

## **Abdul Rahman Tolleng Democrate Socialist Thoughts: A Historical Analysis 1956 - 1974**

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**Abstract:** *This study aims to explain the thoughts and journey of Abdul Rahman Tolleng as a democratic socialist figure to lay the foundation for political reform in the early life of the New Order. Political reform was important to replfance the authoritarian Old Order values into more democratic values. This study used historical methods consisting of topic selection, heuristics, verification, interpretation, and historiography. The results showed that Rahman Tolleng contributed to democratic socialist thought in politic in early New Order era. Rahman became a member of the DPR from the Golkar faction to realize modernization in the political field. Modernization in the political field was carried out by fighting for the idea of a dual party and district system in the 1971 Election Bill. Rahman was also a member of Bappilu which brought Golkar to become the winner of the 1971 election. Rahman tried to bring the Golkar party into a modern party. For his involvement in Golkar, Rahman was known as the spokesman for the New Order. Unfortunately, several ABRI leaders were disturbed by Rahman's idea of reform. In the end, Rahman was accused of being involved in the events of January 15, 1974 and sent to prison.*

**Keywords:** *Abdul Rahman Tolleng, Democratic Socialism, Dwi Party, Golkar, Modernization*

### **Introduction**

On July 5th 1959, President Soekarno released a Presidential Decree containing the dissolution of the Constituent Body and the re-enactment of the 1945 Constitution. This decree also marked the implementation of Guided Democracy, as a substitute for Parliamentary Democracy, which was considered failed to create political stability.

Guided Democracy was accompanied by the emergence of the Political Manifesto of the Republic of Indonesia and the 1945 Constitution; second, Indonesian-style socialism; third, Guided Democracy; fourth, Guided Economy; Fifth, the Indonesian personality known as the Manipol USDEK.

Part of the political community viewed the Manipol USDEK as the main justification for mind control efforts. Most of the control process had been done according to government regulations on the press. The press must act as a revolutionary tool. (Herbert Feith, 1995)

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In 1960, newspaper editors were required to pledge allegiance to state ideology. Several periodicals sympathizing with Masyumi and the Indonesian Socialist Party (PSI) had their publication permits permanently revoked for refusing to comply with these regulations. In 1961, the government began implementing the Manipol USDEK indoctrination program for journalists (Herbert Feith, 1995).

Manipol USDEK also penetrated into a campus or university. The Manipol USDEK was then greeted with hostility, cynicism, and indifference. Students considered that the Manipol USDEK was curtailing academic freedom. President Soekarno's criticism, for example, of Hollands Denken's intellectualism and “textbook thinking” was considered a threat on academic freedom (Herbert Feith, 1995).

At the same time, the university became a political arena of student. Plus, systematically, political parties began to had student organizations affiliated with them. For example, PKI created the Concentration of the Indonesian Student Movement (CGMI) and PNI created the Indonesian National Student Movement (GMNI).

In Bandung, there were also a number of student organizations affiliated with political parties. One of them was the Socialist Student Movement (GMS). Officially, GMS was affiliated with PSI. Abdul Rahman Tolleng was one of the members of the GMS. As a member of the GMS, Rahman often

criticized President Soekarno's policies and his ties to PKI. Criticism continued because President Soekarno was considered not democratic and the longer he served, the more authoritarian he was.

Rahman assessed that Guided Democracy was not a democratic system. However, it was a form of controlling people's mind and actions by the state. The statement was based on the thoughts of Rahman Tolleng when he was a member of GMS. The actions of GMS members were known based on the idea of Popular socialism. Popular socialism was introduced by Sjahrir. In this case, Popular socialism was a struggle to create a just, prosperous, and contented society. The focus of his struggle was to elevate the fate and dignity of the poor by transforming traditional society into a modern one.

Later, Rahman explained Sjahrir's thoughts based on his own interpretation. Rahman viewed Sjahrir's view as democratic socialism, not Popular socialism. (Rahman Tolleng, 2014) It was this view of democratic socialism that permeated Rahman's actions. For Rahman, democracy was a central value for social democrats. This was because democracy allows equal opportunities for individuals to participate in determining human destiny. Other values such as equality and social justice are important, but formal democracy can coexist with great injustice. Thus, equality and social justice as ideological joints are inadequate.

With that view, Rahman often criticized a number of policies of President Soekarno's government. Such as by holding rallies and distributing “dark pamphlets” containing criticism towards Sukarno. These actions made Rahman a fugitive from the Old Order regime.

After the event of October 1st 1965, Rahman and his fellow students from Bandung began to conduct a series of demonstrations. Rahman became a member of KAMI Bandung and demanded that PKI should be disbanded and had Sukarno removed.

To spread his ideas to the public, Rahman founded the Indonesian Student Weekly (MI) West Java Edition. Rahman outlined and controlled the editorial. He also wrote for editorials. Because of that, MI was often referred to as the Rahman Tolleng newspaper. (François Raillon,

1984) François Raillon said, MI became the spokesperson for a new generation. MI laid the foundations of the New Order such as the idea of modernization.

In the same period, after becoming a member of KAMI Bandung, Rahman was appointed as Chairman of the Presidium KAMI Center for the period 1967-1968. In 1968, Rahman was appointed a member of parliament. He sat in Mashoeri's newly formed Development Work Faction.

Rahman chose to fight in parliament to offer an alternative concept, in order to change an authoritarian Guided Democracy system into a democratic and modern state. Rahman and his friends wanted Golkar to become a disciplined and modern party. The struggle from within parliament was usually carried out by social democrats by aiming of changing the constitution.

Based on this background, the author would like to examine more deeply the thoughts and political activities of Abdul Rahman Tolleng who strove a radical change in the Old Order political system. To do this, Rahman entered into polity in the era of President Soeharto. He became a member of parliament and had great influence in the birth of the New Order through the Golkar Party.

Professor Robert W. Hefner, in his book *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*, said that Rahman Tolleng was one of the most brilliant thinkers of the 66 generation. When he was a member of parliament, Rahman had several times conveyed brilliant ideas in the political system in Indonesia. For example, in a plenary session of the DPR-GR in 1969, Rahman suggested that Indonesia had implement a district election system. Unfortunately, the idea ran aground. Rahman was also a supporter of the idea of the Dual Party so that the state had a control and supervision. In this case, there need to be two dominant parties, there were the government party and the opposition party. In this way, the country was expected to be more democratic.

