

Partei und lenkte von dort aus auch den Widerstand der Bevölkerung. Zukünftig wird von Interesse sein, wie sich seine Anhänger in der Nepali-Congress Partei durchsetzen werden. Mitte Februar 1992 hat der Nepali-Congress sich zu einem Parteitag getroffen, um neue gemeinsame Richtlinien zu erarbeiten. Es bleibt zu hoffen, daß diese Zielsetzungen auch in der Praxis umzusetzen sind und die Partei nach außen hin geschlossen auftreten wird.

Zu Krämers Buch sei abschließend bemerkt, daß neben der Fülle von Informationen auch ein sehr gutes Literaturverzeichnis sowie ein Anhang mit verschiedenen Übersichten und Tabellen beigelegt wurde, die dem Leser das Einordnen und Verarbeiten des Buchinhalts erleichtern.

Susanne von der Heide

**Salim Said, Genesis of Power: General Sudirman and the Indonesian Military in Politics, 1945-49**

Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1991, 185 S.

The author of the book is a wellknown Indonesian journalist, a film critic and, since a number of years, also the head of the Jakarta Arts Council. But those who read his present book on the role of the Indonesian military in politics will soon realize that he is also an eminent expert on the history of the Indonesian armed forces. In fact, Salim Said was for a longer period a journalist at the *Indonesian Armed Forces Daily*, the *Angkatan Bersenjata*, and he won access to leading representatives of the army as well as to material not easily accessible to outsiders. These informations were used to study the historical context in archives in the Netherlands and in Indonesia, resulting in a Ph.D.-dissertation, submitted to the Ohio State University in 1985, on which the present book is based.

As he states in his introduction, his intention is to explain how the Indonesian military has been able to secure their dominant role in Indonesian politics. Said is aware of many parallels in the new states of the third world with the interference of the army in politics but he hesitates to accept the theories of political scientists, trying to analyze this phenomenon as the product of an "intervention from outside" for the Indonesian case. In Indonesia, he says, there was no such intervention, the "self-created" Indonesian army played an active political role since the very beginning of the Republic in August 1945, mainly due to the weakness of civilian institutions. In a first chapter with the somewhat misleading title "The Revolution" he discusses the emergence of the revolutionary forces, all of them deeply imbued with the wish to defend Indonesian independence when it was threatened by the old colonialist powers trying to regain their former colonies after the war. In fact, it is the period 1945 until 1949 which is usually referred to as "the Indonesian Revolution" and there are more developments involved than the establishment of an army, the emergence of factions in the army, the question of leadership, the various aspects of a guerilla war, etc., which form the body of this book. But it is exactly this concentration of intra-army developments which makes the book a welcome and valuable contribution to modern Indonesian historiography. Most of the facts as such are known and have been related many times, by army historians, in particular in the impressive multi volume work of



General Abdul Harris Nasution, or in reminiscences such as those of the former chief of staff T.B. Simatupang or in scientific accounts on the history of the army written by Harold Crouch, Ulf Sundhassen, or Nugroho Notokusanto, to name but a few. Salim Said, however, is able to add quite a number of new and revealing details, in particular on the tension (not to say friction) between former KNIL-officers (graduated from the Dutch colonial army officers school) and those coming from the Japanese created Peta or Voluntary defense units.

The latter believed to have a clear political mandate. This is superbly documented in the book in the chapter treating the hitherto only vaguely known political ideas of General Sudirman, the first commander in chief of the Indonesian armed forces, who did not care about his health problems and died of tuberculosis at the end of the Indonesian revolution. He established the tradition to contradict politicians when they, for reasons of diplomacy, were ready to compromise with the colonial powers or when they seemed to neglect the interests of the troops. The former KNIL-officers (Urip, Nasution, Simatupang etc.) were more restrained and left politics to the politicians. To be sure, both, former KNIL- and former Peta-officers, were equally nationalistic and ready to fight the aggressors, but there were different views with regard to tactics and necessities, and to controversial issues such as the "rationalization of the army"-policy in the period up to 1955 or the "dual function of the army" after 1958. The intensity of the discussions of these issues can be much better understood with the new information, procured by Said's research.

Some Indonesians have argued that Salim Said may have overstated the issue: KNIL-officers vs. Peta-officers, and they have pointed to the fact that the common soldiers of the revolution were not even aware of the conflict at all. This might be true. But the difference went deep and had their consequences throughout the history of the Indonesian republic. Towards the end of the book, when more recent developments in the Indonesian army are discussed, many readers will be surprised to learn how vivid the two traditions (restraint in political actions and the will to determine the political course) are still alive in Indonesian politics. General Suharto, in the time of the revolution the right hand of General Sudirman, has no scruples in enforcing his own political will, whereas on the other hand General Nasution, the inventor of the "dual function"-concept, does not want a political role of the army in day-to-day politics. He insists that its political role should be restricted to a representation in legislative bodies, in particular in the MPR or Peoples Consultative Assembly. This is the true sovereign of the state which determines the political course, and the President of the Republic is responsible to it for the implementation of his policy.

The book - as mentioned above - is a valuable addition to the literatur on modern Indonesia. It provides important new information on the rise and function of the army. It furthermore presents a vivid description of the continuing discussion of the political role of the army, and, - certainly not bad in an election year - it draws the attention to the constitutional foundations of the state, which are sometimes obscured by the forces of the political process.