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Problems of the Indonesian Revolution

Published by DEMOS · 1963

I

Theory and Practice of the Indonesian Revolution

INDONESIAN SOCIETY
and the
INDONESIAN REVOLUTION

(Basic Problems of the Indonesian Revolution)

The Fifth National Congress of the Communist Party of Indonesia (CPI) held in March 1954 gave the answer to all the important and basic questions of the Indonesian revolution. But up to today, there are still many Party members who do not yet understand clearly what is meant by "the important and basic questions of the Indonesian revolution".

It is important to know the basic problems of our revolution. Knowing the basic problems of the Indonesian revolution means knowing the targets and tasks of the Indonesian revolution, knowing the forces which push it forward, knowing its character and its perspectives. In order to know the basic problems of the Indonesian revolution, we must in the first place know Indonesian society.

PART ONE
Indonesia and its Society

Chapter I
Indonesia's Geographical Position

Indonesia is an archipelago country consisting of thousands of small and large islands and covering a land area of almost two million square kilometres (the area of Indonesia is approximately 57 times

the area of Holland, 5 times the area of Japan, 3½ times the area of France and twice the area of Pakistan). There are five main islands, Java, Sumatera, Kalimantan (Borneo), Sulawesi (Celebes) and West Irian (West New Guinea). The distance from the most easterly point to the most westerly point of Indonesia is approximately the same as the distance from the East Coast to the West Coast of the United States of America or roughly the same as the distance between the Caucasus and England.

Indonesia is surrounded by three oceans, the Pacific Ocean, the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea. It stands as a bridge between the continent of Asia and the continent of Australia. These facts make it easy to understand why it is that for thousands of years right up to the present day, Indonesia has occupied an important position in world traffic, in economic affairs and in world politics.

Being an equatorial country, Indonesia's climate is tropical. The temperature is on an average of 26 degrees Celsius (Djakarta has an average of 26.4, Bandung, 22.6, Semarang, 26.9, Ambon, 27.2). As a tropical country, Indonesia has only two seasons a year, the dry season which runs from March to September, and the rainy season which runs from September to March. The rainfall is not the same throughout the country, some regions getting more than others.

The Indonesian islands are extremely fertile. The island of Java is one of the most fertile places in the world. This is why, from time immemorial, shifting cultivation and rice cultivation have been practised. In Indonesia, there are many mountains and hills, valleys and gorges, rivers and waterfalls. Many kinds of minerals are found in Indonesian soil. The Indonesian seas are full of riches. It was in this fertile and rich land, whose lines of communication were made easy by the presence of seas and rivers, that the ancestors of the Indonesian nation flourished and thrived.

Indonesia ranks among the large countries in the world, both from the point of view of the extent of its territory as well as

from the point of view of the size of its population. Being a rich country and an archipelago which links up two continents and is surrounded by three oceans has both its advantages and disadvantages to Indonesia today.

Indonesia has an advantageous geographical position because it cannot become isolated from the world at large. It has the necessary conditions for being, throughout time, a country which is frequently visited by others. It has unlimited conditions for establishing extensive sea communications both at home and with the outside world.

But on the other hand, if Indonesia itself is not a strong country, it will find it very difficult to withstand the pressure of invaders who are greatly interested in dominating the abundantly rich Indonesia. It is difficult to defend the country's extensive coast lines from foreign military attack and from the smugglers.

The experiences of the August 1945 Revolution teach us that guerilla warfare plays a very important role in the defence of Indonesia's sovereignty. Not all the most necessary requirements for guerilla warfare are present, for example there are not sufficient extensively populated tracts, there are not enough extensive mountain and forest regions that lie far from the towns and the lines of communication. This state of affairs is made all the more difficult because today, in the vicinity of Indonesia, lie fortresses of imperialism, colonial and semi-colonial countries. To the North lie Malaya, Singapore, Thailand, South Vietnam, Sarawak, North Borneo and the Philippines. To the South lie Australia as well as the Christmas Islands and the Cocos Islands which are under British domination. On the East is East Irian under Australian domination, while West Irian is still under the complete domination of the Dutch imperialists. Indonesia has no frontiers with a country which is already completely liberated from imperialist power. All these facts make it all the more necessary for the Indonesian revolutionaries to take their own course in bringing the Indonesian revolution to completion.

The lesson we can draw from the August 1945 Revolution is that it is possible to wage guerilla war in Indonesia. But in view of the fact that our country does not meet all the necessary prerequisites for guerilla warfare, our revolution would have been more successful if at that time it had been able to make a correct combination between the three forms of struggle, the guerilla struggle in the villages (involving mainly the peasants), revolutionary actions of the workers in the towns and intensive work within the ranks of the armed forces of the enemy.

Chapter II

The Indonesian Nation

In 1955, the population of Indonesia was 84 million. Although the population of Indonesia is composed of many nationalities, they all make up one single unified whole, the Indonesian nation. The Indonesian nation is the sixth largest nation in the world (No. 1, China; No. 2, India; No. 3, the Soviet Union; No. 4, the United States of America; and No. 5, Japan).

The population is very unevenly spread out through the country. The island of *Java*, the smallest of the five major islands (Kalimantan, West Irian, Sumatera, Sulawesi and Java), has a population of about 54 million (including Madura), whereas *West Irian*, one of the biggest of the "Big Five", has an estimated population of less than two million. *Sumatera* which is almost three and a half times the size of Java has a population of about 12½ million. *Sulawesi*, one and a half times Java, has a population of about 6 million. *Kalimantan* (the Indonesian part) which is four times the size of Java, has a population of no more than about 3½ million. Apart from this, the population is spread throughout the islands of Nusatenggara (East Indonesia) with a population of 5½ million, and the islands of the Moluccas, with a population of 0.7 million.

Java has one of the densest populations in the world, about

393 persons per square kilometre (1952), and there are places where the density is as high as 460 persons per square kilometre (in Central Java).

There are more than a hundred nationalities in Indonesia, some of them consisting of tens of millions and some of them consisting of only a few thousands.

These nationalities include the Javanese, the Sundanese, the Maduranese, the Melayunese, the Atjehnese, the Minangkabaus, the Bataks, the Palembangs, the Lampungs, the Dayaks, the Bandjars, the Minahasas, the Bugis, the Toradjas, the Macassars, the Balinese, the Sasaks, the Ambonese, the Timorese, the Sabus, the nationalities in West Irian, and many more. Of all these nationalities, the Javanese nationality is the largest, then follow the Sundanese, the Maduranese, the Minangkabaus, the Bataks, and so on. The Melayunese nationality is the one that has for long been the most widely spread out, along the east coast of Sumatera, on the islands between Sumatera and Kalimantan and along all the coasts of Kalimantan. All these nationalities have their own languages besides using the Indonesian language, the basis of which is the Melayu language, as the language of unity. The cultural levels of all these nationalities are not the same, but all of them have an ancient history.

Thus, the Indonesian nation is a nation consisting of many nationalities, having many languages and many cultural levels, but they all originate from one stock, with one language and one culture. They became dispersed for a time but in the process of the struggle for national independence and for a New Indonesia they have been reunited. All these nationalities regard Indonesia as their homeland, they feel themselves as part of the Indonesian nationhood, consider the Indonesian language as the language of unity and regard themselves as having one single culture besides their own nationality cultures. A most interesting thing is that the Indonesian language does not originate from the language of the largest nationality. This language has never throughout history been the language of colonisers; on the contrary, it is a

language which unites more than one hundred nationalities. The Indonesian language is a language which has been forged in the struggle for national independence, it is the language of the liberator.

Besides citizens coming from the various nationalities, there are also in Indonesia some millions of citizens of foreign extraction, Chinese, European and Arab, each with their own language and culture side by side with recognising the Indonesian language and culture as their own.

