (August 1968). The four were: the army radicals, the Suharto centrists, the civilian radicals, and the leaders of most political parties, with the army groups the decisive power centers and Suharto the final arbiter.

The army radicals consisted of the Siliwangi corps in general, both those serving with the division and in other regions,⁵⁸

57. The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (Djakarta: Dept. of Information, 1966). The actual constitution takes up only nine pages of this small booklet.

58. This is not to imply that all Siliwangi officers are radicals, though most are. Among the prominent radicals have

the leadership of KOSTRAD and the RPKAD,⁵⁹ and, on many issues, Maj. General Jasin, appointed in April 1967 to the command of East Java. These components of the radical army group were bound together by a common outlook and style. As secular modernists, they disliked the santris for what they perceived to be santri self-righteousness, moralizing, and inhibition towards Western culture. The Siliwangi, too, had fought the Darul Islam (State of Islam) rebels in West Java from 1948 to 1961. They had contempt for existing political parties. Above all, they were impatient with their countrymen's lack of dynamism and technical skills. Parliament debated, Suharto played *kraton* politics,⁶⁰ but the roads were impassable, factories worked at 25 per cent capacity, and Indonesia remained a pauper nation. They wanted dramatic action. With the PKI and Sukarno eliminated, they wanted the immediate use of the army's power to force through rapid modernization (never precisely defined) and economic development.

Suharto shared with the great majority of army officers discomfort about the santris and a resolve that they would never wield control of Indonesia. He shared the conviction that the army had the duty, not just the power, to retain the decisive role in the selection of State policies and government personnel.⁶¹ Like the army radicals, he was determined to modernize

been Maj. General Dharsono, commander of the division; Maj. General Kemal Idris, commander of KOSTRAD; Maj. General Kusno Utomo, inter-regional commander for Sumatra; Brig. Gen. Ishak Djuarsa, commander of South Sumatra; and Brig. Gen. Witono, commander of West Kalimantan. Non-radical Siliwangi officers include Maj. Gen. Amir Machmud, commander of Djakarta, and apparently close to Suharto, and General Nasution. Nasution, as chairman of the MPRS since June 1966, appears to have sought greater power for the MPRS, which entailed greater power for the political parties and their mass organizations which constitute a majority in that body.

59. The RPKAD commander, Sarwo Edhie, was transferred in 1967 to the command of North Sumatra, in mid-1968 to West Irian. His replacement in the RPKAD has displayed a similar political outlook but a far less flamboyant temperament.
60. The term kraton politics refers to the endless intrigues that characterized the kratons (palaces) of the sultans of Java.
61. In August 1966, the army held an all-Indonesia political seminar. A document issued by the seminar epitomizes the officer corps' concept of the army's role in politics, especially after the September 30 Movement: "The Indonesian Army was born of the Indonesian People in the cauldron of the Revolution for Independence. The Indonesian Army is

Indonesia, although he seems to have seen this as primarily an economic problem. But he differed most from the radicals in political perspective and general temperament. As national leader, he was concerned not to fall under the control of any one group, including the army radicals. As national leader, he may also have become more cognizant than the radicals of the complex nature and causes of Indonesia's backwardness. More importantly, his temperament was very different from theirs. His ideal approach to matters of state might be summarized as caution, calm, consensus and constitutionalism. He held firmly to his primary goals of political stability and economic development, but sought to attain them with as much persuasion as possible. He was willing to compromise on what he considered non-essential matters. In his judgment, the radicals' desire for utmost haste motored by coercion would only exacerbate the existing hostilities and divisions within Indonesian society. This in turn would make more difficult the attainment of both political stability and economic development.