The author was also interested in the topic because Rahman was one of the socialist figures in Indonesia. Rahman's ideas about politics developed when he joined as a member of GMS Bandung in 1956. Rahman was also close to PSI cadres, even meeting Sutan Syahrir when he was a second year student at ITB. Of course, lessons from PSI, namely socialism, had been internalized in Rahman's way of thinking.

In an interview with Deutsche Welle (DW) Indonesia in 2013. Rahman admitted as a socialist himself. However, he admitted that he was not dogmatic about Marxism because there had been many changes. One of the goals of socialism that he wanted to change was eradicating poverty.

Socialism for Rahman was not just an ethic, but an action, an operation. He was optimistic that undemocratic conditions could be corrected because humans were basically greedy, but in humans there were good qualities that might be explored.

That basis made Rahman move to carry out a political struggle. For Rahman, the political struggle was a struggle for values, a choice of values about good and bad, and not a matter of choosing scientific truth. Political struggle was not a technocratic choice. The struggle for values was carried out in terms of the values of freedom, justice, and democracy. It is not values that deify power which ultimately leads to a repressive system. To examine the political activities and thoughts of Abdul

Rahman Tolleng, the author used Rahman's writings, Rahman's personal archives, books, newspapers, magazines, and interviews with a number of Rahman's colleagues.

## Research Methods

This research focused on analyzing Rahman's thoughts and actions in promoting political change. The history of thought was an attempt to find previous ideas seen from the course of history. According to Gilbert Highet, the history of thought is an almost inexplicable sign. The history of thought becomes a picture of the time and environment a person is educated by using their high imagination and wide range of knowledge. The figure also stood out above his contemporaries and peers, which made him a figure of his day. (Gilbert Highet, 2009)

To blacken the unclear sign, the researcher used a biographical approach, which is an approach that seeks to understand and explore the personality of a character based on the background of the social and cultural environment in which the character was raised, how the educational process was experienced, and people around him (Taufik Abdullah et al, 1978). This approach is focused on looking at Rahman's political biography from being a student activist (outside political institutions) to becoming a member of the DPR (inside political institutions). As for political action, it can be seen from the five main political concepts defined by Miriam Budiardjo, there are state, power, decision making, policy, and distribution or allocation. (Budiardjo, 2010)

This research that explained the idea of a biography is a literature study or usually called secondary research. This means that the support for this study came from the literature in the form of books, memoirs, encyclopedias, journals, newspapers, magazines, and interviews. (Mestika Zed, 2001)

In addition, AB Lopian said that a biography is a form of historical work. Therefore, all requirements regarding the writing of historical works apply to the writing of biographies, such as matters relating to data collection, including criticism of sources (written and oral) and so on.

Thus, the stages used use the principles of historical research which consists of five stages, namely, topic selection, source collection, verification, interpretation, and writing or historiography (Kuntowijoyo, 2003). At the heuristic stage, the author tried to collect data from various sources related to the biography of Rahman Tolleng. The researcher used written documents, both books that discuss Rahman Tolleng and interviews conducted by other researchers on Rahman Tolleng. In addition, the researcher also interviewed colleagues and relatives of Rahman Tolleng, there were Tati Rahman (Rahman Tolleng's wife), Deny Salman, Robertus Robert, Harry Wibowo, Rum Aly, and Wimar Witoelar, and Sarwono Kusumaatmadja.

The next stage is source criticism or verification. This aims to ensure whether the sources that have been compiled are valid or not. There are two kinds of source criticism, there are external criticism (authenticity or authenticity) and internal criticism (credibility). External criticism is carried out to ensure the authenticity of the source, including research on the source, date, time, and who the author or author is. Meanwhile, internal criticism is carried out to ensure whether the data can be trusted or not. This is done by looking at and researching the content of the source, including content, language used, situation at the time of writing, style and idea. While internal criticism is to test the validity of the source truth.

Then, the researcher interpret meaning. In order to avoid the author's subjectivity, interpretation is open to other characters' writings that are contradictory. The last stage, writing history, researcher focused on paying attention to the chronological aspects of events while paying attention to the cause and effect or causality of events. This stage is the last stage of the process of presenting facts in the form of this thesis.

## **Research Overview**

This research tried to describe the journey of the struggle of the Socialist Democratic thought after the disbandment of the PSI. When discussing democratic socialism, the figure that immediately sticks out was PSI General Chair Sutan Sjahrir. However, after PSI was disbanded, the discussion did not seem to be discussed much. Several researchers also assessed that social democracy discourse in the New Order era was absent. This was because social democracy is the same as communism.

The journal entitled *Democratic Socialism in Practice in Indonesia*, written by Mhd Alfahjri Sukri, explained that PSI with its democratic socialist understanding showed that democratic socialism was different from communism, this was seen in the form of the struggle carried out by PSI which fought in a persuasive, evolutionary way, not using violence. revolution), as well as fighting in a constitutional way by participating in general elections. The programs offered by PSI are characteristic of democratic socialists, namely social security programs, human rights, demanding the role of the state to maintain the prosperity of its people. However, this journal only describes the development of democratic socialists during the Old Order.

In fact, in the journal *In Friedrich Ebert's journal Stiftung and Social Democracy; Understanding the activities of global social movements in disseminating discourse in Indonesia* by Aspin Nur Arifin Rivai said that social democracy in the New Order era was not discussed much and was absent because it was considered the same as communism.

Or in the journal *Social Democracy, Tracing the Footprints and Prospects of Social Democracy in Indonesia in 2011*, trying to trace social democratic thinking that developed in the Old Order and its contextualization with reform. They discussed a little about the development of social democratic thought in the New Order. Based on that basis, the researcher wants to explore the social thought of democracy after the fall of the Old Order and its role in the early life of the New Order.