The economic developments which have taken place in the various islands have not been the same. This is evident in industry, agriculture and especially in transport with Java having a broad network of highroads and railways whilst the other islands have very little or none at all. In fact, remnants of more backward economic systems still exist in some of the islands and regions. Based on this variety of economic conditions, society in our country has reached a variety of stages each with its own specific features.

From the historical point of view, the Indonesian nation of today did not inhabit Indonesia thousands of years ago. About 1,500 years before Christ or roughly 3,500 years ago, the present-day Indonesian nation was not in Indonesia but was living in Further India (now Indo-China, Thailand and Burma) and at that time they were called the "Mon Khmer people", a people which still inhabits Tonkin, Thailand and Cambodia. The "Mon Khmer people" is a branch of the "Austro-Asian" (South Asian) people, the other branches being the "Kasi people" (Asam), the "Munda people" (India), and the "Santali people" (India). The Indonesian nation is one of four branches of the "Mon Khmer people" (the other branches are: Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia). These four branches of the "Mon Khmer people" were called the "Austronesian people" (the people of the southern islands). The "Mon Khmer people" were not originally inhabitants of Further India, they came from Yunan (South China) and when they were still in Yunan they were part of the "Austral people" (the southern people).

Thus, although the Indonesian nation is divided into many nationalities (including the nationalities in West Irian and Halmahera which ethnologically belong to the Melanesian people but politically belong to Indonesia), it is a nation that stems from one single stock (the stock of the Austral people and later the stock of the Austro-Asian people, and then later on again, the stock of the Mon Khmer people); it is a nation with a very long history which has waged bitter struggles in wars and in the fights against natural calamities.

About 3,500 years ago, our ancestors were still wandering in Further India, they were tilling the valleys of the Mekong River, and the Irawadi and Salwin Rivers. Under strong pressure from the peoples which came from the North and the West who occupied their lands and who plundered them and disturbed the peaceful lives they were living, they were forced to chose between two alternatives: to be treated like slaves or to find a new abode. They felt that it would be better to leave and live in freedom rather than be enslaved.

As a result of wars and other factors such as shortage of food, natural disasters, widespread floods and epidemics, the ancestors of the Indonesian nation left the Asian mainland on simple sailing vessels and drifted farther and farther away. They understood navigation, were of sturdy physique and full of courage. They crossed oceans, some of them reaching Madagascar, the Philippines, Kalimantan, Sumatera and others of the islands of Indonesia. By stages and in large groups they migrated to the islands of the South and eventually settled down along the entire coastline of Indonesia from the most westerly point to the most easterly. They were like victorious reinforcements occupying new territories. In these new lands, they were free to pick lands to till, to hunt and to continue with their shipping habits. They built their houses along the coasts they occupied.

But the islands of Indonesia were not uninhabited when our ancestors arrived. They met the 'native' inhabitants. These 'native'

inhabitants were of the Negrito and Wedda races and had lived in the Indonesian archipelago for thousands of years. These 'native' inhabitants did not like being pushed out by these newcomers from the North and at first offered resistance. Besides having to reach some sort of settlement with these 'native' inhabitants so as to get a place to live and a livelihood, our ancestors had to fight against wild animals, floods and other difficulties. By comparison with the 'native' inhabitants, the weapons our ancestors bore were better, they were able to make use of sharp weapons made of iron (daggers, lances and bows and arrows). The 'native' inhabitants were only armed with blow-pipes equipped with small poison arrows. Our ancestors were skilled at tilling whereas the 'native' inhabitants depended for their livelihood on jungle products. After many centuries had elapsed, the 'native' inhabitants and the newcomers were able to live together, while those who refused to mix ran off to foreign lands. In brief, it was not easy for our ancestors to get hold of the homeland Indonesia, they had to wage a life-and-death struggle, they had courageously to traverse wide oceans, to fight against wild beasts, floods and the like.

The Indonesian nation who, while on the Asian mainland, came from one national stock, with one language and culture, became split up after arriving in Indonesia, they were spread out over the islands, separated by mountain ranges, rivers and huge lakes, and the result was that they became isolated from each other. Centuries of natural isolation resulted in their developing along their own lines, they grew into nationalities each with their own language and culture.

After arriving in the Indonesian archipelago, our ancestors continued with the way of life they had lived on the Asian mainland, they lived in communities, built their houses on poles facing each other, tilled the land, sailed and hunted. Their implements of production were extremely primitive forcing them to work collectively. Their many means of production were jointly owned, there was no exploitation of man by man and all inhabitants had equal rights

to the natural resources. At that time, there were no classes in society. They elected the leaders of their villages, there was no such thing as kings appointed from above and there was no such thing as state power. The state was not necessary at that time. Social law and order at that time was laid down on the basis of habits and customs, and the authority, respect and power of the leaders or the elders. Our ancestors then lived in a primitive communal society. We still come across remnants of primitive communal society in our country, for example in the form of joint village ownership of land, the habit of working together (gotong-royong), the remnants of matriarchal lineage (such as in Minang-kabau and the island of Enggano), the left-overs of patriarchal lineage (as in Batak, the Moluccas), and so on.

As the implements of production improved and the productive forces increased, the old relations of production began to obstruct the further development of the forces of production. Primitive communal co-operative methods of work were no longer in keeping with the advance made in the implements of production, social division of labour developed and grew. All this meant that, like it or not, joint ownership of the means of production had to be replaced by individual ownership. But the ricefields and meadows, forests and pasture-lands as well as the irrigation installations remained common property.

Private property rights on certain of the implements of production and of personal wealth gave rise to a desire to accumulate the implements of production and to accumulate riches on the part of those who had the chance to do so, namely those in positions of power (the elders assisted by the war-chiefs and religious functionaries). Those in power turned common property into private property. There also emerged a thirst for expansion, for territorial expansion, to capture other villages, with the result that villages united together under one of the elders. Wars took place one after the other because each village elder (of a small district) wanted to expand his territory so as to be able to get hold of more implements of production and

wealth. Those taken prisoner in the wars were no longer killed off but were turned into slaves and forced to work so that the results of their labour could become the property of those in power, adding to their wealth. The people who fell into serious debt and were unable to repay their debts were also turned into slaves. The slave-owners were quite free to do what they liked with their slaves, including trading them and killing them. Thus it was that our ancestors entered into slave society.

A gulf grew up in this slave society between the two basic classes, the slave-owners and the slaves, those ruling and those being ruled, and gradually became deeper and deeper. Thus it was that class struggle first took place in the society of our ancestors. The power of the village-elder became greater and greater until eventually he was entitled to appoint his own successor (formerly the elder had been elected). The area under the power of these elders expanded, the villages under their control and the families dominated by them increased in number. These elders, who had now become rich and had alienated themselves from the people, together with their families and servants, lived on their own in luxury in the "keraton" (king's palace) and the "kedaton" (prince's palace). Besides being leaders, they were also regarded as the representatives of our forefathers who had to be respected and obeyed. In view of the resistance put up by the slaves, the slave-owners were in need of the wherewithal with which to suppress this resistance and subjugate the slaves. It was in this way that the state came into being for the first time, an apparatus which gave power to the slave-owners and made it possible for them to rule over the slaves. Remnants of this slave society were still to be found in some islands in the early part of the twentieth century, for example, the slave-owners could order their slaves to be put to death without being liable to any punishment, the "mramba" (slave-owners in Sumba) were entitled to the entire products of the land cultivated by the slaves ("atta"), and the children born out of slave marriages were the property of the slave-owners.

But the fact that the slave-owners had the weapon of the state in their hands did not put a stop to the resistance of the slaves, both open and secret resistance. Slave labour which at first was a force encouraging the advance of the productive forces by comparison with primitive communal labour gradually proved not to be productive any more because the enslaved people could not possibly have any interest in their work and therefore became less and less creative.

