

SOEKARNO'S POLITICAL THINKING ABOUT GUIDED DEMOCRACY

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ABSTRACT

Soekarno is one of the leaders of the four founders of the Republic of Indonesia, his political thinking is very broad, one of his political thinking about democracy is guided democracy into controversy, in his youth Soekarno was known as a very revolutionary, humanist and progressive figure of political thinkers of his day. His thoughts on leading democracy put his figure as a leader judged authoritarian by his political opponents. This paper is a study of thought about Soekarno, especially his thinking about the concept of democracy which is considered as a political concept typical of Indonesian cultures.

Key word: Soekarno, democracy

PRELIMINARY

Soekarno is one of the four founders of the Republic of Indonesia according to the version of Tempo Magazine, as political figures aligned with Mohammad Hatta, Sutan Sjahrir and Tan Malaka. Soekarno's thought of national politics placed himself as a great thinker that Indonesian ever had.

In the typology of political thought, his nationality has been placed as a radical nationalist thinker, since his youthful interest in politics has been enormous. As an active politician, Soekarno poured many of his thinkers into speeches, articles and books. One of Soekarno's highly controversial and inviting notions of polemic up to now is the political thought of guided democracy. Young Soekarno's thoughts were filled with revolutionary idealism and anti-oppression, but at the end of his reign, he became a repressive and anti-democratic thinker. Under the pretext of an unfinished revolution, he drafted democracy according to his interpretation, that the democracy developed by the Western world is not in accordance with the noble value of the Indonesian nation which is known for the nature of mutual cooperation and deliberation. Coupled with the emergence of political instability due to the application of parliamentary systems.

The failure of the parliamentary system that gave rise to a new thesis in Soekarno's thinking about the need to reformat the concept of democracy in Indonesia, to achieve the welfare of society, the political system to be built must be a set of values deeply rooted in the distinctive Indonesian culture, we will briefly capture the resemblance to Tan Malaka's written ideas in his "Madilog" about indigenous cultures of indigenous peoples, but if we examine deeper both differ in interpreting the culture and political thinking typical of Indonesia. Soekarno was deeply influenced by the traditional Javanese cultural construct, while Tan Malaka was influenced by Western rational thought about the importance of unity among the deeply rooted ideological forces in the Indies at the

time, Tan Malaka modeled the unity of Russian and Islamic communists in the Caucasus during the 1917 October.¹

According to the writer, Soekarno's thoughts on guided democracy become the object of a very interesting study to be raised in the theme of this paper, so that we can know how far the evolution of a Soekarno's thinking in formulating the direction of the Indonesian nation in his old age, deliberately limiting the political thinking of guided democracy, if not limited to the object of his studies, we will be difficult to cover and deepen the thinking of Soekarno in the post-independence era, because Soekarno's thinking not only discussed about guided democracy, but discussed almost all social and political issues that occurred since pre- and post-independence period. Discussing about the evolution of Soekarno's thoughts we will find similarities with the thought of Karl Marx, an ideologue whose thoughts inspired Indonesian movements during the Dutch colonial period.

Social scientists divide Karl Marx's thinking into two stages, between young Marx's thinking and old Marxian thinking, young Marx's thought according to Franz Magnis Suseno,² more humanistic and not trapped in historical determinism that always thinks of human return from alienation. this is in contrast to Marx's very "economic" and "anti-naturalist" thinking. Also young Soekarno's thinking is very progressive and revolutionary when fighting against the domination of colonizing Dutch colonialism, while the old Soekarno is very anti-change, pro status quo and supporters of the establishment of power. Soekarno's thought of guided democracy was blamed as the forerunner of the authoritarian and totalitarian government, and became the starting point of the shift of his thinkers from a democratic to a dictator.

The systematic writing of this paper is broadly divided into five parts, namely the first part (Chapter I); explains the background of writing a paper. The second part (Chapter II); contains a brief biography of Soekarno on historical, social, educational background and some issues that affect his political thinking chronologically, in order to facilitate the reader to know the social setting of the character. The third part (Chapter III); on guided democracy thinking, the author explains the social and political constructs prior to the application of guided democracy, Soekarno's thought of the parliamentary system as well as the idea of synthesizing the ideology of nationalism, religion and communism. Part Four (Chapter IV); is the author's analysis of accepted socialization, analysis of thought and criticism of thought. The fifth section (Chapter V); contains the conclusion, and finally the sixth (Chapter VI); relevance of guided democracy thinking in contemporary context.

HISTORY OF LIFE SOEKARNO

Soekarno was born on June 6, 1901, the son of Raden Sukemi Sosrodiharjo and Ida Ayu Nyoman Rai. His father belonged to the Javanese lowly nobility class as he showed by the title of Raden in front of his name. Sukemi family line is known as a very patriotic family, grandmother of Sukemi whose status under a royal princess is a fierce

¹ Hary Prabowo, *Prespektif Marxisme Tan Malaka : Teori dan Praksis Menuju Republik*. (Yogyakarta : Jendela, 2002).

² Baskara T. Wardaya, *Marx Muda : Marxisme Berwajah Manusiawi*. (Yogyakarta : Buku Baik, 2003)

female warrior against the Dutch. It is said that his grandmother is known as a very brave horseman during the Diponegoro war.³

Sukemi was born in 1989, he is a graduate from the First Teacher Education School in the capital of Probolinggo district in East Java. After graduating from the teacher's school, Sukemi served as a teacher at a Bumiputra elementary school in Singaraja, Bali. In addition to performing his duties as a teacher, he supplemented his income as research assistant Professor Van Der Tuuk, a linguist who was studying Balinese language and customs.⁴

Soekarno's mother Ida Ayu Nyoman Rai comes from Bali who is the daughter of one of the Brahmin family, one of the most respected caste in the eyes of the Balinese, it is a coincidence that both of Soekarno's parents are upper class family in social stratification of bumiputra society at the time. It is in Singaraja that the two love relationships are met, a love affair full of obstacles in the future, as they come from completely different cultural, religious and ethnic backgrounds. Sukemi comes from Javanese tribes with Islamic beliefs, and Ida Ayu is from the Balinese tribe with Hindu beliefs.