The civilian radicals had been bound together by the common objective of destroying the power of the PKI and Sukarno. Once the objective had been achieved, dissension appeared immediately. The old KAP-Gestapu/Front Pantjasila became moribund after the March 11 Order. After March 1967, it ceased to exist even as a ghost alliance, as its component political parties went their various competitive and often mutually hostile ways. The action fronts remained in being, but in a state of unease. Within several fronts, a widening rift appeared during 1967 separating the santris from the rest. Santris had constituted the great majority of the anti-Sukarno civilians, but held only a small part of the leadership of most fronts. The santris, too, came to feel a deep frustration. With one brief exception, they had not played a leading role in government since the fall of the Wilopo cabinet in July 1953; and now that the PKI and Sukarno were eliminated, the army, being anti-santri, continued to exclude them from real power or substantial influence. They were not even assigned a fair proportion of seats in the MPRS and parliament.⁶² Under these circumstances, the majority of santris

above all the fighter for independence, the defender of justice and truth, and the People's shield against the threats of oppression, exploitation and tyranny. . . . The Indonesian Army as the fighter for independence cannot be neutral about the direction taken by the State, about whether the Government is bad or good, about the welfare of the Pantjasila State and society. . . . It is a fact that the people entrust their fate to the Indonesian Armed Forces/Indonesian Army. . . ." Sumbangan Fikiran TNI-AD Kepada Kabinet Ampera (Jakarta, 1966), pp. 19, 37.

62. The Moslem newspaper Angkatan Baru on March 21, 1968 estimated that Moslems (that is, santris) constituted 28 per cent of parliament, 25 per cent of the MPRS, and 13 per cent of the cabinet.

associated with the action fronts retained their affiliation, but now pressed for the demands of the santri political parties. These demands, as will be seen below, were not radical in the sense of seeking a thorough re-ordering of Indonesia's political life.⁶³

The remaining organized civilian radicals consisted largely of the activists of KAMI, KAPPI, KAPI and the Partai Katolik, and were largely non-santri, non-ethnic Javanese, with a high proportion originating in the Outer Islands and from PSI-type backgrounds. Their center of strength remained the relatively cosmopolitan cities of Djakarta and Bandung, especially the high school students and students and graduates of the elite universities in those two cities. Almost all were less than 35 years of age.⁶⁴ But not all of the civilian radical groups belonged to either an action front or a political party. Particularly the less-than-youthful, many of whom had been associated with the PSI, worked politically through other channels. Some operated through organizations such as the association of lawyers and the association of judges; some acted as advisors to leaders of KAMI and KAPI, who were sometimes their own children or relatives; others accepted positions in the government apparatus from which they could influence government leaders. Several maintained a political dialogue with important army officers.

-
63. In the pull between loyalty to Islam as an organized political force and loyalty to the radical goals of the action fronts, the former usually prevailed. Some activists remained caught between the two, such as, perhaps, Zamroni, chairman of both KAMI and the NU's PMII, and Husnie Thamrin, chairman of both KAPPI and PII.
64. An extreme example of the ethnic background of the leaders of the action fronts is afforded by KAPI, the militant high-school group that broke from KAPPI in June 1966. KAPI gathers support almost entirely in Djakarta and Bandung. In December 1967, the central leadership of KAPI consisted of one Toba Batak, one Javanese, one Menadonese, one Minangkabau, and one Ambonese; the chairman was part Atjehnese, part Mandailing Batak. All studied in Djakarta, and their ages ranged from 18 to 20. The KAPI Djakarta leadership comprised three Mandailing Bataks and one Minangkabau. The four leaders of KAPI Bandung consisted of a Sundanese, a Javanese, a Karo Batak, and one who was part Atjehnese, part German. The ethnic Javanese account for approximately 40 per cent of the total Indonesian population. In August 1967 I met with ten of the KAMI leaders in Surabaya, a Javanese city. Although they estimated that ethnic Javanese made up 90 per cent of the university students in the city, only one of the ten had a Javanese name; one or two others, with Arabic-derived names, may have been santri Javanese; the remainder were clearly Outer Islanders.

In all, the influence of this older group, working away from the public eye, is difficult to assess with precision. It seems to have been significant, however, on KAMI, KAPPI and some officers of both the army radical and Suharto groups.

The civilian radicals had a relatively high level of Western-style education, were attracted to Western culture, and shared with the army radicals an impatience with Indonesia's backwardness and a fervent desire to modernize their society with the utmost rapidity. Authority and procedures were not respected as such, but were regarded as instruments for the achievement of goals.