A section of the freemen in this slave society, the peasants and the craftsmen, could no longer stand the burdens of paying for wars, and they became bankrupt and fell into the position of slaves. Some of them fled to the coastal areas or to other places beyond the reach of the slave-owners and joined in the resistance against the slave state. Continuous warfare waged to preserve the power of the slave-owners, to which was added the ever falling level of production and the deterioration of trade resulted in the slave power becoming weaker and weaker and its culture becoming more ad more degenerate.

The progress achieved by the productive forces was no longer in accord with the relations of production which were based on slavery, slave society had already become a shackle and that is why it was eventually replaced by feudal society. In Indonesia, and especially in Java, our forefathers entered feudal society roughly at the beginning of the Christian era. In feudal society, the remaining slaves were able to till the land "for themselves" on condition that they deposited a major part of their crop with the feudal landlord. Here, then, the division between produce of the necessary labour for the peasants and the produce of the surplus labour which was seized by the feudal landlord became clear. The basic contradiction in feudal society was the contradiction between the feudal landlords (the kings, the nobles, the priests and the chieftains) and the peasants. State power was in the hands of the feudal landlords who ruled over the peasants. The status of the peasants was somewhat more "free" by comparison with the slaves with the

result that the pesants were by comparison more productive. In general, it was no longer possible to have the peasants wantonly put to death. They were not slaves but servants and worked for the landlords in the form of unpaid labour (rodi, corvee), handing over a major part of their produce.

Besides the peasants, the craftsmen and the traders were among those classes ruled and whose further growth was hampered by feudalism.

The history of the civilisation of the Indonesian nation reveals that agriculture and handicrafts are very old indeed, that Indonesia had its own philosophers, scientists, first-rate artists, statesmen and military strategists. Long before Christ, that is, long before the coming of the Hindu people, Indonesia was producing work tools on a large scale and weapons made of stone and iron; the calender, so very necessary to regulate work on the rice-fields, was already known, and a system of irrigation had been established. In the year 150 after Christ, the second-century Greek geographer and astronomer, Ptolomeus, wrote that the island of Java was extremely fertile and produced much gold (what he meant was articles made of gold). From the same period, we can read in the Hindu epos (Ramayana): "Make a careful study of Djawadwipa (Java) which has seven kingdoms, the island of gold and silver, abounding with articles of gold." In the year 132, envoys were sent from Java to China taking with them kingly seals of gold. Indonesia's position, lying as it does between India and China, made it, right from the beginning of the Christian era, a centre of world trade. It is stated that in 414 A.D., a Chinese merchant left West Java for Canton together with 200 other persons, the majority of whom were Hindu merchants.

The above facts show that long before the foreigners came, the Indonesian nation was a civilised nation and the opinion that the Indonesian nation only became civilised after the advent of the foreigners who taught the Indonesians is not correct. Later, after the arrival of the Hindus, stupendous and beautiful temples were

constructed, and the famous art of dancing and the puppet play took root. All these are the creation of the Indonesian nation itself, the individuality of the Indonesian nation itself. The Hindus only played the role of assistants and advisers. The achievements of this culture show that ever since ancient times, the Indonesian nation has been willing to accept anything good from abroad, anything in the form of ideas or assistance from experts but without in any way giving up their own individuality.

In foreign trade and foreign policy, the Indonesian nation played an active part and was skillful at utilising the extremely advantageous geographical location of the country. This policy made Indonesia in past times one of the centres of world trade.

But the Indonesian nation was not only renowned for being hard-working and persevering, for having its own culture and civilisation but also as a nation of fighters and revolutionaries. Ever since the time they had lived on the Asian mainland, the Indonesian nation had been accustomed to fighting. In the course of obtaining Indonesia as a homeland, they had also to struggle, as they did too to defend their homeland from foreign attack. The Indonesian nation is a freedom-loving nation with a revolutionary tradition. This has been proved right up to recent centuries, to the 20th century, right up to today. Indonesia's history from early times has been a history of peasant revolts, a history of heroes, a history of revolutions, a history of the working people. The 20th century is the century in which the struggle of the Indonesian nation took on modern forms which were in essence but a continuation of the centuries-long revolutionary traditions.

Chapter III
Feudal Society

Although Indonesia is a large country with a favourable geographical position, very fertile, with a large population and an ancient cultural history rich in revolutionary tradition, it is still

today economically, politically and culturally backward because of the fact that for 1,500 years feudal society held sway.

The economic and political system in Indonesian feudal society was as follows:

1. In feudal society, the economy was self-sufficient, an economy in which production was used for personal needs and not for sale or for the market. The system of irrigation in our country had already reached an advanced stage at the beginning of the feudal era; this is proved by the instruction issued by King Purnawarman of the Kingdom of Taruma Negara (in West Java, roughly covering the districts of Djakarta, Bogor and Krawang) in the 4th century after Christ for the construction of a 15-km long canal. It is certain that there were craftsmen since the beginning of this era because ever since the time before the Hindus came, Indonesians were skilled at making things from iron, copper, tortoise-shell, horn and gold. But these goods were not made primarily for sale. There was indeed already exchange of goods, exchange between the inhabitants as well as with outsiders, for example, exchange between the Indonesian kings and high officials with merchants from China, India and other countries, but this exchange was not of a decisive character.

2. In feudal society, the ruling power was in the hands of the feudal class consisting of the kings living in the keratons, the nobles, the priests and chieftains (functionaries and officials). The basis of the power of the feudal class was their ownership of the land and their limited ownership of the peasants. The king was the supreme power, he had the right to appoint the personnel of the central government and the regional governments for the purpose of arranging the affairs of the armed forces, the courts, the state treasury and the food store-houses. The kings only had direct power over a small part of the territory under their power, the remainder being under the power of other nobles and functionaries acting on behalf of the king. It was these representatives of the king that had the task of collecting the produce of the peasants for their own requirements and for the king (the central government). Besides

handing over their produce, the peasants were also forced to work unpaid (rodi and corvee) for the nobles and the functionaries, and were forced to work on the building of keratons and temples, to make canals and dams and, during wartime, not to spare themselves, even including becoming soldiers, to win victory. After the regular army had been established, and this took place mainly following the establishment of the Islam kingdoms, the peasants were also compelled to pay for the upkeep of the army which was used in the first place to suppress the peasants and rarely if ever to push back attacks from abroad. On behalf of the kings, the nobles and functionaries carried out the functions of government, running the law-courts and drawing up legislation. As a means of strengthening the "loyalty" of the people to the king, religious sentiments were instilled (for example, King Darmawangsa of the 10th and 11th centuries ordered the scholars of the keraton to translate the stories of the Mahabarata which were written in Sanskrit into Ancient Javanese).

Thus it is clear that feudal society was based on the land-ownership of the landlords while the peasants worked as serfs (the peasants rented or "borrowed" land to till). Land which was the basic means of production in feudal society was owned by the feudal landlords. It is true that the peasant-serfs were different from the slaves who could be killed off just like that. The peasants could not be killed off as had happened in times of slavery but they could be bought and sold.

The feudal state was the property of the landlords as a means of preserving their feudal exploitation. Besides suffering from severe feudal exploitation, the peasants also suffered from political oppression. They had no political rights or personal freedoms, the landlords were entitled to beat and torture them and even to kill them although this was no longer applicable in more recent times.

The impoverishment and backwardness of the peasants, which was the result of feudal economic exploitation and political oppression on a grand scale, was the basic thing causing the economy and

social life in our country to be centuries behind by comparison with the advanced countries of today. In feudal society, the basic class creating wealth and culture were the peasants and the craftsmen while the landlords and their cliques (the kings, the nobles, the priests and the functionaries) were totally unproductive; on the contrary, they exploited and oppressed the vast majority of the people.