In Balinese culture this relationship is forbidden, but these two young people do not care about social rejection, both are determined to establish their relationship until marriage, finally Sukemi and Ida Ayu married by using Islamic ordinance.⁵ After marriage, both of them remained in Singaraja until the birth of their eldest son, a princess named Sukarmini, after being considered to be quite old Sukarmini to be taken long journey, finally Sukemi applying to move teaching assignment to Surabaya, the petition is then granted, this small family finally moved to Surabaya and there their second child named Soekarno was born.

Soekarno spent the greatest part of his childhood in Tulung Agung (Kediri) with his grandfather, little Soekarno was very fond of the wayang kulit show which lasted from dusk until dawn, at this time in Kediri the process of socializing his political consciousness was formed. Because the wayang generally tells the relation of power between pandavas and kurawa, Soekarno can recognize the heroic values of the story of the puppet characters who are acted by the dalang. Little Soekarno was swept away by epic tales of warfare in the Mahabharata and Ramayana stories.⁶ In addition to the process of political socialization through Javanese traditional culture through wayang kulit media, Soekarno's leadership soul has also begun to appear as a child, when he leads his friends in play. Soekarno's games and activities are always followed and supported by his friends. Soekarno always wins: he climbs a tree higher than his friends, he often wins gangsing with his friends and Soekarno always do not want to lose, in the game of football also Soekarno always be the chairman.⁷

In formal education, Soekarno studied at Bumiputra Low School, after completing his basic education, his father sent him to HBS (Hoogere Burger School) school in Surabaya. By his father he was entrusted to someone who then influenced in the world of national movement that is Haji Oemar Said (HOS) Cokroaminoto, a charismatic leader of Sarekat Islam (SI). In Surabaya, Soekarno became acquainted with a whole new world, one can imagine a young young man with a rustic earthy world having to come into contact with a most important

³ Nurani Soyomukti, *Soekarno dan Nasakom*, (Yogyakarta : Garasi, 2008) Hal 65.

⁴ John D Legge, *Soekarno Sebuah Biografi Politik*, (Jakarta : Sinar Harpan, 1972) Hal 27.

⁵ John D Legge Hal 27-28.

⁶ Bernhard Dahm, *Soekarno dan Perjuangan Kemerdekaan*, (Jakarta : LP3ES, 1987) Hal 27-33.

⁷ Nurani Soyomukti Hal 69.

commercial city in the Indies. In Surabaya it encounters not only port facilities for ships from around the world, but also a wide network of rail links to all directions, asphalted roads, trams, trade areas and many other things. In addition to contact with a more modern culture than the previous rural climate, in this city, Soekarno began to come into contact with the political world. His touch with the world of politics, especially the movement of the world can not be separated from the influence of the figure Cokroaminoto, he who brought young Soekarno to explore various world political thought, through a series of discussions and reading personal books owned by Cokro. It was from the discussions and books that Soekarno finally recognized the names of great men, both of his thinkers and of his struggle spirit, he became familiar with western ideas such as nationalism, fascism, socialism and communism.

After completing his education at HBS Surabaya in June 1921, Soekarno continued his studies at the Technical High School (Technische Hoogeschool) in Bandung, a city famous for its coolness and natural beauty. In this city Soekarno lived in the house of Haji Sanusi who is a long-time friend of Cokroaminoto,⁸ at home that Soekarno fell in love with Inggit Ganarsih wife of Haji Sanusi⁹. Knowing the love story between wife and his boarding child, Haji Sanusi divorce his wife. So that the relationship between Soekarno and Inggit no longer experience obstacles and their relationship up to the marriage, of course, after Soekarno first divorce Utari his first wife who is the daughter of Cokroaminoto. In 1926 Soekarno completed his studies by earning an Engineer (Ir), history records how Inggit played a major role in the study period of her husband, he gave many moral contributions and material for Soekarno.

In the same year Soekarno wrote a long article entitled Nationalism, Islam and Marxism which was published in series in the journal Young Indonesia (Indonesia Muda). This paper became the main reference in the future by political scientists when studying the thoughts of Soekarno in his youth, in this article the attitude of anti-colonialism and imperialism clearly shown by Soekarno. He explained that the main motivation of European colonialism to come to Asian-African countries is the economic motive to accumulate and accumulate capital by squeezing the energy and natural wealth in the countries they control. Given the control of natural wealth by European countries, especially the Dutch, Soekarno called for an insurgency to end the persecution and exploitation of indigenous peoples. The opposition that must be pursued by him must be by non-cooperation and unity among the movements spread over the three major political forces of nationalism, Islam and Marxism. Soekarno advocated the existence of cooperation among the three in order to create the independence of the Indonesian nation.¹⁰ The idea of this persuasion was not actually the original idea of a Soekarno, before in 1923 the Indonesian Association of Indonesians Mohammad Hatta had proclaimed the importance of unity and a common front.¹¹

According to the authors, besides being motivated by the spirit of nationalism and equality, Soekarno's desire to unite Nationalism, Islam and

⁸ Bernhard Dahm Hal 52

⁹ Nurani Soyomukti Hal 76

¹⁰ Baskara T Wardaya SJ, *Bung Karno Menggugat : Dari Marhen, CIA, Pembantaian Massal 65 Hingga G30S* (Yogyakarta : Galang Press, 2006) Hal 37-50.

¹¹ Seri Buku Tempo, *Soekarno Paradoks Revolusi Indonesia*. (Jakarta : Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia KPG, 2010) Hal 5.

Marxism as three political power to end Dutch dominance of imperialism was in fact deeply influenced by the concept of traditional Javanese power. In the concept of Traditional Javanese power is known concepts of harmony, a concept that contains the meaning to strive continuously to be quiet between each other, eliminating the tensions in society and trying to get rid of the elements that cause disputes and unrest.¹² This philosophical concept of Javanese ethics prioritizes equations above differences. For Soekarno, unity became a historical necessity to seize independence from the hands of the invaders. According to Soekarno, the three ideologies are both anti-exploitative and have the same historical roots.