While it is hazardous to generalize for the civilian radicals as a whole, most leaders of the radical organizations recognized three aspects of political life. First, that since the army held preponderant power, their goals of modernization and economic development could be achieved only with the support of the army. Second, that they were a small minority in Indonesia, most of the population remaining loyal to the leaders of the major alirans. And third, that the élan of the anti-Sukarno struggle would soon dissipate unless fresh springs of enthusiasm were found. These acknowledged facts produced symptoms of schizophrenia during 1967 and 1968. On the one hand, the radical organizations attacked militarism, government economic policies (for example, wage restraints, the removal of subsidies from transportation and fuel, and the low education budget), and corruption in the army, for these were popular targets. By so doing, they alienated many army officers. At the same time, they sought a workable political system, which could unite army power with civilian modernizers and, the cynics would add, increase their own access to positions and influence.⁶⁵ Civilians with the necessary expertise would decide how best to achieve modernization and economic development; the army's might would then be employed to ensure the implementation of the resultant policies regardless of whatever "vested interests" stood in their way. The civilian radicals were unsure, however, as to what should exist below the strong executive. They insisted upon their own right to express "constructive criticism" of the government, its personnel and its policies. Beyond that, they toyed with the idea of a one- or two-party system--but this could not be realized, given the aliran basis of political loyalties, without very strong coercion, which Suharto refused to countenance. More persistently, they demanded a thorough revamping of the membership of the MPRS and parliament, and, being themselves a small minority group, an indefinite postponement of general elections. But as a small minority, even if one

65. The political dilemmas, thinking and demands of the action fronts are best seen in the editorials of Harian KAMI, a daily newspaper published in Djakarta since July 2, 1966.

that in part represented the educated, urban population so important to a development-oriented government, the attainment of their objectives was dependent upon the agreement of powerful army elements.

From 1957 onwards, the political parties had survived solely because they were of use to one or other of the contenders in the power struggle taking place above them. In March 1967, when Suharto became Acting President, the major parties except for the NU were weaker than they had been a decade earlier. The PNI was in chaos, many of its branches inactive, many others sabotaging or ignoring the directives of the new army-imposed leadership, and the army radicals eager for its destruction. The PKI was legally dead, its surviving free cadres moving furtively in the underground. When Masjumi was dissolved by Sukarno in September 1960, most of its constituent mass organizations were permitted to survive, and even before October 1965, the Muhammadiyah, the largest component, had taken on the role of a proto-party. Early in 1966, several Masjumi leaders requested the rehabilitation of the party--which Suharto refused if only because many officers had fought against the PRRI-Permesta rebellion (1958-1961) in which prominent Masjumi leaders had taken part. Only in February 1968 did the government finally allow the resurrection of Masjumi in the form of the PMI (Partai Muslimin Indonesia). The preceding months had been marked by a debilitating struggle for control of the new party between the older party leaders and the younger generation, especially from the Muhammadiyah and the trade union federation Gasbiindo. The former leaders of the PSI, as civilian radicals belonging to the urban, well-educated, Western-oriented segment of society, preferred not to revive their party but to continue to exert unobtrusive influence on the action fronts and army leaders. Only the NU emerged stronger, as an organization, from the previous decade. It had bowed before the Sukarno wind, risen again with the New Order, benefitted from the dissolution of Masjumi, and throughout retained control of the patronage-dispensing Department of Religious Affairs.

The political parties may have occupied a weak position in the process of creating a new political system. They were not, however, powerless. Suharto, by his use of them against Sukarno in parliament and the MPRS, was at least partially committed to their retention. His desire to operate constitutionally, and wherever possible by consensus, required approval of his policies from parliament and the MPRS, in which the parties held major representation. He also appeared genuine in his claim to want representative democracy (excluding the communists), and this would necessarily include the existing aliran-based parties. Finally, the parties provided Suharto with a "democratic" counter to the pressures of the army radicals. As Sukarno before him, Suharto needed the parties, and this gave them a bargaining lever, if not a very effective one.