The extraordinarily severe economic exploitation and political suppression resulted in the Indonesian peasants rising up against the power of the landlords, as for example in the rebellion against the First Mataram Monarchy (in the 8th and 9th centuries), the rebellions against the Kediri Monarchy (at the beginning of the 13th century) under the leadership of that son of the peasants, Ken Anrok, the uprisings against the Singasari Kingdom (at the end of the 13th century), the uprisings against the Madjapahit Kingdom (in the 14th and 15 th centuries), and other peasant uprisings. It is indeed true that these uprisings only succeeded in replacing one king by another king without bringing about any improvements in the conditions of the peasants. But this does not detract from the fact that these uprisings were peasants' uprisings. The peasants' opposition to feudal economic exploitation and political suppression was the cause of these uprisings.

The peasants' uprisings failed, they did not end in victory for the peasants and only resulted in the replacement of one king by another because the peasants as individual small property-owners did not represent new relations of production. Their uprisings broke out spontaneously because of their hatred for the landlords, but they were not able to draw up a revolutionary agrarian programme Neither was there yet an advanced class and a political party that was capable of leading the peasants to victory. The result was that the peasants' uprisings and wars quite naturally ended in defeat and did not change the feudal economic relations and political system. But it is quite incorrect to say that these unsuccessful peasant uprisings did not result in any social progress whatsoever. One

thing is clear and that is that the peasants became more trained in warfare, and some of the new kings they put onto the throne were forced to reduce or abolish some of the most vicious forms of exploitation. These uprisings have been decisive in weakening and will eventually overthrow feudalism completely.

Chapter IV
Colonial Society

With the further expansion of Indonesia's foreign trade in the 14th century, especially the spice trade with Europe, the position of the country's coastal towns became very important and trade with Europe became more important than trade with India and China. The spices were in great demand by the dispensaries and kitchens of Europe. The Moluccas and Banten (western tip of Java) played a leading role in this busy trade.

In the Moluccas and Banten, many foreign traders made their home, especially Moslem traders from India and Persia who exerted a great influence over the local kings. The merchants supplied luxury articles for the kings. They also converted the local kings who were Hindus to the Islam and encouraged the local kingdoms to set themselves up as independent Islamic kingdoms, split off from the power of the Madjapahit Empire which had its centre in the interior. As a means of further extending their influence, these Moslem merchants married their daughters off to the local kings, and as their influence over the local kings increased so too their trading profits increased. This Moslem movement was later led by the famous teachers known as the Wali Songo (Wali Sembilan).

As world trade progressed, the local kings along the coasts became more and more determined to control the interior regions that were under the domination of the Empire of Madjapahit. The Moslem kings, united under the leadership of the King of Demak, succeeded in overthrowing Madjapahit in 1521. This was the result of the

contradiction which had arisen between the Moslem feudal kingdoms who had become at one with commercial capital (the merchants) and the Hindu feudal kingdoms that were still completely agrarian.

Under conditions of a great internal split, under conditions where the contradictions between the coastal kingdoms which were participating in world trade and the interior kingdoms that were still based on agricultural production and the pologoro (feudal services) were becoming more and more acute, the Europeans came with ships and weapons that were superior to those in the possession of the Indonesian kingdoms.

At first, the Portuguese came (1496) whose purpose in coming was, besides making profits from trade, to spread the Chrstian religion which was at that time developing in Europe. In pursuance of their objectives, the Portuguese made use of the contradictions between the "Moslem kingdoms" and the "Hindu kingdoms". In order to stand up to the onslaughts of the Portuguese and also in order to suppress peasant uprisings and fight against the Hindu kingdoms, the Moslem kingdoms such as Demak set up a regular army, a thing which the Hindu kingdoms had not done.

In 1512, Spaniards arrived in Tidore on two ships that were on a trip round the world. In Tidore, the Spaniards tried to strengthen their position by making alliances with the King of Tidore who was at the time waging a fight against the Portuguese who were in alliance with the King of Ternate. The background to the Spanish-Portuguese conflict was the question of the clove monopoly. Battles took place between the Spaniards and the kingdom of Tidore on the one side and the Portuguese and the kingdom of Ternate on the other which ended in defeat for the Spaniards. In 1529, the Spaniards left Indonesia after receiving compensation to the sum of 350,000 crusados.

The regular armies of the Moslem kingdoms were better equipped and armed than the Hindu armies that were based on compulsory military service of the peasants. But the technical superiority of the European warships and weapons was even superior to the ships

and equipment of the Moslem kingdoms. This was the basic reason why the naval forces of the Kingdom of Demak under the leadership of Dipati Unus were forced to retreat in the war against the Portuguese (1513). It was not lack of courage, of spirit or of skill that led to the Indonesians being defeated but simply to the technical superiority of the Europeans, and above all because of the weaknesses within the Indonesian kingdoms that had resulted from the splits.

On June 22, 1596, a Dutch fleet of four ships under the command of Cornelis Houtman landed at the harbour of Banten.

Originally, the Dutch came to Indonesia with the intention of trading. To manage their trade in Indonesia, the Dutch set up a trading association in Holland in 1602, the Association of Trading Companies of the East Indies (VOC). In order to strengthen and co-ordinate all Dutch activities in Indonesia, a Governor-General was appointed (the first in 1610) and an Indies Council set up composed of five persons. At first, the Dutch had very little room to move because they had to deal with the Portuguese who were still in South East Asia and with the Indonesian nation who still controlled the Indonesian seas.

As a way of preserving their monopoly over the spice trade, the VOC ruthlessly carried out "hongi expeditions" to the eastern part of Indonesia (the "hongi" was a swift-moving vessel used in the waters of the Moluccas. These "hongi expeditions" involved robbing, plundering and annihilating the enemy). During the course of these "hongi expeditions", the VOC attacked, maltreated, imprisoned and even wiped out populations in the islands in East Indonesia for the slightest violation of the regulations of the VOC monopoly. The inhabitants of the island of Banda were almost completely wiped out. But the people of the Moluccas never meekly accepted the fate of being "hongi-ed". In 1635, a general uprising broke out in Ambon against the atrocities of the company under the leadership of Kakiali.

A person who contributed very much to laying the foundations of Dutch colonialism in Indonesia was J. P. Coen, Governor-General,

who began to expand his power by the seizure of Djakarta (officially named Batavia by the Dutch on March 4th, 1621) and converted Djakarta into a centre of trade in South East Asia. The result was that the trade moved from the hands of the Indonesian kingdoms and the Portuguese into the hands of the Dutch. From Djakarta, the Dutch expanded their power throughout the length and breadth of the country. In 1641, the Dutch took control of Malaca, a Portuguese fortress in South East Asia; in 1667, they took control of Macassar; in 1677, they gained control of the north coast of Java right up to East Java; in 1692, they gained control of Banten. Once in control of Banten, the Dutch were able to dominate the western gateway to Indonesia; with Malaca in their hands they dominated the Straits of Malaca, with Macassar in their hands, they dominated East Indonesia, and with the north coast of Java in their hands, the Dutch succeeded in cutting off the (Second) Mataram Kingdom from the sea.

With the Mataram Kingdom surrounded, and by utilising the contradictions between the Moslem kingdoms and the Hindu kingdoms as well as the contradictions within the Hindu kingdoms themselves, the Dutch colonialists, with their superiority of weapons, succeeded in forcing the Mataram Kingdom to surrender in 1749.

The basis of the colonial exploitation of the VOC, the exploitation during the period commerce capital was dominant in Holland, was a system of very high land taxes (quotas) and the obligation to deliver a part of the crop produced at very low prices (forced deliveries). The VOC's internal policy was based on the exploitation of the feudal institutions in existence at the time. Under this economic and political system, the peasants suffered from two forms of exploitation, one from the kings and one from the VOC.

In the regions under the VOC, the old class relationships did not change; the only difference was that the king was now called "*bupati*" (district chief) and was appointed by the VOC. These VOC-appointed *bupatis* were usually replaced at death by the son who was considered most capable. The peasants suffered greatly because

besides the demands of the VOC for the maximum share of their crop, they also suffered from heavy extortions by the *bupatis* furthering their own interests.