On July 4, 1927, with the support of six colleagues from Algemeene Studieclub, Soekarno established the Indonesian National Party (PNI), the PNI's goal was to achieve complete independence with non-cooperatives, the community enthusiastically welcomed the establishment of the PNI, as evidenced by the public meetings held by the PNI is always crowded by thousands of people. Soekarno's neat speech evoked the spirit of nationalism, invoking awe and witching thousands of listeners. The emergence of Soekarno as a prominent national movement figure and the ability of the PNI in mobilizing the mass of the people, making it as the target of the Dutch East Indies Government, consequently public meetings held by the PNI are often supervised and dissolved by the government. Its climax on December 29, 1929 Soekarno and some PNI figures were arrested on charges of plotting an uprising against the Dutch East Indies government

At the end of December 1931 Soekarno was released with a bitter truth, that the party he led had been destroyed, former PNI activists outside the prison, before his establishment had long established Partai Indonesia (Partindo) in place of the PNI, Soekarno initially refused to enter the party, this attitude changed on July 28, 1932 he decided to join Partindo and unanimously directly appointed as chairman. Partindo under Soekarno's leadership took the same path as the previous PNI, namely using non-cooperative tactics with the power of the masses of the people as their material base. His radical tactics made him believe that cooperating with the Dutch would not achieve the goal of an independent Indonesia. Independence is an illusion if we only compromise with those who make us free.¹³

Later on, Soekarno's radical stance with his non-cooperative strategy changed when Indonesia was dominated by Japan, Soekarno's soft and compromise attitude to Japan made him with Mohammad Hatta known as the Japanese Kolabolator by other movements who remained consistent with his non-cooperative tactics. In fact, Soekarno and Hatta's soft attitude is a strategy tactic that has been prepared and mutually agreed between Sutan Sjahrir, Soekarno and Hatta. The three figures of this movement in one night in July 1942 met to undertake the division of duties to call the entry of Japan to replace the Dutch in Indonesia.¹⁴ That night all three agreed: Soekarno with Mohammad Hatta would cooperate with Japan, while Sutan Sjahrir would form the forces of anti-fascist resistance underground.

¹² Franz Magnis Suseno, *Etika Jawa : Sebuah Analisa Falsafi Tentang Kebijaksanaan Hidup Jawa* (Jakarta : PT Gramedia Pustaka, 1984)

¹³ Nurani Soyomukti Hal 83-91

¹⁴ Seri Buku Tempo, *Sjahrir Peran Besar Bung Kecil*. (Jakarta : Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia KPG, 2010) Hal 47.

After Indonesia proclaimed its independence on August 17, 1945 Soekarno was appointed President, along with Muhammad Hatta at that time appointed as vice president, they carry the mandate of leading the young Republic of Indonesia. Both seem to be the unifying icon of the Indonesian nation that has a diverse culture, language and ethnicity, the composition between Java and outside Java as if to strengthen the symbolization of both as a representation of the heterogeneity of Indonesian society.

Soekarno-Hatta's power did not last long, the rift between the two began when Soekarno had directed the authoritarian attitude by rejecting the democratic system of the legislature and proposing a typical Indonesian democratic system of guided democracy. History notes that Soekarno was very disappointed with the behavior of political parties in the post-independence period which seemed more concerned with groups or groups than the wider interests of the nation and the state. This is evidenced by the frequent ups and downs of cabinets in parliamentary systems that result in protracted political instability, since no cabinet can last for up to two years, so that the government's cabinet-created programs can not be implemented until the end of their jurisdiction, a government cabinet easily replaced by other governmental cabinets through a no-confidence vote in parliament. Disappointment of this parliamentary system led Soekarno to finally issue the Presidential Decree of July 5, 1959 as a decision to end the system which did not reflect the indigenous culture of Indonesia.

Soekarno's decision to bury this parliamentary system received the full support of the military especially the Army, the military at that time is growing into one of the new political forces, having previously given full authority to run the Law of Emergency War to overcome disintegration due to the rise of separatist movements in some areas . The emergence of the military as a new power in the political map of Indonesia must be paid handsomely by Soekarno, so he must run the political balance by involving the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in government. The relationship between the PKI and Soekarno did not last long, as the September 30th Movement (G30S) linked to the PKI backfired for the D. N. Aidit. The destruction of the PKI to its roots as a result of the G30S instantly changed the map of the existing political power. The military became stronger as the only powerful political power post-G30S, while Soekarno increasingly weakened his political position, because he was considered the one who always protected the PKI. Soekarno reached the ending point after the MPRS rejected his defense speech entitled Nawaksara. Soekarno's political gait finally ended as house arrest until his death.

SOEKARNO'S THOUGHT ABOUT GUIDED DEMOCRACY

The system of parliamentary democracy was chosen by the founding fathers of this republic as the political system of government on November 14, 1945, having previously used a presidential system that was about a month old, the transition of power from the hands of the president to the hands of political parties was inseparable from the role Mohammad Hatta and Sutan Sjahrir. These two Western-educated figures strongly believe that the parliamentary system commonly used by Western countries would be appropriately applied in Indonesia. At the beginning of independence the parliamentary system could not be applied maximally because it coincided with the arrival of the Dutch to

colonize the Indonesian nation again, only after the recognition of sovereignty in 1949 the parliamentary system could be applied maximally in Indonesia.

According to DR. Afan Gaffar post-independence period (parliamentary democracy) is a beautifully demanding period for democracy in Indonesia. Because at that time all democratic institutions could play their functions maximally, political parties grew like mushrooms in rainy season, with a very high degree of autonomy, especially in determining stewardship, platform selection and support mobilization activities, the media also served as a very effective social control tool.¹⁵

With all its appreciation of the parliamentary system, we must also be objective that as long as the parliamentary system implemented in Indonesia during the years 1945-1949 and 1950-1959, has failed to create a stable and codifiable political life, it is often the turn of the cabinet due to the no-confidence motion parliament and the prolonged deliberation of the country's basic discussion on the constituent body became evidence of the failure of the system. There are several factors that cause failure of parliamentary democracy when applied in Indonesia. First, the dominance of flow politics, a consequence when a parliamentary system with a multi-party system is applied, will make Indonesians fragmented into several political streams. At that time in Indonesia there were five dominant political streams: Nationalism, Traditionalism, Communism, Islamism and Democratic Socialism.