## **Results and Discussion**

### **Brief Profile**

Abdul Rahman Tolleng was born on July 5, 1937 in Balanipa, Sinjai Regency, South Sulawesi. Rahman is the eldest of five children. Rahman's father worked as a merchant. The Rahman family was a very devout Muslim. His father, often called Puang Tollen. People would not be called him Puang, if they were not respected, according to the Bugis society. Meanwhile, Mrs. Rahman was a housewife. She was a follower of one of the strict Islamic orders. When he was young, Rahman's mother had died. This situation had Rahman's father educate his children firmly and disciplined.

Rahman had experienced Japanese education for more than two years. At that time, at the elementary school level, Rahman became a student of a public school whose origins were

lowly schools in the Dutch era. In the Dutch colonial era, there were two kinds of public schools, there were people's schools in regional languages and Dutch public schools which were intended for nobles, prominent figures or civil servants such as the *Hollandsch Inlandsche School (HIS)*. When the Japanese occupation, HIS was continued and became a Japanese school for indigenous children. Not knowing the reason, Rahman also became a student from the school until the third grade of elementary school.

In 1945, the allies landed so that the school returned to being a Dutch-language school under the name *Algemeene Lagere School (ALS)*. Rahman finished (1949) studying at ALS because East Indonesia was established as a puppet state of the Netherlands. Later, Rahman experienced a year of Dutch Junior High School. When the TNI landed, the State of East Indonesia was disbanded, so Rahman went to a regular high school. So, Rahman from grade III elementary school to grade I junior high school experienced Dutch education. During that time, Rahman was taught by Dutch teachers from the Catholic church.

When they were still in elementary school, Rahman and his friends once shouted 'freedom' to the Dutch troops during a ceremony to commemorate the Birthday of the Netherlands. The Dutch troops were shocked. They then chased Rahman and his classmate. When they were caught, they were whipped to tears.

Rahman's courage in shouting these screams could not be separated from the spirit of nationalism that had grown at that time. Rahman admitted that the spirit of nationalism emerged when he saw Indonesian soldiers flying the Red and White Flag. Rahman also almost every afternoon peeking at a group of young people who practice marching on the highway. They usually wore white clothes and a red and white emblem was attached on their chests. This happened at the end of 1945, when he was in grade III of elementary school. He secretly wanted to be part of the youth group. He also wore a red and white emblem on his chest every evening that made by his mother.

While attending Junior High School Part B (*Pasti Alam*) in Watampone, Rahman became the administrator of the Indonesian Islamic Student Organization (PII) with orthodox tendencies. Once upon a time, according to his appreciation as a student, Rahman was amazed and interested in the theory and movement of Marxism. However, the interest did not last long. Rahman's friends at PII told Rahman that they were anti-religious and anti-God. This statement made Rahman rethink admiring the teachings of Marxism. He thought, if the ideology of Marxism is anti-religious, then he must look for an ideology that is not anti-religious. Although looking for the ideology it is not yet clear what it looks like.

Rahman continued his education at the High School Part B (*Pasti-Alam*) in Ujungpandang, Makassar in 1952. Rahman completed his studies in 1955. In that year, Rahman decided to continue his studies to the island of Java. As a family of small traders, Rahman tried hard to get scholarships. The hard work paid off. Rahman received a scholarship from the Department of Agriculture at IPB, at that time it was still the Faculty of Agriculture, UI. When he arrived in Bogor, Rahman hesitated. He was in a dilemma because he was actually more interested in studying in Bandung. This desire was inseparable from his interest and admiration for the great President of the Republic of Indonesia Soekarno in Bandung. Because he wanted to be like Soekarno, Rahman was looking for a scholarship at FIPIA-UI ITB. With his abilities, he was accepted into the Department of Pharmacy.

## **Rahman Entered GMS**

In 1955, in Bandung, student organizations affiliated with political parties did not yet have strong influence and were not very well known. This made Rahman Tolleng decide to join the Bandung Student Association (PMB). However, while as a member of the PMB, Rahman was interested in joining the Bandung branch of GMS, an extra-student organization that had close ties to the Indonesian Socialist Party (PSI).

Rahman first became a member of the Bandung branch of GMS in 1956. Also in this year, the Bandung Branch of GMS was established on April 20, 1956. GMS was originally a student division of the Socialist Youth Movement (GPS). This division then seceded and formed its own student organization.

Rahman claimed to have gained experience that was able to develop an analytical and critical way of thinking when he became a GMS administrator. When he became a newcomer at GMS, Rahman received special training and education for cadres held by the GMS Central Leadership Council (DPP) in Kebayoran Lama, Jakarta, from June 22<sup>nd</sup> to July 7<sup>th</sup>, 1956. The training was conducted to deepen socialism in theory and practice for cadres. his cadre. This training was attended by participants of GMS branches throughout Indonesia. Socialist figures such as Sutan Sjahrir, Sumitro, Sitorus, Tauchid, and Listio were here to provide materials for them. (DPP Socialist Student Movement, 1956)

From the training, GMS put Popular socialism as an ideology and practice of struggle. Head of DPP GMS Maruli T. H Silitonga explained the definition.

*"Popular socialism is a teaching and movement that requires a just and prosperous society in which wealth, especially in the form of means of income, is controlled for public and state purposes and its laws guarantee the lives of all members of that society based on equality in all fields and a high degree of humanity." appropriate, between where his freedom to develop his spiritual talents, as well as the distribution of power within the state that can guarantee the possibility and ability of each member of society that really helps regulate his own destiny (decentralization of power)". (DPP Socialist Student Movement, 1956).*

Maruli Silitonga emphasized that GMS was based on popular socialism which strives to create a just, prosperous, and contented society. This struggle sought to eliminate all kinds of oppression and exploitation in society, mainly due to the existing economic structure.

Regarding the socialist view, Sarbini Sumawinata said that Popular socialism as an ideology was an attempt to continue and continue what Sjahrir had planted his seeds. Sjahrir saw that the struggle of the Indonesian people was much bigger than just to free themselves from Dutch colonialism. He saw a great struggle for change and a transition from feudal culture to modern culture.

Popular Socialism is a special feature of socialism that is very suitable for Indonesia, both as a society and as a nation, and not other ideologies such as fascism, communism, or nationalism which at the beginning of the Indonesian revolution filled the entire political air of Indonesia.

The principles of Sjahrir's popular socialism are humanity, freedom, democracy, and the highest respect for human rights. Whereas what is special about popular socialism is the focus of the struggle to raise the fate, dignity, and dignity of the poor and weak.