The VOC's system of compulsion and monopoly led to the disintegration of the VOC because it did not allow for the growth of the productive forces, it impoverished the economy of the people which in turn threatened the profits of the VOC itself. Corruption was rampant throughout the government apparatus, involving both Dutch as well as Indonesians. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, peasants uprisings and resistance movements broke out everywhere as a result of the peasants suffering from two forms of exploitation. Since it was no longer making profits, the VOC was dissolved in 1800 and afterwards the Dutch State governed Indonesia directly.

The VOC era was an important period for the accumulation of capital at a primary stage. The Dutch merchants won for themselves unlimited rights by means of atrocities, in the words of Karl Marx "The history of the colonial administration of Holland, the model capitalist nation during the 17th century, 'is one of the most extraordinary relations of treachery, bribery, massacre, and meanness' ". ('Capital', Vol. I, English Edition, page 752.)

The direct rule of the Dutch Government did not bring any improvements in Indonesian society. On the contrary, when Holland was occupied by France, a very brutal Governor-General was sent to Indonesia, Daendels (1808—1811). Under Daendels' rule, the Dutch Army was increased from 4,000 troops to 18,000. For military strategic interests, the Dutch constructed fortresses which cost the lives of many Indonesians. Further, roads of about 1,000 km in length were built to link up the eastern end of Java with the western end; these roads were built in less than a year, cost very little financially but took a great number of Indonesian lives. High land taxes and forced crop deliveries continued, to which was added a government monopoly in rice and the sale of "private lands" to wealthy Europeans and Chinese. This exceptional exploitation gave rise to new uprisings, particularly in Banten and Tjirebon.

When, in 1811, the English army attacked the Dutch in Java, it is quite easy to understand why it was that the Dutch did not get the support of the Indonesian people; the kings and *bupatis* also refused to fight against the English because they were incensed at the wanton atrocities of Daendels.

During the English reign from 1811—1814, Lieut. Gen. Thomas Stamford Raffles tried to apply the principles of English colonial policy in Java in the interests of English industrial capital which was at that time making rapid strides forward, the policy which was applied in Bengal (India), a policy of free competition for its industrial capital in India. England tried to change the Dutch economic and political system which was based on usury and seizure, the features of Dutch commerce capitalism, to a system more in conformity with English industry that was more advanced.

But the English did not achieve much as they were only in power for three-and-a-half years. English rule placed new burdens on the shoulders of the Indonesian people by establishing state control over the production of salt and by selling "private lands", together with the feudal rights over those lands, to the advantage of the buyer and to the disadvantage of the peasants.

England proclaimed that all land was the property of the State on the basis of which they imposed land taxes of not less than two-fifths of a good harvest or one-quarter to one-third of a poor harvest. This English land policy also led to uprisings among the peasants, as for example in Banten, Tjirebon and Jogjakarta and other places. This situation forced Raffles to buy back some of the "private lands" he had sold, in the name of the State.

After Napoleon's defeat in 1814, the English signed a treaty returning Dutch colonies to Holland, including Indonesia. Thus it was that the Dutch got Indonesia back into their power. The restoration of Dutch rule was only realised in 1816.

The Dipo Negoro War from 1825—1830 cost the Dutch state treasury f. 20,000,000. The Belgian uprising against the Dutch from 1830—1839 was also a severe strain on the Dutch treasury. Holland

was in very bad economic straits and was bordering on bankruptcy. In order to surmount this state of bankruptcy, the so-called "culture system" (system of forced cultivation) was introduced (1830—1870).

The "culture system" was a combination of the VOC variety, the Daendels variety and the Raffles variety of colonial system. All the worst elements of these systems were combined into one and called the "culture system". Under this system, the peasants were given no freedom at all. They were compelled to cultivate crops for the European market (sugar-cane, coffee, indigo, cotton, tobacco) and were forced to deliver these crops to the colonial government at prices fixed by the government.

In practice, the "culture system" compelled the peasants to plant one-third to two-thirds of their land, and sometimes the whole of their land, to crops for the European market. The labour required to cultivate these market crops for Europe was much more than that required for rice cultivation. Land taxes, including taxes on the land which had to be used to grow these European market crops, were increased. If the price of the crops grown for the European market was higher than the taxes which the peasants had to pay, the excess was not returned to the peasants; on the contrary, the peasants frequently had to sell their rice—which anyhow was not enough for them—in order to pay the excess of taxes. Crop failures were borne completely by the peasants even when caused by natural disasters. The peasants had to take their compulsory crop contributions right up to the store-houses to hand them over and were not paid for this at all. They were forced to work without pay on public works and the building of fortresses.

Within 40 years of the "culture system", the Dutch amassed a fortune of 800 million Dutch guilders or roughly about the same amount as Dutch commerce capital had made during the 200 years under the voc. But in the era of 20th century imperialism, prior to the 1929 crisis, the Dutch imperialists could earn this amount within one year.

Within the framework of this "culture system" of robbery, the feudal

class played the role of intermediaries and at the same time received payment of feudal tributes as well as the performance of forced labour. Government officials, from the lowest-ranking to the highest-ranking, had to perform personal services which knew no bounds, even including the provision of musical ensembles and groups of dancing girls for the residents (Dutch local government officials) when they were on tour. These government officials were paid very low wages but, by utilising their position, they could enrich themselves from the unpaid labour of the peasants.

These heavy sufferings led to the outbreak of peasants resistance and uprisings everywhere, and resulted in many peasants moving from one place to another, even though a regulation had been introduced forbidding peasants from leaving their village without a permit (the pass system). The resistance, uprisings and migration of the peasants were important factors in undermining the "culture system".

A Dutchman, Douwes Dekker, who was appointed assistant-resident in 1856 in Lebak (Banten) published his famous book, "Max Havelaar" in 1860 which he wrote under the nom-de-plume, Multatuli. In his book, "Multatuli" condemned colonialism and the Dutch as being responsible for inhuman political suppression and economic exploitation under the culture system. "Multatuli's" writings were widely read among the young generation of intellectuals and leaders of the working class movement that was beginning to develop in Holland; this book also gave the warning to the Dutch bourgeoisie that the era of robbery à la "culture system" had to end, that it was no more necessary and that it was a liability.

The period of the "culture system" was the worst period for the Indonesian peasants. The Dutch were never able to stamp out the rebellious spirit of the peasants and small uprisings broke out continuously all over the place. But after suffering defeat in the Dipo Negoro War of 1825—1830, the feudal classes that had until then "led" the peasant uprisings, surrendered completely to the colonial exploiters and had no will to resist any more. Outside Java, uprisings still broke out but the Dutch colonialists did not consider their

position in these parts of the country as being important. At this time, it was not yet possible to hope for leadership of the peasant uprisings from the Indonesian national bourgeoisie or the Indonesian proletariat.

The development of modern industry in Holland was delayed because that country had such a rich country as Indonesia in its possession. It was only in 1870 that the colonial government introduced the so-called Agrarian Law, a law which guaranteed the procurement of land for private Dutch capital. This law completely opened the way for private Dutch capital to take part in colonial exploitation. This was a change from the monopolistic colonial policy of commerce capital to the "new" colonial policy of industrial capital, the switch-over from a system of monopoly to the system of free competition. This era of free competition which ran from 1870 till 1895 was distinguished by the growing role of the colonial banks.

In the severe crisis of 1895, a large number of private capitalists in Holland were completely ruined with the result that the finance capitalists took over complete control. Thus, the period of industrial capital based on free competition did not last long in Indonesia, only about 25 years (1870—1895). Industrial capital based on free competition was quickly followed up by the era of imperialism which began in 1895, that is the era during which finance capital, the unification of bank capital and industrial capital wielded the monopoly over economic and political life in Indonesia.