Each of these streams has a very ideological constituency, sometimes conflicts that occur in elite circles affect the cadres at the lower level, so horizontal conflicts often occur in the name of group fanaticism. It can even be a centrifugal conflict, a conflict that tends to spread across borders, resulting in a very negative impact on political stability. At the elite level, political parties are very difficult to put together when responding to a political issue, so that political agreement is very difficult to achieve among them. So the coalition built primarily in shaping the government can be said to be very weak, a political force can barely afford the opportunity of other political forces to form and run the wheels of government.

Secondly, the socio-economic base is still very weak, there is a belief that democracy will work well if it is sustained by a very strong socioeconomic condition, then the Indonesian government's per capita income is still very low, also with its literacy. How people can politicize well and responsibly if their society is still very short and traditionalis.¹⁶

Political instability during the parliamentary democracy finally caused disappointment to President Soekarno, he argued that in fact the people of Indonesia have their own concept that is different from the political and cultural concept of Western society. Very irrelevant according to him if the political and cultural systems of other societies, would be applied in the socio-political life in Indonesia. Soekarno's a priori attitude to the parliamentary system according to the author is not purely as the antithesis of the western political system alone, because in the parliamentary system which runs the wheels of government completely in the hands of the Prime Minister with his Cabinet Ministers, while the position of Head of State is no more just a unifying symbol of a nation that

¹⁵ Afan Gaffar, *Politik Indonesia Transisi Menuju Demokrasi*. (Yogyakarta : Pustaka Pelajar, 2006) Hal 60-61

¹⁶ Afan Gaffar Hal 20-23

automatically he does not have political authority. Soekarno's position was in the position of the head of state, which was only symbolic in contrast to the position of Prime Minister who became the central point of all government policy. Then it became one of Soekarno's reasons for dissolving the parliamentary system and replacing it with a presidential system.

SOEKARNO'S THOUGHT ABOUT PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

Soekarno's critique of the parliamentary democracy system has long been voiced before Indonesia achieved its independence, in the 1930s Soekarno had declared that the parliamentary democracy system was not suitable for future Indonesia, for him the political rights guaranteed by parliamentary democracy were not enough to ensure the happiness of the people as long as economic safety does not exist yet. Even he also doubts the political rights of the parliamentary democratic system, for the bourgeoisie by itself is able to seize the seats in parliament with the capability of the capital that he possesses, so that with such abundant capital the bourgeoisie can mobilize material sources to gain seats in parliament, automatically said Soekarno parliament will be a protector of every interest of capitalism. For him the concept of Indonesia about democracy is very different from the west, Indonesia adheres to the principle of *musyawarah*, an exchange of ideas among the political forces that represent the community resulting in consensus.¹⁷

Soekarno's stern attitude towards the Parliamentary Democracy system was part of his radicalism against the Dutch colonialists, he showed his radical attitude by showing a sense of antipathy towards everything related to the western political and cultural system, because for him it was a form of western hegemony to defend colonialism and imperialism in the Asian-African region. When Indonesia became independent and implemented a parliamentary democracy system, Soekarno did not show his rejection attitude or against the advocates of parliamentary democracy such as Mohammad Hatta and Sutan Sjahrir.

In 1956 Soekarno dared to make a direct confrontation during a speech in front of the parliamentary congress of teachers, in the meeting Soekarno oration showed the depravity of parliamentary democracy system that he considered the main source of the emergence of a protracted political crisis, he proposed a new democratic system derived from indigenous Indonesian culture of guided democracy. Guided Democracy is the concept of democracy that emphasizes how the role of a leader in every political process that takes place in society, for Soekarno the concept of Western "freedom", "equality" and "justice" can not be applied in Indonesian society.

In a subsequent speech on February 21, 1957 Soekarno recalled the importance of guided democracy as the antithesis of liberal democracy, because according to Soekarno the opposition culture developed in the parliamentary system only criticized it as great as the aim of overthrowing the government, to be replaced by a new government opposition. This form of opposition was judged by Soekarno to be unhealthy, because he was only looking for the mistakes of the government without considering his success. To come out of the political crisis that lasted for eleven years, Soekarno offered two conceptions as a way out of the

¹⁷ Bernhard Dahm Hal 246

bondage of the western democratic system. The two conceptions are (1) establishing the National Council, the council comprising representatives of all layers within society including the inclusion of functional and military elements (2) forming a *gotong royong* cabinet which includes all the political forces that exist in the parliament.¹⁸ In addition to requiring the formation of the National Council and the *Gotong Royong Cabinet* in the President's Conception, Soekarno advocated the inclusion of Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) cadres into the cabinet, Soekarno argued a necessity in the democratic system to include all political power in the government, it has a mass support of six million people and won the top four in the 1955 elections.¹⁹

The two concepts of Soekarno are known as the President's Conception, through the conception, then the National Council is declared, involving all political parties and social organizations, the establishment of the National Council has a very strong challenge from the PSI and Masyumi. Opponents of the Presidential Conception stated that the establishment of the National Council is a very fundamental violation of the constitution of the state, because in truth the institution is not known in the constitution of the state of Indonesia. The peak of Soekarno's disappointment with the parliamentary system was to issue a decree on July 5, 1959 to the support of the military, especially the army, with the enactment of the presidential decree of the changing Indonesian political configuration, this moment the starting point of authoritarianism in Indonesia. Because by returning to the 1945 Constitution, the executive power becomes very strong with its emphasis on the presidential institution.

