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Nationalism in Search of Ideology: The Indonesian Nationalist Party 1946 - 1965

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as well. Finally, though without particular efforts being made by the government to attract them, increasing numbers of Ilocanos and Igorots, many of whom had originally come as laborers on the road and other construction, came to settle permanently in Baguio.

When Forbes was replaced by Harrison in 1913, the practice of moving the entire government from Manila to Baguio was discontinued, and there was considerable fear for the future of Baguio for a time. But by this time, the utility of Baguio had become sufficiently established in the minds of many Filipinos as well as the American colonial officials, and Harrison himself was won over to support it. The succeeding decade saw the increasing Filipinization of Baguio, now no longer as a hill station for foreigners, but as a major vacation and tourist center. In the years that followed, it would come to serve a complex of functions as the political, commercial, and educational center for the region.

The monograph is based on a wide range not only of published literature, but also of unpublished documents, particularly the Forbes papers in Harvard and the Library of Congress, as well as records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs. A series of maps from succeeding years well illustrate the evolution of Baguio from the original plan of Burnham to its form in 1928. Though written from the point of view of a geographer, situating the development of Baguio within the context of other hill stations of similar origin, many aspects of the study will be of interest as well to the historian of the broader aspects of the American colonial regime and its operation. Though at times overly repetitious and in need of editing, it is a solid contribution to its field.

John N. Schumacher

NATIONALISM IN SEARCH OF IDEOLOGY: THE INDONESIAN NATIONALIST PARTY 1946-1965. By J. Eliseo Rocamora. Quezon City: Philippine Center for Advanced Studies, 1975. 412 pages.

The Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI, National Party of Indonesia), which was once the major party in Indonesian politics, is the subject of Rocamora's 400-page study. This is in fact the first major study of the postwar PNI, not only in English but also in any other language. Fuad M. Salim's (1964) and Slamet Siregar's (1973) unpublished M.A. theses (submitted to the University of Indonesia), which were not consulted by Rocamora, were smaller in scope and covered much shorter periods. Salim deals with the prewar PNI during 1927-30 while Siregar examines the postwar PNI during 1945-50.

Rocamora, a Filipino political scientist trained at Cornell University, has succeeded in presenting an analysis of the complicated history of the PNI based on voluminous Indonesian documents. The book is divided into nine

chapters commencing from the inception of the postwar PNI in 1946 and ending in the 1965 coup which marked the decline of the PNI as a major party.

The PNI, a radical party out of power in the initial period, gradually became more conservative as it developed and came to power in the 1950s. It was basically an *abangan* (Javanese nominal Muslim) party led by the *priyayi* class (Javanese civil servants and aristocrats). The necessity to procure funds for the operation of the party and the 1955 general elections caused PNI to recruit members from business and well-to-do circles, including local Chinese businessmen. This resulted in a more conservative attitude of the PNI and led to the unhappiness of President Sukarno, regarded as the "father" of the PNI. Sukarno attempted to radicalize the party but was impeded by the Conservative elements. His aims only materialized after the decline of Constitutional Democracy and the introduction of Guided Democracy, when he, the army, and the PKI played the major roles in Indonesian politics.

President Sukarno managed to destroy the power base of the political parties by issuing regulations preventing civil servants from becoming members. His cabinet members were also required to resign from their respective parties. Nevertheless, informal party affiliation continued between these ex-party members and the parties. Restriction of political parties gave rise to various mass organizations (*ormas*) which were in fact front-organizations of the political parties. The PNI had five major mass organizations dominated by younger and radical elements whose leaders eventually became prominent PNI leaders. They pushed the PNI to the left and succeeded in declaring *Marhaenisme*, the PNI ideology based on Marxism adapted to the Indonesian situation, in line with President Sukarno's interpretation of the doctrine. Right-wing elements were purged from the party and only made a comeback after the 1965 coup.

Rocamora's treatment of the PNI is detailed and impressive. He analyzes not only the complex and fascinating relationships between Sukarno and the PNI but also the struggle for power between various groups within the party, especially between the conservatives and the radicals. Furthermore, he attempts to make a case for the important role played by the PNI during the period of Guided Democracy. This role of the PNI was equivalent to, if not more important than that of the PKI. In this, however, he is less successful, due to the limited evidence he presents.

Rocamora's overemphasis on the political ideology and political struggle between factions in the PNI leads to his deemphasis of other important aspects. For instance, the question of the collaboration between the PNI and local Chinese only receives passing attention (p. 125). The financial aspect of party politics should be treated as important. Therein probably lies part of the explanation of the gradual conservativeness of the PNI leadership. This was also probably one of the major reasons why the postwar PNI opened its membership to local Chinese while the prewar PNI did not. This point is not

made in Rocamora's study. It seems that his overconcern with postwar developments occasionally led him to overlook the historical perspectives.

It is also a pity that he ends his study with the 1965 coup. Since the book was published in 1975, it could have covered the postcoup period, which might present an equally interesting story of the development and decline of political parties in general and the PNI in particular. However, Rocamora does provide us with a conclusion attempting to relate the PNI and the current political situation in Indonesia. The short and rather scanty presentation of the postcoup situation in the conclusion creates an impression that this is an afterthought rather than an integral part of the study. It is far too short for an adequate understanding of the political process or the history of political parties during the New Order period.

It is useful to point out that the PNI was merged into a new political party called the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (PDI) in early 1973 and lost its dominant role within that party after the PDI 1976 Congress. The fusion of the PNI into the PDI was in connection with the simplification of political parties, a policy strongly advocated by Sukarno. Ironically, this policy was again taken up by the Suharto government and was only achieved after the fall of Sukarno.

Rocamora's study was originally a dissertation submitted to Cornell University in 1974 and was meant for Indonesian specialists. The use of too many Indonesian terms might create problems for non-Indonesian specialists. Some Indonesian terms could have been replaced by their English equivalents (e.g., Organisasi Bahagian, Organisasi Simpatisan, Ormas, kepala daerah, etc.), or at least a list of abbreviations and glossary should have been provided. Regrettably, this has not been done. A few minor mistakes are found in the book, for instance, Dr. Ong Eng Die was trained in Economics but received his Ph.D. in Sociology and not in Economics (p. 70); *Sin Po* was not published in Semarang but in Jakarta (p. 393). The name of the Semarang newspaper in question was *Kuang Po*.

Despite minor weaknesses, Rocamora has made a significant contribution to the political history of Indonesia. His book should be read by all those who want to learn more about modern Indonesian political history.

Leo Suryadinata

PHILIPPINE PROVERB LORE. By Damiana L. Eugenio. Quezon City: Philippine Folklore Society, 1975. vii, 191 pages.

The following are three variants of a proverb collected respectively from the provinces of Bohol, Iloilo, and Bicolandia. "*Ang saging Costa dili manaha ug*