The Dutch imperialists took two important steps to safeguard and guarantee the future of the capital they had exported from Europe: they conquered the entire territory of Indonesia, politically and militarily, and they investigated the possibilities of the unrestricted growth of capital. These steps were in conformity with the switch-over from pre-monopoly capitalism to monopoly capitalism, the period of the domination of finance-capital. This switch-over was inseparable from the increasingly intensive struggle between the imperialists to divide the world. Finance-capital in general strove to snatch up as much land as it possibly could, wherever it could and by any means at its disposal, for it counted on the potential raw ma-

terial resources and was afraid of being left behind in the bitter struggle to obtain the last remaining patches of land which had not yet been divided out or strove to redivide land which had already been divided.

In order to place the whole of Indonesia under Dutch domination, the Dutch waged large-scale colonial war at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, and finally the Dutch succeeded in extending their domination to Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Dompo, Flores, Bone, Bandjarmasin, Djambi, Riau, Tapanuli, Atjeh, and other places. So as to guarantee super-profits, the Dutch Government undertook investigations in the fields of geology, geography, botany, biology and the like. The Dutch also made a study of customs, languages, religions, the culture and the history of the nationalities.

Thus, imperialism destroyed the state monopoly of the "culture system" but at the same time erected a new monopoly in its place, the monopoly of finance-capital. It was because the Dutch were weak militarily and were unable to defend Indonesia with arms that they were forced from the year 1905 to pursue an open-door policy, a policy of opening up Indonesia as a field for exploitation to capitalists in all the capitalist countries, especially Britain and America. The Dutch imperialists calculated that such a policy would bring them two advantages: 1) increased profits from the imperialist enterprises, and 2) joint defence between the imperialist states to defend their interests in Indonesia, and at the same time, the Dutch imperialists would be able to keep a balance between the other imperialist states so as to prevent any one imperialist state from grabbing Indonesia. Imperialism replaced the slavery of the "culture system" variety with slavery of a "new" variety which took on among others the form of "penal sanctions", or in other words, the introduction of regulations stipulating punishment for persons who violated contracts made within the framework of guaranteeing cheap labour for the foreign estates.

Since, in the pre-imperialism era, Indonesia had been bled white and totally ruined, imperialism had to create the elementary bases

for a modern system of exploitation, the more intensive and systematic exploitation of the people and wealth of Indonesia. From the beginning of the era of imperialism, the Dutch East Indies Government pursued what was called the "ethical policy", a policy which included among other things the reduction of forced labour, the introduction of health services, a slight expansion of irrigation installations and the establishment of primary schools, teachers' schools, technical schools, general middle schools and the like, in order to meet the requirements of imperialism for workers and for cheap but educated native office-workers.

During the era of imperialism, Indonesia was a source of cheap raw materials for the imperialist countries, a source of very cheap labour, a market for the products of the imperialist countries and a place for the investment of their capital (Dutch, British, American, Japanese, French, Italian, and others).

The colonial policy pursued by the imperialists was in no way aimed at promoting industry in Indonesia but at promoting the industry of the imperialist countries themselves. The imperialists vigorously opposed the development of industry in Indonesia and this was the reason why the handicrafts of the people did not develop into modern industry as had happened in Europe.

Enterprises owned by Indonesians were allowed only very limited scope, for example, only for weaving hats, mats and baskets, making *batik* cloth and the *kretek* cigarettes. The more advanced of these were the *batik* enterprises, some of which employed tens and even hundreds of workers. These enterprises were heavily dependent upon the foreign importers who imported the things required by the industry. The *kretek* cigarette enterprises also depended on the foreign importers and encountered strong competition from the modern European cigarette industry. The larger *batik* and *kretek* enterprises were in most cases owned by Arabs, Chinese or Europeans.

During the era of imperialism, national industry met with great obstacles from imperialist policy in becoming acquainted with

modern machinery. It was this above all which made it so difficult for Indonesia to meet its needs of industrial products during the Second World War and during the Revolution of 1945-1948.

Indonesia possesses sufficient conditions to become a strong modern industrial country because it is rich in mineral deposits such as coal, iron ore, oil, tin, bauxite, manganese, copper, chromium, mercury, iodine, ashphalt, gold, silver, zinc, uranium and others. But the imperialists did not make Indonesia into an industrial country. They established means of transport such as railways, motor transport and shipping, and built harbours to carry off goods such as tropical products, or to facilitate military mobility so as to exert control and guarantee security for their colonisation. They set up auxiliary industries to meet the need for repairs and to process raw materials ready for export. The more advanced among the industries set up by the imperialists were the mining industry (oil, tin, bauxite, coal and so on), sugar factories, remilling factories, tea factories, coffee factories, cocoanut oil factories, rice mills, tobacco factories, and others.

As a result of the imperialist domination in Indonesia described above, Indonesian colonial society displayed the following characteristics:

The basis of the natural self-sufficient economy was destroyed, or in other words, production was directed for the market, but the exploitation of the peasants by the landlords—the social basis of feudal exploitation—remained. As a matter of fact, this exploitation had become interwoven with the exploitation of foreign capital, compradore capitalists and the money-lenders who occupied a decisive position in Indonesia's social-economic life. Feudal Indonesia had become semi-feudal Indonesia.

The scope for development of national capitalism was greatly restricted so that it did not occupy an important role in Indonesia's political, economic and cultural life. During the Japanese occupation, the national bourgeoisie were able to strengthen themselves a bit because the Japanese were forced to utilise them as assistants.

But even so, the Indonesian national bourgeois class remains extremely weak in political, economic and cultural affairs.

In modern Indonesia, the power of the autocratic kings had been overthrown but this did not mean to say that the feudalists did not still play a role in the colonial regime. The feudalists, that is, the nobles and the landlords, have been an important weapon in the hands of the imperialists to continue with their economic exploitation and political suppression of the people. Colonial power is the dictatorship of the big foreign bourgeoisie and the domestic feudal class. By means of this dictatorship, the foreign bourgeoisie not only controlled Indonesia's financial and economic sectors but also the military and political situation in Indonesia.

The foreign imperialists also utilised the weapon of culture to break the spirit of resistance of the Indonesian people. By means of culture, they cultivated a feeling of inferiority among the people and glorified foreigners and their agents. They cultivated feelings of incapability among the Indonesian people and spread the illusion that it was only the foreigners that were good and wise. They cultivated the belief that it was by studying in Europe, particularly Holland, that one could get a position, a good name and wealth.

The exploitation by imperialism and feudalism during the time the Dutch were in power and particularly during the Japanese regime more and more deeply impoverished the Indonesian people, especially the peasants, and pressed them into a state of bankruptcy, starvation, and of never being able to enjoy decent housing and sufficient clothing.

Chapter V

Present-day Indonesian Society is Semi-Colonial and Semi-Feudal

The basic contradiction in Indonesian society in the modern era, the contradiction between imperialism and the Indonesian nation, reached one of its climaxes with the outbreak in August 1945

of the national revolution in Indonesia. As a result, the Indonesian nation took independence into their own hands. During this revolution, the Indonesian people fought a heroic struggle against the most basic enemy, imperialism. But another basic enemy, the feudal landlord class which was the most important social basis for the forces of imperialism, was not overthrown. This means that the basic force in the Indonesian revolution, the peasants, were not sufficiently aroused and drawn into the revolution. The separation made in the implementation of the two basic tasks, that is, the anti-imperialist task of the national revolution and the anti-feudal task of the democratic revolution, was the main reason why the August Revolution failed.

The CPI Programme states among other things:

"*The tasks of national emancipation and democratic changes have not yet been carried out in Indonesia. The yearnings of the Indonesian people for complete national independence, for democratic liberties and for an improvement in the living conditions have not yet been realised.*"

The CPI Programme went on to say that "The Round Table Conference Agreement signed by the Hatta Government and the Dutch Government on November 2nd, 1949, fixed Indonesia's status as semi-colonial. The so-called transfer of sovereignty that took place on December 27th, 1949, in accordance with the above agreement, was aimed at creating the illusion among the Indonesian people that Indonesia had been granted complete independence and that that 'transfer of sovereignty' was irrevocable, complete and unconditional". The actual state of affairs was that with the signing of the RTC Agreement, the Hatta Government restored Dutch imperialist power over Indonesia's economy.