Soekarno's Thought About Political Party The Period of Guided Democracy

The presence of political parties in countries that implement democratic system becomes one of the absolute requirements of a country can be classified as a modern state that is different from the state that apply the absolute feudal system. Soekarno in his youth was one of the movement's figures who advocated the need for the presence of political parties as a means of mobilizing the masses against colonialism and Dutch imperialism; his political beliefs were realized by establishing the Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI) in 1927 in Bandung. Party image of the head of the bull became a political vehicle of Soekarno in disseminating ideas radical nationalism to the people of Indonesia. Soekarno's thought of the necessity of the presence of a political party proves that he is a man of modern view, that the party system becomes a necessity in the modern democratic system of the future. But the party system proposed by Soekarno for the Indonesian context should be a one-party system, for Soekarno democracy should not be translated as giving the public the opportunity to form as many parties as possible. The socio-economic condition of the newborn nation is the fundamental reason why the party is not given space in the political life in Indonesia, even Soekarno feels the wisest step is only by forming a state party whose main task is to accommodate all the nation's potential in the way to the

¹⁸ Herbert Feith dan Lance Castles, *Pemikiran Politik Indonesia 1945-1965*. (Jakarta : LP3ES, 1988) Hal 63-72

¹⁹ Pidato Soekarno pada tanggal 21 Febuari 1957.

common prosperity²⁰ of the same Soekarno about this single party system by Frans Magnis Suseno²¹ was heavily influenced by Lenin's thought of successfully bringing the communist party into the pioneer party of the revolution in Russia, according to Soekarno the PNI should be a party that awakens the masses to the revolutionary mass action of overthrowing the Dutch government in Indonesia .

Soekarno's attitude is in contradiction with Hatta and Sjahrir, for both of them political rights and political parties is something that can not be separated. There are two basic reasons for Hatta and Sjahrir. First, in the 1945 Constitution grants the right to union, assemble, issue thoughts and so on, then the organization that is best suited to be its defense is a political party. Thus, giving the widest possible opportunity for society to form a political party becomes a necessity. Secondly, they want Indonesia to be free from the shadow of Japan, because then the world opinion is very anti fascism. One of the political systems of the fascist state is to adopt a single party system, backfiring if Indonesia as a newly established country, requiring recognition and support from the international world, has followed a fascist political system that was then blamed as the party that started the second world war. So that the formation of party party system with party system of parliamentary government typical of the west - the winning party of war - according to Hatta and Sjahrir become a necessity.

In a period of parliamentary democracy socio-political life is overwhelmed by the uncertainty and instability of government. The protracted debate of the state base in the constituency and the fall of the cabinet due to the vote of no confidence from parliament. The situation ultimately invited the concern of Soekarno, he said that the political turmoil of the government was caused by the party politics that afflicted the elite politicians who were in the executive and legislative bodies, party diseases are the attitude of unwillingness to reconcile and put unity on the interests of the group or group. The elite of politicians are more concerned with their respective interests, the opposition attitude that is part of the life of the democratic system, becomes a justification tool to bring down other political groups of government, so that later emerges is not a culture of loyal opposition but a destructive opposition culture.

This party's disease became the criticism of Soekarno, so to end the political crisis at that time, Soekarno advocated the political parties to be buried, according to him this is not a reflection that he is an anti-democracy and authoritarian system supporters. With his proposal about the burial of political parties, Soekarno refused his name to be aligned with the once-powerful dictators. On several occasions he said that Soekarno was a very democratic, but democratic Soekarno thought he was not a democratic liberalism that came from the west. The burial of political parties became a proposal to restore the identity of the Indonesian people who had stumbled into various ideological streams and political parties. After the parties are buried according to Soekarno's teachings, then the next development of political life will be discussed, whether by establishing a party or not a party like

²⁰ Agung Djojosoekarto dan Tunjung Sulaksono, *Dinamika Transformasi Partai Politik di Indonesia : 1998 – 2008* dalam Abdul Malik Gismar dan Syarif Hidayat, *Reformasi Setengah Matang*. (Jakarta : Teraju, 2010) Hal 75-77.

²¹ Franz Magnis Suseno, *Di Seberang Jembatan Emas*. (Harian KOMPAS tanggal 1 Juni 2001, Edisi Khusus 100 Tahun Soekarno 1901 – 2001) Hal 67.

mass movement or some rational party, the most important for Soekarno must reflect the unity and political culture typical of Indonesia.²²

NASAKOM (Nationalist, Religion and Communist)

Soekarno's concept of Nationalist, Religion and Communist thought (Nasakom) at the time of guided democracy (1959-1965) was not a sudden political thought, but a concept he had formulated since the 1920s. In his youth Soekarno had had the great ideals of incorporating three ideologies which were then highly influential and had strong roots in the movement. Young Soekarno poured his "utopian" ideas into writing entitled *Islam, Nationalism and Marxism* in 1926, the paper was published in the *Young Suluh Indonesia* in a series. In his writings Soekarno views the necessity of the three ideologies to unite against Dutch imperialism, for to fight the colonizers is an effective force that gathers all the elements of political power in society.²³

This syncretism belief remained Soekarno until the end of his life, unity became an important and became a major role in the life of his nation and state. Even publicly publicly, in a speech Soekarno admitted that his blood was a nasakom blood, the speech delivered in the opening ceremony of the Indonesian Communist Party Congress (PKI) on September 16, 1959, Soekarno publicly stated that he still holds ideology the mix that he thinks may be strange to others, from there we can see how consistent Soekarno is in his teaching.²⁴

Soekarno's concept of the naskom is an objective factor of the Indonesian people to make changes in society it must unite their thinking. As a figure who has an obsession with unity, the ideals of his persecution are in addition to connecting with the growing ideological unions, as well as the manifestations of social realities of society at that time, by the separation of society into the three social classes between santri, abangan and priyayi. The community map, as described by Clifford Geertz²⁵ shows social separation which is cumulative and consolidative, since there has been a strengthening process in terms of social grouping especially in Java Island.