The idea of socialism penetrated into Rahman's view in determining his attitude and actions. Rahman himself had several times met with Sjahrir. In fact, on October 16, 1957, GMS Bandung invited Sutan Sjahrir to give a lecture on the occasion of the Anniversary of GMS Bandung in Bandung. Rahman at that time heard Sjahrir's lecture.

Rahman personally admitted that his thoughts are influenced by socialism, especially from Sjahrir's thoughts. The confession was made when he gave an oration to commemorate 90 years of Bung Sjahrir in 2014. (Rahman Tolleng, 2014). However, Rahman explained that Sjahrir's socialism was not only in terms of the concept of popular socialism. Rahman also explained Sjahrir's socialism in the order of democratic socialism. It appeared that Rahman was trying to give an interpretation of Sjahrir's socialism.

Rahman said, Sjahrir is a big figure who represents the prospects of social democracy. Democracy is a central value for social democrats. This is because democracy allows equal opportunities for individuals to participate in determining human destiny. Other values such as equality and social justice are of course important, but formal democracy can coexist with great injustice and is therefore an inadequate ideological base.

According to Rahman, the ideals of socialism are a continuation of the teachings of democracy. But the teachings of socialism also want to correct the defects that accompany democracy. Rahman himself was not very interested in using the theory of class struggle—which is an important element of orthodox socialism—to create a socialist society. The reason is that he is not a dogmatic socialist against the teachings of Marxism because it has changed a lot. However, class struggle can be used as long as it is in accordance with the values of socialism that upholds the human spirit and human solidarity.

Rahman said that in the socialist struggle, Sjahrir as an ideologue emphasized the need for historical awareness and had a rational view of the direction of development of events. From the beginning, Sjahrir did not want to be imprisoned with his own thoughts. Therefore, Sjahrir never offered his followers a blueprint for the struggle of the ideals of socialism.

Even though he did not have a blueprint, according to Rahman, Sjahrir in his book *Thoughts and Struggle* hoped that the work of leading change can be carried out by true revolutionaries, that is people who are brave and able to see the truth, are able to think calmly and soundly, know about change and are capable of measuring real situation. Don't be afraid to let go of old attitudes if you need to be unsentimental.

Sjahrir's views on rational thinking and having historical awareness at least influenced Rahman Tolleng. With his historical awareness, Rahman formulated his own socialism. Socialism for Rahman is not just an ethic but an action, an operation. The operation was carried out with political struggle. For Rahman, the political struggle is a struggle for values, a choice of values about good and bad, and not a matter of choosing scientific truth. So political struggle is not a technocratic choice.

The struggle for values with this action was what Rahman tried to do after the collapse of the Old Order. By adjusting the views of social democrats to the context of the times, Rahman decided to try to realize modernization in the political field. Modernization is believed to be able to change people who previously thought traditionally to be more rational. This change in

society was also what Sutan Sjahrir wanted. To bring about this political change, Rahman fought through the democratic path.

Later, Rahman would try to carry out those struggles in the parliament by suggesting a system of two parties and districts. Both ideas were considered capable of bringing a new Indonesia, more modern and democratic so that socialist ideals could be realized. He also considered the idea to solve the source of the problems of the Old Order, which were the proliferation of traditional and primordial pluralism reflected in party patterns. This pattern made society divided which in turn built what was called autoauthoritarian temptation or authoritarian temptations. Rahman tried to eliminate the source of the problem by carrying out a value struggle in terms of the values of freedom, justice, and democracy, instead of interests that deity power which ultimately leads to a repressive system.

### **Some of Rahman Tolleng's Reading Sources**

Based on the researcher findings when sorting the research supporting data at residence of Rahman Tolleng, Rahman kept a number of books and pamphlets specifically about PSI cadres. One of the writings was entitled "Organizational Problems" written by IM Sitorus. The writings were collection of essays from the print media 'Voice of Socialists' year II No. 1 (15 August 1950) to VI No. 2 (12 February 1954). Not only that, there were also PSI cadre material entitled "Strategy and Tactics" (published by PSI DPP); then "Political Education Series" (Published by DPP PSI); and "Politics and diplomacy" (DPP PSI).

Rahman also read and collected Sutan Sjahrir's writings. Among them, "Our Struggle", "Popular Socialism" (1952), three articles on Socialism in Western Europe 1951-1952, two articles on Asian Socialism (1953), "Socialism and Marxism: A Critique of Marxism" (1953-1954), "National and Internationalism" (Sutan Sjahrir's lectures at the Asian Socialist Conference, Rangoon, 1952), "Socialism in Our Country" (1954), and "Production and Expertise in Socialism" (1952). Then, Rahman also read the text of Sutan Sjahrir's speech at the Second Asian Socialist Conference in Bombay, 9 September 1957.

However, there was one of Sutan Sjahrir's texts that seems had a major role in shaping Rahman Tolleng's attitude and views in addressing Guided Democracy. The manuscript, entitled Socialism and Leadership, was written by Sjahrir in order to give a lecture commemorating the GMS Anniversary in Bandung, October 16, 1957. Sjahrir admitted that the title and theme were chosen when President Soekarno and his supporters began to popularize the word Guided Democracy to address socio-political problems in Indonesia (Sutan Sjahrir, 1957).

Sjahrir explained the words "leader" and "guided" as if they were considered as a solution to overcome problems in Indonesia. Meanwhile, democracy was considered as a source of chaos. In fact, Guided Democracy is a term that contains contradictory ideas. In the notion of democracy, it is understood that the people must govern and lead themselves, whereas if there are other parties or forces outside themselves who govern, it cannot be called democracy. Moreover, what was desired by Guided Democracy was often interpreted as the sovereignty of the people, so that the people are protected so that there is no chaos and anarchism.

In addition, according to Sjahrir, based on the history of human development, the lessons from the leader were closely related to religious understanding in the feudal realm, which understands and recommends the arrangement of life in the form of a hierarchy according to

God's will. The supreme ruler is God, and below him are his representatives to lead and rule in the world. On the other hand, in democracy, the people seem to have a close relationship with the development of the appreciation of reason and ratio. Therefore, the notion of democracy must be suspicious of the words of the leadership, its composition, and its rules.