By means of the RTC Agreement, the Indonesian reactionaries who had completely capitulated to the imperialists strove to hold back and suppress the national independence movement and the democratic movement of the Indonesian people. But the result was quite the reverse! Under the strong and widespread pressure of the masses of the people, the RTC Agreement was abrogated

unilaterally in April 1956 and later on, all the "debts" to Holland were unilaterally repudiated by the Indonesian Government. Although these were important political steps and were in keeping with the rising anti-imperialist spirit of the people, they did not bring about any important changes in Indonesian society.

The abrogation of the RTC Agreement meant that basically, the Indonesian people had obtained political independence in 80% of the territory of their country while in West Irian, the other 20%, there was as yet no political independence for the people. West Irian is still completely under Dutch domination. The political independence which the Indonesian people now possess is not full and stable political independence but it is only half and is under the constant threat of the reactionaries. The domestic reactionaries working in collaboration with the Dutch, American and other imperialists are doing all they can to restrict and destroy political independence for the people, and besides this, the national bourgeoisie are trying to limit the political independence of the working class and other progressive people.

Extremely clear evidence that Indonesian society is still semi-colonial is the fact that Indonesia is as yet not independent in the economic field. The imperialists (the big foreign capitalists) still dominate in the economic field in Indonesia. Utilising their dominant position in the sphere of economy and by means of their mercenaries, the imperialists also participate in determining political developments in Indonesia. Imperialist companies such as BPM (a subsidiary of Royal Dutch Shell, Tr.), Caltex and Stanvac control our country's oil reserves. Foreign estate companies still control the estate lands and an important part of sea transport is in the hands of the KPM (Dutch Royal Navigation Company). Import and export trade and internal trade are still controlled by what are usually referred to as the "Big Five", the Internatio, Borsumy, Jacobson van den Berg, Lindeteves-Stokvis and Geo Wehry companies. Important trade facilities such as transport are in part or wholly in the hands of the big foreign capitalists. The big banks which dominate Indonesia's

economy such as the Factorij, the Handelsbank, the Escompto, the Chartered Bank, the Great Eastern Bank and others are all owned by the Dutch colonialists or other imperialists.

The policy of the imperialists in the field of economic affairs is not in principle different from what it was at the time Indonesia was fully colonised. They have continued to run their old enterprises and have opened up some new ones. This means that they can directly make use of Indonesia's raw materials, extract Indonesia's natural deposited wealth and utilise cheap Indonesian labour power. They are economically bearing down upon our national industry, both that run by the State and that run by the national bourgeoisie. The result is that the big foreign capitalists stand in the way of developing the productive forces in our country. It is the banks and finances as well as the goods for sale in the hands of the imperialists that play a decisive role in the economic life of our country at the present time.*

In order to safeguard their capital and facilitate their exploitation of the broad masses of the peasants and other groups of the people, the imperialists utilise compradores (agents) and usurers to throw out wide nets of exploitation extending from the busy commercial harbours on the coasts and from the towns right out to the remotest villages. The compradore class is the creation of the imperialists,

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* Since this pamphlet was written developments in Indonesia have been such as to have changed the situation analysed above. At the beginning of 1958 the Indonesian Government decided to dismiss all Dutch officials as being no longer needed, took over all Dutch-owned transport companies, banks, plantations and factories. All Dutch attempts, both at establishing an economic blockade against Indonesia by the rapid withdrawal of all ships owned by the Dutch shipping company, KPM, aimed at paralyzing Indonesia's home and foreign market, as well as by means of the reactionary counter-revolutionary rebellion in Sumatera and Sulawesi which got the open assistance of foreign capital, as well as the attempts of the domestic reactionary compradores at replacing Dutch capital by other foreign capital, proved all to be powerless at deviating the course taken by the people of Indonesia.

From the 2,836 Dutch concessions existing at that time in Indonesia, 2,462 have been annulled while at the same time the Indonesian Government nationalized another 38 Dutch plantations. — Tr.

their assistants in exploiting the broad masses of the people. The compradores not only serve the interests of one imperialism, but each of them serves the interests of certain imperialists. In order to obtain political power, the imperialists have placed their compradores in the bourgeois parties which they have turned into parties that faithfully serve their interests. By utilising the bourgeois parties and masking their activities as being in the interests of "religion" and "ideology", they have made use of the executive and legislative bodies as well as the bureaucratic apparatus of the government to serve the interests of the imperialists whose servants they are, doing all this with the aim to split unity of the people and obstruct the growth of the progressive forces under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Besides the economic power of the imperialists, important and heavy remnants of feudalism still hold sway in Indonesia, such as the following:

1. the right of the big landlords to monopolise the ownership of land worked by the peasants, the majority of whom cannot own land and are therefore forced to rent land from the land-owners on terms fixed by the landlords;
2. the payment of rent to the landlords in the form of goods which account for an important part of the crops produced by the peasants, all of this resulting in impoverishment for the vast majority of the peasants;
3. the system of rent-payment in the form of work on the landlords' land, a fact which places the peasants in the position of slaves;
4. and finally the accumulation of debts which are shackles around the necks of the majority of the peasants and which place them in a position of slavery vis-a-vis the land-owners.

The continued prevalence of feudalist survivals has led to backwardness in farming techniques, to the impoverishment of the vast majority of the peasants, to the shrinking of the domestic market

and to the inability of the country to carry out industrialisation.

The double oppression by imperialism and feudalism has resulted in the broad masses of the people, particularly the peasants, becoming more and more destitute, and to some of them going bankrupt, living in conditions of slavery and semi-nakedness. The double oppression by imperialism and feudalism has also led to national industry and national culture being very heavily suppressed.

In modern-day Indonesian society, the contradictions between imperialism and the Indonesian nation and the contradictions between feudalism and the broad masses of the people, and above all the peasants, are the basic contradictions. There are of course other contradictions such as contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, contradictions between the reactionary classes themselves and contradictions between one imperialism and another imperialism. But, however that may be, the contradictions between imperialism and the Indonesian nation are the most basic of all contradictions. The struggles which arise out of these contradictions and the ever deepening contradictions within a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society will undoubtedly lead to the further development of the revolutionary movement. The Indonesian revolution has emerged and grown out of the contradictions existing in Indonesian society which are day by day becoming more intense.

These are the conclusions that we can draw from the characteristics of a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. These characteristics are not essentially different from the characteristics and conclusions of Indonesian society before the August 1945 Revolution. This is because the August Revolution did not complete the implementation of the two basic tasks of the revolution at once, that is the task of the anti-imperialist national revolution and the task of the democratic anti-feudal revolution.

The fact that these two basic tasks of the revolution have not been completed means that the August Revolution has not yet

been completed in its entirety. Up to today, imperialism still holds sway in Indonesia whilst the most important social basis of imperialist power, the landlord class, has not yet been overthrown.

PART TWO

Chapter One

The Revolutionary Movement in Indonesia during the Twentieth Century

The Dutch government directly and officially held power over Indonesia from 1800, that is following the dissolution of the Dutch trade association, the VOC. Ever since 1800, with the exception of the interlude of British power from 1811-1816, up to the time Dutch power was thrown out by the Japanese troops on March 9th, 1942, the Dutch government directly and officially exercised despotic power over Indonesia.