Abangan and priyaji people have different political and economic orientations with the santri. These abangan and priyayi tend to choose to side with traditional, secular and nationalistic political parties. the santri tend to choose to side with the Islamic parties. Historically the Javanese community was formed to stand on two legs, the traditionalism-feudalism born of the historical phase of its own society and the rationalistic modernism grafted by colonial panjajah. Thus, once again, the person of Javanese society is essentially split, because the feudal half (ancient), on the other hand is modern. Therefore, the Javanese people can not (difficult) are invited to think consistently and thoroughly. In many ways, they still think like feudal (ancient).²⁶

With the segregation of society in the ideological level and social class, making the Indonesian society polarized into the bonds of primordialism. According to Soekarno, if this bond not managed properly can bring Indonesia led

²² Pidato Soekarno "Demokrasi Kuburkan Partai-Partai N.V

²³ Soekarno, *Islam, Nasionalisme, Marxisme*. (Yogyakarta : Pustaka Kendi, 2000)

²⁴ Nurani Soyomukti Hal 160-162

²⁵ Afan Gaffar Hal 126.

²⁶ Nurani Soyomukti Hal 172.

to the disintegration of the nation. Unity and unity become a necessity for the creation of national stability. Soekarno's idea of the importance of unity does not mean to exclude one of the ideologies inherent in society, for him the process of building democracy must necessitate all ideological flow in the spaces of competition, removing one ideology in a political competition is cowardly and hypocritical.

MARHAENISM

Marhaenism is the core of Soekarno's teachings, even according to the author of the idea of marhaenism being the originality of his political thought, marhaenism derived from the name of a peasant in West Java. The encounter with *kang marhaen* is narrated by Soekarno as he strolls in the middle of a racial in a priangan area, Soekarno meets a poor peasant, then in the meeting there is dialogue between the two, Soekarno asks about the ownership of the land, the plow, the buffalo and the hoe, marhaen replies that the tool the production means are owned by himself. From this dialogue, Soekarno concluded that the majority of Indonesian people who work as "systemic" impoverished farmers, not because of the relationship between the proletariat and the capitalists which generally occur in European countries or between classes of production equipment with a class that does not have the means of production and only has power to sell.²⁷

According to him, the poverty of the Indonesian people is caused by the existence of imperialism from the Dutch who have committed the theft and exploitation of Indonesia's natural wealth. The teachings of marhaenism at first glance may look similar to the concept of marxism that champion the interests of the poles (labor) in the world, but according to the author actually the concept of marhaenism slightly different from the teachings of marxism. Differences include: First, the concept of Marxian-style class struggle is irrelevant to the context of Indonesian society at that time, because the proletarian class that became the pioneer of the social revolution has not yet been formed, the structure and the culture of feudalism still strongly enveloped the Indonesian people.

Poverty is not purely capitalism, but by colonialism that has happened hundreds of years, the class struggle must be replaced by the struggle for freedom of all the masses of the colonized peoples which includes the working class, peasants, scavengers, intellectuals, chromo and so on. Secondly, in Soekarno's marhaenism weeded out the dominative role of the proletarian class to be replaced by the marhaen. Marhaen is a destitute in Indonesia, in contrast to the proletariat, which still has the means of production, albeit in a small scale. Marhaen does not sell power to his master, he has his own means of production, but the marhaen remains poor. These people are poor because of the existing system that makes it poor. So, marhaenisme is Soekarno's teaching about Indonesian society as a whole, Indonesian society which become the foundation of this nation.

According to Soekarno, marhaenism rejects every bourgeois act which is the source of the existing linguistics in society. He argued that people should not be inferior to the people, for Soekarno the people are now a weak group and deprived of their rights, but later when mobilized in the surge of the revolution will be able to change the world, Marhaenisme shows that Soekarno has a far-

²⁷ Soekarno, *Tentang Marhaen dan Proletar*. (Jakarta : Grasindo, 1999).

sighted view that is anthropical from practice -a greedy imperialist practice exhausts Indonesia's natural wealth. Soekarno composed marhaenism as a way of struggle against capitalism and imperialism, after he realized that western marxic theories were incompatible with a colony like Indonesia, whose economy had not yet reached the capitalist stage.²⁸

AUTHOR ANALYSIS

Acceptable Sosialisation

According to the author, Soekarno's thought of guided democracy was heavily influenced by the philosophy of traditional Javanese power, he wanted a centralized political power on one side only of a state leader, a concept commonly known in the days of the Hindu Buddhist kingdoms of the past. It is not surprising that the democracy of Soekarno's dreams was symbolized as a continuation of the royal system in feudal times, even according to Taufik Abdullah in one article, he wrote there was a foreign researcher who called Guided Democracy as a form of system "Mataram Baru".²⁹

The process of socializing the understanding of Javanese power was the political socialization first received by Soekarno in his childhood long before he knew the great thinkers such as Marx, Hegel, Lenin or Kemal Pasha, through this medium of wayang kulit puppets was introduced to the concept of political power in the future very influencing his political thinking both in times of movement, physical revolution and guided democracy. The world of wayang greatly influenced Soekarno, the figure of Bima became personification himself as a symbol of a strong and explosive person,³⁰ even until he matured and plunged into the world of politics, in every article that Soekarno wrote often use the pseudonym of Bima.

The two concepts of Javanese power, namely the concept of centralized political power and the integration of Javanese culture (syncretism), greatly influenced Soekarno's thinking in the future, from the influence of Javanese power, the concept of guided democracy and nasakom political thinking emerged. Guided democracy is the concept of power which places all the sources of political power lies in one person, namely the leader of the state, while the concept of nasakom is the concept of uniting the three ideologies that actually have different epistemological foundations, but trying to be united as philosophical nationalist limbs.

Guided democracy born as an antithesis of the failure of liberal democracy ultimately becomes a totalitarian, authoritarian and dictatorial political system, as well as the concept of nasakom that was originally created to unite all existing political forces into a notion that imposed the homogeneity of thought, those who disagree with guided democracy and nasakom will be justified as the accomplices of neo imperialism of colonialism and counter-revolution. According to the authors, the subculture of Soekarno's thought to minimize the conflict and unify the political currents dominating the old order in the theoretical level is ideal, in accordance with the business of creating a stable political life, so that with the

²⁸ Taufik Adi Susilo, *Soekarno Biografi 1901-1970*. (Yogyakarta : Garasi, 2008) Hal 85-87.