Although the parties were as deeply divided as ever from one another, they shared certain common concerns about the future political system.⁶⁶ By choice, the parties would have preferred the reinstatement of the 1950 Provisional Constitution with a figurehead president and the cabinet responsible to a fully elected parliament. By necessity they had to accept the 1945 Constitution. They also had to accept large military representation in government, the MPRS and parliament. But at the same time, they advanced the demand of the anti-Sukarno campaign: "the pure implementation of the 1945 Constitution." They stressed "sovereignty of the people," "representativeness," in short, democracy. Democracy was said to require general elections as soon as possible, the parties calculating that even if party organizations were dormant, aliran loyalties would produce the votes as in 1955; the PNI could expect to gain most of the formerly PKI votes, in the absence of any other nation-wide, non-religious party, while the santris could expect to double their representation in the presently appointed bodies. Democracy also required, according to the parties, popular (that is, party) representation in the cabinet, and the revocation of the special powers granted to Suharto (and used also by army commanders below him) in the March 11 Order. But, as with the civilian radicals, the attainment of the parties' goals depended upon the decision of powerful army elements, in this case the Suharto group.

The army radicals, as also their civilian counterparts, became keenly aware during 1967 that they, as self-styled modernizers, constituted but a small minority in the country. From this awareness came an elitist approach to the political system. Their reasoning went roughly as follows: we modernizers, including the Suharto group, are few in number and yet, with the destruction of the PKI and Sukarno, dominant in power; our primary goals are modernization and rapid economic development, but the present nature of the party system, and because of this parliament and the MPRS, serves only to impede the achievement of these goals. We must use the technically skilled civilians in devising and implementing policies. But we also have the opportunity to completely restructure civilian politics. The mass of the people may still be loyal to the aliran-based parties, but they are not highly politicized,⁶⁷ and that loyalty

-
66. The exception was the Partai Katolik which provided a disproportionately high number of civilian radical leaders. As a small minority party with a relatively highly educated, Westernized membership, by late 1967 it leaned heavily towards accepting a thorough reorganization of the party system along lines explored by the army and civilian radicals.
67. It was arguable that the level of politicization had actually declined due to the failure of the party-based parliamentary system, the years of Sukarno's dictatorship, the enforced

could be captured by the modernizers if we could achieve significant improvement in the people's welfare. In short, we should ensure five or ten years of strong, purposeful, development-oriented leadership during which constructive criticism would be permitted but impediments would be ruthlessly destroyed. All of this could be achieved within the framework of the 1945 Constitution, suitably manipulated.

During 1967 and early 1968, the army radicals took action concerning three aspects of the political system: the role of the political parties, the composition of parliament and the MPRS, and the nature of the party system. Most of the action was covert, and centered around attempts to persuade Suharto of the correctness of their point of view, either by direct contact or by winning prominent officers to their position. Several times, however, overt action was taken in an attempt to pressure him into acquiescence.

The PNI suffered most from the efforts of the army radicals. During 1967, the party was banned throughout Sumatra, at a time when Sarwo Edhie was regional commander of North Sumatra, and Siliwangi officers controlled the inter-regional command and the other three regional commands on the island. The civilian radicals vociferously, the army radicals quietly, demanded that the PNI be crushed throughout Indonesia as Sukarnoist, intransigently Old Order, and an erstwhile ally of the PKI. Suharto's response was to order a "recrystallization" of the party, to be effected with army assistance; but he repeatedly declared that the PNI was a legal party entitled to active existence. He appears to have concluded that it would have been political folly to remove all representation from the millions whose loyalties had been focused for years on Sukarno and either the PNI or the PKI. As of mid-1968, a stalemate continued on this question: the PNI retaining legal recognition, but banned in Sumatra and harassed elsewhere by radical army commanders.

By late 1967, the army radicals were giving quiet encouragement to the action front demand for the dismissal of the "obstructive" parliament, or at least a sweeping purge of Old Order elements from that body (and hence from the MPRS). At the same time, much thought was being given to a complete restructuring of the party system. On this question, the entire radical group was confused. Some played with the idea of a one-party system,

dissolution of Masjumi, and the destruction of the PKI. It should be noted that while factors other than a declining interest in politics were involved, the newspaper circulation in Indonesia fell from about 1.5 million in mid-1965 to 300,000 or 400,000 in July 1968; Kompas, June 27, 1968.

others with a two-party system.⁶⁸ The latter would have a "non-ideological" basis; that is, there would be two new parties, each competing to achieve modernization and economic development. Or, if that proved infeasible, the present parties would continue to exist, but their individual members would join one of two competing blocs; one bloc might be pro-government, the other providing constructive criticism. These notions of one or two parties or blocs to replace the existing seven or eight parties soon ran aground on Indonesian political realities. The existing parties refused to cooperate; the civilian radicals, few in number and concentrated in Djakarta and Bandung, lacked popular roots; and Suharto refused to coerce the party leaders.