Sjahrir then emphasized that the ideology of socialism adopted by all PSI and GMS cadres was a democracy. In fact, it is also a continuation of the notion of democracy. Our socialism, said Sjahrir, strongly opposes the leader's words.

### **Rahman Tolleng Underground Activist**

The Presidential Decree 5 July 1959 and the re-enactment of the 1945 Constitution marked the implementation of guided democracy. According to Rahman, Guided Democracy is an authoritarian political system with great presidential power. Guided Democracy enforces consensus among political forces. Soekarno also made a kind of political nature and relied on mass mobilization and politicization.

Moreover, the indoctrination carried out by government institutions to instill the Manipol USDEK version of the Pancasila ideology also castrates the people's freedom to think and act. This ideology was also applied in educational institutions at the university level. The academic community must understand and practice the values of the Manipol USDEK.

Since the presidential decree, Rahman's movements as a member of the GMS had been closely monitored. His vocal criticism of the regime met resistance from various Soekarno supporters on campus. The situation got worse when the government banned PSI in 1960. The ban affected GMS as PSI's underbow. Other student organizations were suspicious of the movements of GMS members so they were ostracized.

Rahman, after GMS was monitored, often secretly distributed pamphlets criticizing Soekarno's policies. The intelligence services had difficulty tracking down the writer of the pamphlet because it was often anonymous and uses a pseudonym. Rahman Tolleng then together with his friends formed an underground movement group. The group was formed considering that GMS could no longer be run as a struggle engine. Rahman formed a group called the Revolutionary Youth Front (FPR). Sometimes this group was also called the Core Conference. This group was founded by 10-15 people.

This group was also known close to Soemarno, a former PSI cadre. Rahman acknowledged that closeness. In fact, Rahman admitted that their relationship with Soemarno was like the relationship between superiors and subordinates. This group usually regularly organizes political discussions to discuss the latest developments in the political situation. The speakers included Soebadio Sastrasatomo, Professor Sarbini Sumawinata, Soedjatmoko, TB Simatupang, Rosihan Anwar, and Soemarno. According to Soeripto, this group of anti-communist Bandung students often received writings from Professor DR Soemitro Djojohadikusumo, who at that time was in exile abroad. Dr. Soemitro's writings on behalf of the Reform Movement, which were compiled abroad, contain criticisms of Guided Democracy and the Economic Declaration (Dekon) (Hasyrul Moehtar, 1998).

Soeripto said that this group often distributed "dark pamphlets". In the fields of ideology and politics, the pamphlets reveal the parallels and similarities between the conception of Guided Democracy and the centralism of power in the style of communist countries in Eastern Europe and China in Asia. Likewise, as indicated in the pamphlet, it was difficult to distinguish

between Manipol USDEK and the PKI's policies and programs as stated in the Indonesian Society and the Indonesian Revolution.

In early August 1965, Rahman was invited by the Head of Joint Command V Commando Ganyang Malaysia (KOGAM) Brigadier General Sudarono to Jakarta. Rahman and his friends were asked for help to become volunteers from among scholars to be deployed to combat commands in the Malaysian border area. His job was to balance the power of the Communists to crush Malaysia.

After accepting the offer, the group was officially named the Socio-Political Syndicate Team at Joint V Kogam. Then, they recruited volunteers as well as social and political lecturers to the volunteers. While military training by the army.

The Supreme Operations Command of the Mandala Siaga Command appointed scholars to provide training for operations against Malaysia, August 21st 1965. This letter was signed by the Commander of the Mandala Siaga Command as well as Vice Air Admiral Omar Dani and General Secretary of Major Inf.Nrp. Otto Bojoh.

### **Rahman Leads the Student Movement**

Rahman came to the fore during the events of October 1st 1965. Rahman and members of his underground movement took a stand and held an assembly to reject the Revolutionary Council which was initiated by Untung, after the assassination of several generals. This statement was made before Suharto issued announcements after taking control of RRI on October 1st 1965 night.

Following the rally on October 1st 1965, Rahman Tolleng and a number of student activists from Bandung held a meeting to strengthen the ranks on October 4th 1965. From this analysis, the PKI was considered the mastermind behind the incident. Based on that analysis, it was decided to hold a mourning ceremony for the Bandung Students the next day, October 5th 1965.

Then, the Bandung Indonesian Student Action Unit was established. Rahman was mandated to become a member of the Political Bureau of KAMI Bandung. KAMI Bandung then held an action on January 13th 1966. The action was motivated by the government's policy of drastically cutting money (senering) on December 13th 1965. One thousand rupiah of old money changed its value into one rupiah of new money. The government continued to print money, while supplies were sorely lacking. If in 1955 the money supply was only 12,200 million rupiah, then in 1965 that figure skyrocketed to 2,200,000 million rupiah. These showed very high inflation of around 650 percent in 1965.

Not only that, the government also increased the price of kerosene and transportation fares. Kerosene from Rp150 per liter rose to Rp400 in old money. Postal and telecommunications costs were increased 10 times. Train fares increased by 500 percent. Automatically, the prices of basic necessities had skyrocketed.

Furthermore, KAMI Bandung often led demonstrations to demand that Soekarno step down from his position and take firm action against the PKI. Ahead of the Fourth MPRS Session on June 20th 1966, Rahman Tolleng initiated to create a magazine to voice the aspirations of students, especially the voice of KAMI Bandung. To be stronger, KAMI must disseminate their vision and analysis to the public. Rahman and several activists from KAMI Bandung then published the West Java Edition of the Indonesian Student Weekly (MI).

On June 19th 1966, the inaugural number MI West Java Edition was published. There were three founders and general leaders of MI, there were Riyandi S, Awan Karmawan Burhan, and Iwan Ramelan. The last name was the pseudonym of Rahman Tolleng. Rahman Tolleng himself appeared as the person in charge/chief editor of the newspaper. Because it was uncomfortable to have two positions, Rahman disguised his name as Iwan Ramelan. Rahman was the motor as well as the worker of the newspaper. He held the leadership of MI Jabar Edition until the newspaper was closed, at least until 1972 as one of the General Leaders, Persons in Charge, and Editor-in-Chief. Rahman outlined and controlled the editorial direction. He also wrote for editorials. Therefore, MI was often referred as the Rahman Tolleng newspaper (François Raillon, 1984).