²⁹ Taufik Abdullah, *Dekrit Presiden, Revolusi dan Kepribadian Nasional*. (Kompas, Edisi Khusus 100 Tahun Soekarno, 1 Juni 2001)

³⁰ Bernhard Dahm Hal 31-33.

stability of the welfare of society as soon as can be achieved, on the contrary, guided democracy is transformed into a closed, anti-dialogical, repressive and authoritarian political system.

A. Thought Analysis

History has noted that Soekarno was very disappointed with the behavior of political parties, because political parties were heavily oriented towards their own ideological interests and paid little attention to national political interests as a whole. Even on an occasion Soekarno catapulted his desire to dissolve the political parties, besides that he also floated the idea that the parliamentary system is not in accordance with the Indonesian national identity that has been imbued with the spirit of mutual cooperation and kinship.

President Soekarno then issued a presidential decree July 5, 1959, the decree was a sledgehammer for parliamentary democracy, then bring a huge impact on national political life³¹ thus obscure the party system that previously had the mechanism of check and balance, but at the time of guided democracy the mechanism was not working as it stands, the political party becomes the only support holder. While the institutional political system cooptasi after the previous election results 1955 DPR was dissolved for rejecting the RAPBN from the government, Soekarno then formed the Gotong Royong House through the mechanism of undemocratic political recruitment through the appointment, automatically the members of the legislative who appointed Soekarno are the people who has been a major loyalist of government policy. The period of guided democracy is the culmination of the spirit of anti-freedom, some critical media as well as the opposite of Soekarno like *Harian Abadi* (Masyumi) and *Daily Guideline* (PSI) experiencing a crack.

If we look at the situation of guided democracy leading to an authoritarian political system it is clear that Soekarno's thinking has undergone a shift, in contrast to the thinking in his younger, progressive, anti-oppressive and revolutionary youth. Soekarno's thinking at the end of his power was very authoritarian, defending the establishment and anti-democracy. While Indonesia's foreign policy in the period of guided democracy is more oriented towards communist countries, when the world situation is strained tension caused by cold war.

The cold war is a systemic rivalry between the countries supporting liberalism and the countries supporting communism. Although in the opening of the 1945 Constitution, the Indonesian state embraced foreign policy as an active and non-free, but under a guided democracy, Soekarno continued to direct his domestic and foreign policies to the left, as evidenced by the incorporation of communist elements represented by the PKI into the former government structure the parliamentary democracy period of the PKI was always outside, for it had never been included in any cabinet preparation.

In addition to including the PKI circles of power, Soekarno embraced Nasakom's policy, merging the three socio-political groups which he regarded as the roots of all political power, the three groups were Nationalists, Religions and Communists, Soekarno dreamed of the three groups united into revolutionary pogram powers to promote Indonesia highway. According to the writer

³¹ Afan Gaffar Hal 24-45

Soekarno's thoughts on the unification of all Indonesian political power are almost identical to the ideas of Tan Malaka, one of the more senior figures of independence movement from Soekarno, Hatta and Sutan Sjahir, proposed the same concept of *meniscayaan* unity between Islam and communists as the locomotives of radical social change in Dutch East Indies at that time. The concept of syncretism between Nationalist, Religion and Communist ideology (Nasakom) shows Soekarno as a genuine nationalist who places unity above the interests of groups and classes, for him the differences of paradigm and even ideology are not a barrier to unifying a very heterogeneous Indonesian society.

In the guided democracy system there were three dominant forces in the Indonesian political landscape at that time, namely the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), the Army (AD) and Soekarno, who were in a position between the two, Soekarno managed to run the balance politics, after the political dominance of AD that made Soekarno feels threatened his power taken over by the military. President Soekarno needed another political force as a counterweight to the power of the army, Soekarno's choice fell on DN Aidit's political party, the PKI considered the only political party to have a solid and rooted base of the masses of the masses, due to its highly disciplined and tiered cadre system. Finally, the political power is divided between the PKI, the Army and Soekarno, from this fact we can actually see that the presidency in the era of guided democracy is not as strong as we have imagined so far, President Soekarno must share his power with the PKI and AD.

B. Criticism of Thought

As the authors explain above that Soekarno's thought of guided democracy brought the old order government toward an authoritarian and repressive system. During the implementation of guided democracy, Soekarno succeeded in emerging as one of the dominant political forces that replaced the role of hegemony of political parties in parliament. Soekarno's idea of the peculiarly Indonesian political concept as an antithesis of western liberalism has finally caught on to sloganism, but in the political reality the peculiar concepts of culture and identity of Indonesia are transformed into an authoritarian system. The concentration of power in his hands makes him a dictator who suppresses democratic freedoms, state institutions that are not in line with his policy direction are then dissolved under the pretext of counter-revolution and *atek nekolim* (neo colonialism and imperialism). Some political figures did not escape the repressive, those from the Masyumi and the PSI, were subjected to the policy of their homegrown democracy, many of them thrown into prison because of their political attitude which was opposed to those laid down by the rulers

Nasakom previously regarded as a solution concept to unite the various ideologies in Indonesia, has failed to make it as a concept of humanist and integralistic thought, the doctrine of the importance of unity ultimately only become an effective political instrument to suppress a critical attitude that crossed the government. The unity which was sourced through some propaganda media was only able to unify the political elements at the surface level, as evidenced by the tragedy of September 30, 1965 the unity that had been propagated by the government could not prevent the slaughter of millions of people accused of communist. The integralistic concept of several ideological schools formulated by Soekarno has proven to have failed to unite Indonesian society.