The overt action of the army radicals to achieve the reconstruction of the party system and the reordering of parliament reached its climax in the early months of 1968. On January 18, the Siliwangi dragooned the leaders of parties, mass organizations and regional legislatures into attending a West Java People's Conference for Heightening the Struggle of the New Order.⁶⁹ The conference reached the unanimous conclusion that Indonesia must abandon totally its present political structure. In its place should be built a two-party system "based on the program of the spiritual and material welfare of the people," coupled with a "refreshing" of the personnel and structure of parliament as a consequence of the new political structure. The people of West Java promised to implement these changes as soon as possible in their own region. On March 7, 1968, another West Java People's Conference was held on the eve of the MPRS Fifth Session.⁷⁰ This time Maj. General Dharsono, Siliwangi commander, acted as chairman. The conference, again unanimously, urged that the proposals of January 18 be fought for in the MPRS. Suharto was unmoved, to the relief of the West Java parties.

The army and civilian radicals failed to achieve a drastic restructuring of the party system because they failed to demonstrate how it could be effected without massive coercion. They themselves were prepared to employ as much force as necessary, but Suharto refused. And almost none of them wished to challenge

68. It is significant that none envisaged a no-party system. The radicals believed that rapid economic development would depend in part on mobilizing the people's enthusiasm for the task and saw some sort of party or parties as essential for this. Army officers were also sensitive to the charge of militarism, while the radicals among them, believing rapid economic development to be dependent on Western assistance, feared Western condemnation of a military dictatorship.

69. See Kebulatan Tekad Rakjat Djawa-Barat Untuk Meningkatkan Perdjuangan Orde Baru (Bandung, 1968), pp. 35-59.

70. Ibid., pp. 3-33.

Suharto for command of the nation. Those few who did reasoned that even within the Siliwangi, KOSTRAD and RPKAD, many officers would refuse to participate in a move against the Acting President/commander of the army. Suharto could also be expected to receive the support of other divisions. And where radical officers held command posts in other regions, officers around and beneath them were not of the same persuasion. Militarily, then, Suharto was unchallengeable. Radical officers also reasoned that even if they could oust Suharto, one military coup might set off a chain of others and would frighten away the foreign capital they believed necessary for Indonesia's development. Finally, the radical officers occupied positions of authority and access to wealth. Why risk them in a venture of uncertain outcome?

Several important questions about Indonesia's new political system seemed to have been answered during the first six months of 1968.⁷¹

On February 9, Suharto increased the membership of parliament from 347 to 414. The representation of the armed forces was raised from 43 to 75, while the action fronts received 20 additional seats. At the same time, two remaining representatives of Partindo were dropped,⁷² and 117 members were replaced after discussions between Suharto and the organizations they represented. On February 14, Suharto told parliament that the members of the "redressed House" fell into two categories: 324 who presently represented political parties, functional groups, and the action fronts, and who would be elected through future general elections; and 90 who would be appointed representing the the armed forces and other functional groups having no affiliation with parties or mass organizations.⁷³ The "refreshed" parliament met under strong army pressure on February 28 to call for an immediate reconvening of the MPRS. The MPRS was asked to appoint Suharto as full president for a term of five years, to endorse the government's proposals for a five-year development plan, and to postpone elections for five years. The MPRS Fourth Session in July 1966 had originally called for general elections to be held in July 1968 at the latest.

71. On the events of this period, see Herbert Feith, "Suharto's Search for a Political Format," Australia's Neighbours, May-June 1968, pp. 1-7.