MI carried the messages of the New Order. This was reflected in the news and reports, as well as in the regular rubrics (Editorial, Corner, People's Conscience column, Gelora Ampera, Political Encyclopedia) as well as freelance writings, both written by editorial members and sent by foreign writers. MI since the publication of the prime number had emerged as a political communicator of the New Order from Bandung.

On February 12th 1967, the DPR-GR urged the MPRS to immediately dismiss President Soekarno, and ordered the Board of Judges to investigate, examine, and prosecute the President legally. The DPR asked the MPRS to immediately hold a Special Session (SI). To deal with the SI, the DPR GR increased the number of its members by 108 people who had been inaugurated on February 1st 1967. Among those who were sworn in was the leader of KAMI Bandung, Soegeng Sarjadi. He was inaugurated as a member of the DPR-GR along with 13 other people representing KAMI: Slamet Sukirnantio, Tengku Zukfadli, Fahmi Idris, Marie Muhammad, Firdaus Wadji, Cosmos Batubara, Liem Bian Koen, Johnny Simandjuntak, M Zamroni, Yozar Anwar, David Natipulu, Salam Sumangat, and Nono Anwar Makarim.

Responding to this, the Political Bureau of the KAMI Consulate in Bandung in early December 1966 said that at present it was not necessary for the KAMI in general and the KAMI Bandung in particular to be included in the legislative bodies. The statement was signed by the entire Presidium: SM Sitompul (Periodic Chair), Daim A. Rachim, Rohali Sani, Lie Giok Hauw, Soegeng Sarjadi, Rachmat Witoelar, Asmawi Zaiul, AP. Soehiarto, Political Bureau: A. Rahman Tolleng, RAF Mully, Alex Rumondor and Presidium Secretary: Mansur Tuakia and Boyke Nainggolan.

Rahman did not mind the representative. However, he emphasized that the students' struggle was not to get seats in the DPR, but to realize a more democratic New Order. As long as Soegeng Sarjadi was consistent and loyal to the struggle, during that time he was also recognized as the representative of Bandung students. Rahman emphasized that the new students would determine their attitude if Soegeng Sarjadi prioritized his group over the New Order's ideals.

However, when he was appointed Chairman of the Presidium KAMI Center, Rahman tried to replace the student representatives in parliament with himself. Rahman Tolleng in an MI editorial conveyed the need to clean up the state apparatus inherited from the Old Order, and then change the structure of political life. With his position as the leader of KAMI, Rahman also used the mass of the action unit to encourage Suharto to replace the student representatives. The effort was successful, Rahman Tolleng became a member of the DPR-GR in February 1968. He joined the Development Work Faction formed by Mashuri. is a member of the

Development Work Faction C. Meanwhile, most of the members of the faction were filled by 1966 activists.

### **Entering Parliament**

Rahman had a strong reason to enter parliament. Rahman wanted to make changes from within to realize the idea of modernization that had been fought for a long time during the Old Order. According to Rahman, the transition era is the right moment to reshuffle the political structure that was previously very thick with the values of the Manipol USDEK to become more democratic values.

Modernization is the process of moving from traditional society to modern society in a comprehensive movement and touching the whole society. When quoting the definition from MI, modernization is a process, in which transformation takes place in all fields such as politics, economy, social, cultural, and so on. In the process, there are changes that overhauled the basic structure and style of the old society, which was static and backward, which was traditionally agrarian. As a result of these changes, a new society that is dynamic, progressive, industrial is rational, and aims at higher productivity. (The problem of modernization and the role of intelligence in underdeveloped countries. An article that was compiled and distributed swiftly during the Soekarno era. Published in MI Jabar Edition No. 68, October 1967)

In Indonesia, the main goal of modernization is to move into a just, prosperous, and richer society both in the material and spiritual fields. That means, it is necessary to change the economic conditions and mentality of Indonesia so as to build new Indonesia where there is no more poverty.

In order to achieve this, a healthy democratic climate is needed. A healthy democratic climate will allow the people to be involved in the modernization process. Thus, the state becomes aware of what the wishes and desires of the people are. In a healthy democracy, the people will be involved and it is possible to provide offers or alternatives for the sake of realizing prosperity.

The process of modernization cannot be separated from democracy because basically, improving conditions is for the prosperity of the people. Moreover, the essence of democracy lies in the recognition and of course the implementation of that recognition, that power is in the hands of the people. The level of power possessed by the people is a benchmark to test whether a political society is democratic enough or not.

For Rahman, democracy is one thing that must continue to be fought for. Democracy is an ethical not a scientific choice. Even though in the democratic process there are violations of human rights, it does not mean that we must condemn democracy. Democracy does not guarantee the disappearance of crime and fraud from the face of the earth. Instead, democracy starts from the belief that humans can be wrong. The flip side of the fallacy is that humans can improve their society if they can find out and test them openly. In an authoritarian system like this, it is difficult to obtain (Rahman Tolleng, 1994).

Rahman views the effort to realize modernization and democracy as starting with an overhaul or renewal of the political structure. In a seminar themed 'The Foundation for Reforming Political Structures' organized by the Reform Institute and attended by Rahman, reforming the political structure was needed because the political structure at that time was still

closed, ideologically oriented, and adhered to a multi-party system. Many political parties were still ideologically oriented rather than program oriented. This was one of the reasons why tasks cannot run properly. The political structure should be qualitatively open, directed towards development and welfare programs in order to achieve the objectives of the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila. The political parties and mass organizations should be based on the Pancasila objective. In an effort to had every political party open, a firm central program was needed to realize the welfare of the people. Meanwhile, quantitatively, the political structure must be dominated by two major parties within the framework of the Dual Party system. Based on this analysis, Rahman and his group assess that the idea of a dual party system needs to be realized in the political system. The struggle to realize the idea was carried out from within and outside the government. Rahman himself struggled so that the idea could be accepted in parliament.