According to the authors, the instability situation of the implementation of parliamentary democracy should not be the reason for Soekarno to issue a decree of July 5, 1959, because the process of democracy learning can not be done instantly, sometimes have to go through the bloody process, let alone the age of the Republic of Indonesia at that time just a maize, fairness when the nuances of attraction attract interest among groups is very strong dominate the process of politics at that time. Political maturity according to the Author will be created over time. So too soon Soekarno took the policy of muzzling the system from the west. Soekarno's anti-western tendencies in every policy made Indonesia's economic situation worse after the political instability, the economic investment from abroad did not maximally run, because the coincidence of these investors generally came from European countries and the United States. They feel that their economic interests are threatened if they invest in Indonesia with Soekarno's very anti-foreign policy.

CONCLUSION

The process of socialization of Soekarno's political consciousness has actually been formed since his age is still young, through the medium of puppetry Soekarno little is familiar with the concept of traditional Javanese political power, the story of war between pandavas and kurawa indirectly instill patriotism values on him, he personifies pandavas like indigenous people who was always oppressed by the Dutch who he regarded as a cunning laugh and always do the exploitation. In addition to the value of nationalism embedded by the influence of puppet stories, traditional Javanese culture also later influenced Soekarno's thinking about Nationalist, Religious and Communist unity.

The concept of ideological syncretism is strongly influenced by the concept of Javanese philosophy that always minimizes the emergence of conflicts by finding similarities among contradictory views. Soekarno's ability to absorb Javanese culture and then combined with modern political thought proves that Javanese social and cultural contradictions influenced his political thinking, so it was not surprising in the period of guided democracy that President Soekarno symbolized himself as a sole ruler like the previous Javanese Kings.³²

The application of a guided democracy system puts Soekarno at the center of the political power of the time, of course, this situation is very different from the previous parliamentary democracy, where his political position was limited to the head of state with no political authority whatsoever. With the enormous power of political power in hand, finally President Soekarno became the figure of the head of state who often imposed the will, all the policies he pursued always in the name of the unfinished revolution. Automatically when we pull the logic of the revolutionary situation that occurs in any world, the grouping of society will be separated into two groups only: (1) revolutionaries and (2) counter-revolutionaries. The first group is a group that has a progressive character in encouraging the change, while the second group is the anti-change and trying to maintain the establishment. With such dichotomies Soekarno easily labeled a person or group of people who were critical of him as a counter-revolution to be removed, Masyumi and PSI became the target of this labeling, many of whose

³² Soe Hok Gie, *Catatan Harian Sang Demostran* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1990)

characters were put into prison because of his critical attitude towards guided democracy.

The emergence of guided democracy as a political system applied in Indonesia would not have happened if it had not been supported by the military especially the army, Soekarno had the courage to dissolve the constituent assembly and parliamentary election results 1955, having received full guarantees from the military behind him. Of course military support for Soekarno is not free support for granted, the military asked for its social-political role expanded to various agencies and government agencies from central to regional. Seeing the strength of the military as a political power, Soekarno made a balance politics by holding the PKI into the power circle.

With the automatic entry of the PKI the military had strong political rivals, as the PKI grew as a cadre party which gained considerable support in the 1955 elections and occupied the top four in the vote, while the PKI became the third largest communist party in the world after the communist party in the Soviet Union and in the PRC. Although ultimately the balance politics failed to keep Soekarno out of power after the events of September 30, 1965, the idea of political balance became a new treasure in the world of politics in Indonesia and can be a source of reference later in the day.

The author sees some consistency of Soekarno's thinking. First, the idea of getting rid of the parliamentary system has been formulated since the 1930s, a product of western democracy that is inconsistent with indigenous Indonesian culture. Secondly, Soekarno's ideas that rejected the multi-party system had actually been shown several years before Indonesia's independence, not when Soekarno saw Indonesia's failure to implement parliamentary democracy. Soekarno, since establishing the PNI in the 1920s, has argued that the party system for Indonesia struggling against colonialism is a one-party system that will unite all groups into one organization of political struggle, so that the split among movements can be minimized.

The spirit of making the PNI a single party, kept Soekarno struggling in the beginning of independence, but this thinker was rejected by Mohammad Hatta and Sutan Sjahrir who proposed a multi-party system applied in this newly established Republic. It was only then that Soekarno's chance to bury political parties gained momentum as the Constituents and Parliament failed to create political stability, as the cabinet continued to wax and protracted deliberations of the country's foundations in both state high institutions. Although Soekarno then failed to bury the total political parties, Soekarno succeeded in bringing the parties into ten political parties and able to control all parties under his rule. Thirdly, Soekarno succeeded in formulating a distinctive social class system of Indonesia when confronted with Western imperialism, the doctrine of Marhaenism being the originality of his revolutionary thinking about class struggle, Soekarno did not imitate the Marxian class contradictions that divided the social classes between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the western class can not be applied to the context of the struggle of the oppressed class in the Indies.³³ Finally, Soekarno holds the principle of unity between communists, nationalists and religions since his youth. After the bloody incident of the Gestapu, Soekarno retained his

³³ Soekarno, *Dibawah Bendera Revolusi*, Jilid I, Jakarta, Panitia Penerbit Dibawah Bendera Revolusi, 1964.

conviction, not to abandon the communists, although his convictions had to be redeemed by the destruction of his political career.

RELEVANCE OF A GUIDED DEMOCRACY CONCEPT

According to the author, Soekarno's political thinking about guided democracy when viewed in relevance to the current Indonesian context in which the wave of democratization has become an established political system of its existence and can not be negotiable, a big mistake if it is revised in the contemporary context, guided democracy is a political system which tend to be authoritarian and refresive. Very much different from the contemporary Indonesian situation now highly upholds the values of democracy, but when asked to the author, the substance or the initial philosophy which is the reason of guided democracy is applied there are some points that become the author's note.

First, in a guided democracy contained values unify the various political streams that exist so the emergence of political conflicts can be minimized, the current value of unity among Indonesian politicians have begun to degrade, with the spirit of unity Writers hope the values of freedom in the democratic system can be aligned with the values of togetherness . Second, guided democracy emerges as the antithesis of the western democratic system, Soekarno explains that in fact the Indonesian nation has its own values and personality different from those developed in western society. Soekarno's spirit to bring out the unique personality of the Indonesian people should be appreciated by the current young generation who have forgotten the identity of their nation.

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