72. Partindo was a leftist PNI splinter which sank into inactivity after Sukarno's fall from power.

73. Refreshing of the Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat (Djakarta, 1968), p. 6.

The MPRS Fifth Session met from March 20 to 30.⁷⁴ Suharto was duly elected president; the post of vice-president, which had been sought by some party leaders, was left unfilled. The special powers of the March 11 Order were retained, although now specifically defined. General elections, free, direct, and secret, were to be held in July 1971; the resultant MPR was to meet in March 1973 to elect a president and vice-president, to determine the broad lines of state policy, and to draw up the blueprints of the second five-year development plan. The MPRS called for the formation by Suharto and before July 5, 1968 of a Development Cabinet, with the proviso that the cabinet should hold fast to the bases and principles of the 1945 Constitution: namely a State of law, a constitutional system, and Pantjasila democracy. MPRS Decree no. 37 stated that consensus was not always desirable and that all participants in legislative discussions must have equal rights, opportunities, and freedom to express both their opinion and constructive criticism without pressure from any side. The party system was not mentioned as such, but the MPRS working rules, adopted on March 21, included the division of the MPRS into fractions, eight of which were specifically the existing parties.

On June 6, 1968, Suharto announced the membership of the new Development Cabinet. Of the 23 members, eight were from political parties, six (including Suharto as Minister of Defense and Security) from the armed forces, and nine non-party and non-military. The Minister of Trade was Dr. Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, Indonesia's foremost economist, a former PSI leader, and Minister of Trade and Economic Affairs of the PRRI. The general level of expertise was high; seven ministers were university professors.

The criticism of the army radicals was blunted. Suharto had demonstrated, by both repression of student demonstrations before the MPRS session and firm treatment of parliament and the MPRS, that he could act forcefully. The Development Cabinet was an alliance between army power and technocratic skills, betokening uncompromising action towards modernization and economic development. Certainly the multi-party system remained in being, with the stipulation of elections in three years. But the radicals had failed to show a workable alternative, Suharto's combination of persuasion and pressure had produced results, the electoral system was still to be determined, and, if necessary, the elections could presumably be postponed as they had been repeatedly since 1955.

Both the constitutional framework and general tenor of Indonesia's new political system had been largely established

74. See Sekitar Hasil-Hasil Sidang Umum Ke-V MPRS. . . .

by the middle of 1968. Army generals of PSI-type affinities and outlook held decisive power. In their drive for modernization and economic development, they worked with and through civilians of similar outlook and relevant expertise. Indonesia was not a military dictatorship along the lines of Ayub Khan's Pakistan. Rather, guided democracy had replaced Guided Democracy.

Although PSI-type civilians exerted the greatest influence on the military power-holders, the new political system also accommodated the interests of all major alirans but one. With the one exception, each aliran was permitted its own political organization and representation in the cabinet and legislatures. If party sails were trimmed to meet the government's wind, they had already been so for more than a decade and a far broader range of criticism was tolerated than during the Sukarno era.⁷⁵ Moreover, army power protected the non-santris from possible santri domination. If the santris were politically disappointed after the removal of Sukarno, at least the communist danger had been averted and the modernists had gained their own PMI. This accommodation of aliran interests was fully satisfactory to none, but neither was it an anathema to any.

However, the new system did not incorporate the non-santri, non-traditional aliran that had been politically mobilized mainly through the Communist Party. Present and former communist activists were hunted mercilessly; former members of the PKI and its mass organizations were prohibited from joining other organizations. The government appeared to believe that in the short run this aliran could be politically suppressed, but that in the longer run the loyalty of the mass of its constituents could be captured by the government's achievements in the economic sphere. The extent and intensity of continuing sympathy for the PKI as well as the lasting political effects of the massive bloodletting remained unknown. Meanwhile, the surviving communist cadres were testing the efficacy of their new strategy of armed agrarian revolution.

The new political system contained one other source of potentially severe disruption: the relations between the army and the civilians. No civilian applauded army power as such; all deplored army privileges, arrogance and corruption. Unless the army leaders trod warily, they could create intense and multi-aliran hostility to themselves and the government they maintained. Such hostility would impede the implementation of the government's economic program. And this in turn would produce both a greater antagonistic polarization between the army and the civilians and the likelihood of disruption within the officer corps.

75. The range of permissible criticism extended from the radical student Mahasiswa Indonesia, published in Bandung, to El Bahar, a Djakarta newspaper of anti-capitalist and anti-Western Sukarnoisms published by the navy-KKO.