### **Dual Party and District**

Rahman, who at that time was already a member of the DPR-GR, presented the idea to the MPRS General Assembly in March 1968. Rahman said that the idea of Dwi Party was actually simple, so that Suharto would lead the new forces into one party and be embodied in the cabinet. Parties were not invited into the cabinet and pushed into opposition. A number of political parties present at the General Assembly did not support this idea. Suharto also did not give a good response. He seemed to be still waiting for his position as president to be ratified, so he did not have the courage to be firm and just wanted to had good relations with political parties to provide a more democratic self-image.

While bringing up the idea of Dual Party, Rahman and his group tried to implement the district system and include it in the Election Law. In the district system, a country is divided into several districts or electoral districts where the number of elected representatives is equal to the number of districts. Rahman did not explain in detail about this district system. However, it seems that the suggestion is related to Rahman's efforts to simplify the Old Order parties which had a traditional and primordial nature of pluralism. For Rahman, this trait became a source of problems for the Old Order because it made society sharply divided. In turn, this maintain and even inherit autohoritarian temptations.

In addition, for Rahman, the district system could be a good ecosystem to support the idea of Dual Party. The gradual implementation of the district system was considered to be able to lead to the voluntary grouping of parties into two or three major parties. As for the implementation of the proportional system, it would only lead to the development of many parties, so that the idea of Dual Party would be difficult to implement.

Mohammad Syaiful Aris assessed that the district system can make the government more effective and responsible. This system will encourage the simplification of political parties and strengthen the responsibility of the people's representatives to voters in their respective districts. He offered the number of seats in the DPR RI 550 seats so that there were 550 voter districts. This amount can be increased or decreased. According to Aris, this system requires a relatively familiar situation between the voters and their elected representatives. This close relationship will make it easier for the people to express their aspirations.

At a plenary session of the DPR-GR representing the Golkar faction in 1969, Rahman, who was appointed as Deputy Chair of the C Development Work Faction, raised the idea that the general election system should be based on a district system instead of a proportional

representation system. According to him, the district system allows a direct relationship between the elect and the electorate. To strengthen his argument, Rahman reminded that the results of the Army Seminar II even agreed to implement a district system. However, Rahman's proposal was rejected. The refusal was because although the Development Work Faction had 80 members, most of them were individuals who did not have a party. Their position was weak compared to the strength of political parties (Tempo Edition Sutan Sjahrir, 2015)

In addition, Rahman also strove for the community to form parties or become party members. This was important so that it can create a climate of political freedom (political liberties) which was part of the dimension of democracy. But, apparently, Rahman's intention was to revive PSI.

In November 1969, the bill was passed into the Election Law. It was decided that the electoral system would be carried out using a proportional system. With this result, the idea of a district system was rejected. However, political parties had to give in to the number of parliamentarians appointed by the president, which was 100 out of 460 members of the DPR. In addition, the Election Law stipulates that only the existing political parties may participate in the election. This last point disappointed New Order activists because they prevented them from creating new political organizations for the election or reviving the old PSI and Masyumi parties as desired. Rahman Tolleng speaking on behalf of the Development Work Faction at the passing of the law acknowledged that it was a bitter reality for the New Order. However, by pointing to the growing reality that the majority in the DPR-GR had approved it, he finally said he had given up on this reality while constitutionally proclaimed that he would continue to fight for the principles at every opportunity. With the ratification of this law, the opportunity for PSI rehabilitation is lost because it is not allowed to come back to life even though it uses a different name.

Nevertheless, Rahman still struggles to make political changes. This struggle was seen when Rahman was involved in formulating a political strategy in order to win Golkar in the 1971 general election. In this case, Rahman was invited by Ali Moertopo to become a member of the Election Winning Body (Bappilu) of the Golkar Party. Rahman initially refused Ali's invitation. However, Rahman in the end accepted the offer. The reason, Rahman sees that Golkar can be used to realize the idea of modernization and democracy. He hoped that with his presence, Golkar could gradually transform into a modern party.

After accepting the offer, Rahman and his group moved quickly. On the one hand, Bappilu uses Golkar's military-assisted organizations to promote itself. Its administrators visited every house, spreading propaganda that only Golkar could guarantee stability and progress in development. Threats were also issued, not supporting Golkar would be labeled as not supporting the military or being considered sympathetic to the PKI. In the campaign, the capital's artists were brought in to attract the masses. Campaign funds are obtained from entrepreneurs who want protection and convenience. (Tempo Edition Ali Moertopo, 2015)

Apart from this action, Rahman and Ali's group initiated the concept of a floating mass to strengthen the Golkar Party. According to Rahman Tolleng, the idea was actually the antithesis of the Old Order political concept which allowed parties to build organs or wings in society. "It causes people not to be independent in choosing and acting," said Rahman. The concept also prohibits the management of political parties at the village level. The masses who are "free" from political parties are referred to as floating masses. This concept benefits Golkar because

the party has not yet established a political organ and Golkar's structure has not yet reached the villages.

Rahman Tolleng himself admitted that he spoke a lot to the press to represent Golkar's Bappilu in Tanah Abang. This made him considered a Golkar ideologue. The secretary general of Golkar for the 1983-1988 period, Sarwono Kusumaatmadja, recalled that Rahman was a key figure in Bappilu, even though Golkar was very chaotic at that time. Rahman has a very meaningful articulation power. He can pack issues. These issues were packaged as material for Golkar's campaign. In September 1970, for example, Rahman, together with Liem Bian Kie and Lim Bian Koen, said that Golkar was a forum for modernizing groups to create a new political order.

In early 1971, Ali Moertopo appointed Rahman to manage the Golkar newspaper, *Suara Karya*. The formation of this newspaper as a strategy to win Golkar. Rahman initially refused. According to him, political parties making their own media for their political interests were the Old Order's style. Rahman hoped that the New Order would be able to build an independent press. According to Rahman, the existence of a party newspaper means that there was no renewal in the New Order. However, Ali insisted on asking Golkar to own the media. The decision was final. Rahman softened, but he put forward a condition, the newspaper must not have an editorial rubric. The goal was to eliminate media opinions or attitudes. But that request was also rejected (Tempo Ali Moertopo edition, 2015).

*Suara Karya* was then founded. Sumiskun was chosen as the general leader as well as the person in charge. The position of editor-in-chief was entrusted to Djamal Ali, the former Chief Editor of the *People's Mind*. Meanwhile, Rahman Tolleng became deputy editor-in-chief. The first edition of *Suara Karya* clearly illustrated the media's alignment with Golkar and Suharto. The headlines contained support for the legitimacy of Supersemar which mandated Suharto to carry out post-Old Order reforms. The editorial of the first edition is entitled "Mission *Suara Karya*". This editorial contained an explanation of the newspaper's mission as well as a statement of support for Golkar.

Then, not long after that, Rahman was appointed as Chief Editor of *Suara Karya*. He was entrusted with writing the newspaper's editorial. At first Rahman refused, but Ali Moertopo forced him. Ali said the position was only temporary. In the end, Rahman accepted the position. Rahman continued to campaign that Golkar was a modernizing organ to reform the political structure.

With these strategies, Golkar won a landslide victory by gaining 34.3 million votes or 63 percent of the total voters. The largest contributor was West Java with 67 percent. With this result, Golkar obtained 236 seats out of a total of 360 seats for members of the DPR.

### **Rahman's View on the Development of the New Order**

One of Rahman Tolleng's views on the development of the New Order was found in 1981. Although it was written later, it appears that Rahman's thoughts on democratic socialism are consistent in this paper. Before that, it should be explained that the words 'development' and 'modernization' have the same meaning in the context of the beginning of the New Order. François Raillon said that development and modernization are a semantic pair that cannot be easily separated. Rahman explained that development must be oriented to human ideals and expectations. Development must also bring out human potential. The development process must

also involve the people. Democracy is a way for the people to participate and interfere in the development process. The involvement of the people can be expected to guarantee the maintenance of a sense of justice in society, especially regarding income distribution.

Rahman saw the development of the New Order as having a capitalistic nature. This trait only widens the gap between the rich and the poor. Because, basically, the nature of capitalism oppresses the poor. Rahman then offered an alternative so that the people could be released from these shackles.

### **Rahman's Renewal Idea Smashed**

During his time as a member of the DPR, Rahman had criticized the military's involvement in politics several times. Indeed, Rahman admits that the army in the transition period had an important role to play in the success of reforming the political structure. However, Rahman hoped that the army would gradually reduce its socio-political function. Most of the ABRI circles responded cynically to this criticism. They considered that Rahman and his friends wanted to civilize Golkar.

Rahman Tolleng said, Golkar was like a satellite that needs help in order to glide. The assistance was in the form of encouragement from ABRI and the bureaucracy as a launcher. However, the launcher does not have to follow continuously. Once the satellite is in orbit, the launcher must be released. ABRI and the bureaucracy must be separated so that Golkar becomes a modern party.

Deputy Commander of the Army General Maraden Panggabean on another occasion responded to the idea by saying that civil groups wanted to separate Golkar headquarters from ABRI headquarters and wanted to make their own masks. He also asked his group to be careful. This attitude made Rahman hit. In the Incident of January 15, 1974 (Malari), Rahman was accused of being involved in the behind-the-scenes plan of the riots in the incident. Rahman was accused because many activists of the student critical movement often came to see him. In fact, this is not something strange, because Rahman has always been a place to ask student activists about various things. Rahman is also often called 'boss' by them.

In a classified report made by the State Intelligence Coordinating Agency, Rahman was accused of directing University of Indonesia Student Council Chair Hariman Siregar to demand a cabinet reshuffle, PSI rehabilitation, encourage a social revolution, and commemorate corrupt generals around President Suharto. (State Intelligence Coordination Agency, 1974). Rahman was included as a group of ex-PSI people who were trying to commit acts of treason and replace the national leadership. Ex-PSI people were spreading propaganda to incite the public to move and demand repairs and clean-ups.

Rahman emphatically denied the accusations. According to him, there were parties who are not happy with him. Moreover, at that time the Subversion Law could easily catch anyone who was less liked. Rahman was a victim for frequently criticizing the dual function of ABRI and demanding an end to the dual function of ABRI. He was also a victim because he was categorized as a member of the PSI, which according to Ali Moertopo, was the mastermind behind the Malari incident. It seems that Rahman was used as a scapegoat for the elite ABRI leadership's call to win President Soeharto's heart. However, Rahman did not mention who the party was.

In the end, the officers detained Rahman at the Boedi Oetomo Military Detention Center (RTM). Rahman was released after serving 16 months in prison. The authorities did not have sufficient evidence to prosecute Rahman.

Rahman was later removed from the Indonesian House of Representatives and lost his position as Editor in Chief of *Suara Karya*. However, Rahman never regretted it. Rahman actually became happy. According to him, when he was in Golkar, he probably felt more miserable. Rahman admitted that he was a little frustrated, but frustrated as an intellectual. An intellectual will be frustrated if reality develops differently from what is expected to materialize. But the important thing is that frustration does not lead to destruction.

Rahman was also not resentful over Golkar. He said, from the beginning, he had a critical view. Even in Golkar, Rahman was a person who frequently ask strange questions. Even during Dual Party discussion, Rahman was attacked by several seniors in Golkar. RH Sugandhi, for example, sees Rahman as a young man who reads a lot of books. According to Rahman, it was precisely this critical attitude that got him kicked out.

## Conclusion

Rahman Tolleng as a democratic socialist figure sought to fight for modernization and democracy in parliament. Rahman called for the implementation of a two-party system and a district system. However, Rahman failed. This was because the idea of renewal was hit by old and new forces who were disturbed by the existence of Rahman and his group.

Rahman himself admits that his assumption of making changes from within is wrong. After Soekarno collapsed he was faced with a situation of limited choice. He believed that changes from within can be made with the assumption that the reform group in ABRI is strong enough. On that basis, he was involved in the New Order movement. That assumption is wrong. The ABRI group, which is hungry for power and wealth, is still very strong.

Nevertheless, Rahman was able to contribute more or less to the development of the New Order. Rahman and his group were able to usher in the New Order by providing the basis for a new political structure. In addition, Rahman also tried to make Golkar into a modern party through the idea of modernization. In political life, Golkar presents itself as a pragmatic, program-oriented party, and carries out the Pancasila ideology. Golkar prioritizes programs rather than engaging in ideological battles that result in conflicts between parties. Golkar also became the main force and became a true supporter of the political and economic system called the New Order.

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