The process of Indonesia's transformation into a country fully under the power of Dutch colonialism was at one and the same time the process of the Indonesian people's struggle against Dutch colonialism and its agents. It was only with the greatest difficulty that the Dutch government was able to suppress the armed uprisings of the people in Ambon, Java, Sumatera, Bali, Lombok, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and many other places. Among the most bitterly fought of these uprisings were the Ambonese uprising in 1817 under the leadership of Pattimura, the Java War of 1825-1830 led by Dipo Negoro, and the Paderi War in Sumatera from 1830-1839 led by Imam Bondjol. The uprising in Atjeh was only suppressed after the Dutch army had fought a continuous war for forty years, from 1873 until 1913.

At the beginning of the 20th century, new forms of struggle in the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people emerged as a result of the coming into being of new classes, the proletarian

class and the national bourgeoisie. The Russian Revolution of 1905, which was led by the Russian Communists with Lenin as their foremost leader, had a great influence on the emergence of new forms of struggle of the national revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people. The Russian Revolution dealt a severe blow at Russian Tsarist power whose position was greatly weakened. Frightened by the revolutionary developments at home, Tsarist Russia hastily came to terms with Japan so as thus to be able to strengthen its position and be able to grapple with the revolution at home. The Russian Revolution in 1905 played a very important role in arousing the peoples of Asia. The Indonesian people was also aroused and the oppressed classes began to organise themselves.

In 1905, the first trade union, the trade union of railway workers called the SS BOND (State Railways Union), was set up. In 1908, a group of intellectuals in Java set up an organisation called "Budi Utomo". Youth and students organisations on a regional basis grew up everywhere.

Indonesian students studying in Holland set up the "Indische Vereniging" in 1908, the name of which was changed to "Indonesische Vereniging" in 1922, and in 1925, the name was again changed to "Perhimpunan Indonesia". The "Perhimpunan Indonesia" was an organisation with a clear political character and which demanded independence for Indonesia.

In 1911, Indonesian bourgeois merchants set up the "Serikat Dagang Islam" (Union of Islam Merchants) which changed its name in 1912 to "Serikat Islam" (Islamic Union). In December 1914, the "Indische Sociaal-Demokratische Vereniging" (the ISDV, Association of Indonesian Social-Democrats) was set up, the first political organisation of Indonesian Marxists. The Great October Russian Revolution of 1917 had a great influence on the Indonesian proletariat and especially on the ISDV. In the middle of November, 1918, a united national front organisation was set up, the "Radicale Concentratie" the members of which consisted of the Serikat Islam,

the Budi Utomo, the Insulinde, the Pasundan and the ISDV. This Radicale Concentratie immediately raised the demand for a Constitution and a Parliament.

On May 23rd, 1920, the ISDV changed its name and became the Communist Party of Indonesia (CPI).

Within a brief space of time, the influence of the CPI extended far and wide among the people who were at that time suffering from the economic exploitation and political oppression by Dutch imperialism. The crisis rose to new heights in Indonesia, the living conditions became worse and worse and the unorganised people put up ever growing resistance to the government apparatus. It was in such circumstances that provocations from the Dutch colonial government followed in quick succession in the form of dismissals of strikers, arrests of peasants, the dissolution of schools set up by the CPI and the Serikat Rakjat (People's Union), prohibition of workers' newspapers, arrests of workers' leaders and the like. In dealing with the peasants, the Dutch organised terrorist gangs such as the "Sarikat Hedjo". All this led to the outbreak of the people's revolt against Dutch imperialist power at the end of 1926 in Java and at the beginning of 1927 in Sumatera. The CPI did all it could to give leadership to this revolt. But because of inadequate preparations, lack of experience and the fact that the policy of the Indonesian proletariat and its political party was not yet correct, this revolt suffered defeat, the CPI was declared illegal and a white terror raged.

After the CPI had been outlawed by the Dutch government, the Indonesian national bourgeoisie led by revolutionary intellectuals set up a number of organisations and political parties, continuing the revolutionary struggle which had already been begun by the CPI. Inspired by the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people, the "Sumpah Pemuda" (Youth Vow) was born in 1928, the unified determination of the Indonesian youth of various nationalities and various political trends to the effect that they had one nation, one language and one fatherland Indonesia. This

was an extremely important event in the formation of the Indonesian nation. This was a correct answer to the splitting policy of the Dutch imperialists.

Like a thunderbolt out of the blue sky, a mutiny broke out on board the Dutch man-o'-war "De Zeven Provincien" in 1933, as a result of which the ship was directed and steered throughout the mutiny by Indonesian and Dutch seamen. The bomb dropped by the colonial government on this ship in mutiny did not succeed in extinguishing the spirit and solidarity of the Indonesian and Dutch seamen. This mutiny, although eventually suppressed, gave tens of millions of oppressed Indonesian people hope and confidence in themselves.

In March 1942, Dutch power was forced to quit Indonesia as a result of the attack launched by Japanese imperialism. During the occupation by Japanese troops, the Indonesian people continued with their revolutionary struggle by carrying out sabotage in the enterprises (including derailing trains transporting Japanese troops, blowing up important buildings), organised peasants' uprisings (among others, in Singaparna, Indramayu and the Karo lands), organised revolts within the military forces (among others, in Blitar) and carried out resistance among the intellectuals, the students, the youth and the school pupils. Soon after it had been announced that the Japanese had surrendered to the Allied Powers in the Second World War, the Indonesian people proclaimed its national independence on August 17th, 1945 and set up a Republic.

This young Republic of Indonesia had to face up to strong enemies whose reputation was at that time on the upswing because they had just returned victors from the battlefields of the Second World War, namely the British and Dutch armies who were assisted by American imperialism. Besides being armed with far superior military weapons than those being used by the armed forces of the Republic of Indonesia, the imperialists were also able to make use of the weapons of politics and diplomacy. They set up puppet

states to encircle the Indonesian revolution and strove to split the forces of the revolution from within by utilising reactionary persons who had important positions in the Republic.

By means of intrigues and intimidations, the imperialists with the help of the Hatta clique succeeded in January 1948 in overthrowing the revolutionary government of the Republic and setting up in its place a reactionary government headed by Hatta who was at that time Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia. It was this Hatta Government which later pursued a policy of hunting down and murdering the Communists and other progressives. After crushing the revolutionary forces during the bloody event known as the "Madiun Affair", the way was open for the Hatta Government to reach a compromise with the Dutch Government under the supervision of a representative of the USA. On November 2nd, 1949, the Hatta Government and the Dutch Government signed the Round Table Conference (RTC) agreement which was in essence nothing but an agreement which placed Indonesia in the position of a semi-colonial country.

The national revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people which had gone on for almost fifty years since 1908, which had gone on for more than 30 years since the revolt in 1926, which had gone on for almost 30 years since the "Youth Vow" of 1928 and which had gone on for more than 11 years since the August 1945 Revolution has not yet fully completed its tasks, that is the establishment of complete national independence, the implementation of democratic changes and improvements in the living conditions of the people. The August Revolution has not yet been completed in its entirety. This is why it is the responsibility of the entire Indonesian people, and especially of the Indonesian proletariat and the CPI, to take into its hands the entire responsibility of completing the August Revolution in its entirety.

To avoid or reduce the mistakes made in the course of the work to finish the tasks of the August Revolution in their entirety, it is our responsibility to be properly aware of what the targets of the

revolution are. What are its tasks? What are the forces which push it forward? These are the basic questions of the Indonesian revolution and this is what we shall speak about below.

Chapter Two
The Basic Problems of the Indonesian Revolution

Based on the analysis that Indonesian society is a semi-feudal society, the CPI, in its Fifth National Congress (March 1954) decided upon what are the targets of the Indonesian revolution at the present time, what are its tasks, what are the forces pushing it forward, what are its characteristics and perspectives. A clear understanding of Indonesian society is the indispensable condition for understanding all the basic and important problems of the Indonesian revolution. One of the most important things about that Fifth National Congress was that, based on a correct understanding of Indonesian society, it was able to solve the basic and important problems of the Indonesian revolution, as follows:

A. *Concerning the Basic Targets* or the main enemy of the Indonesian revolution at the present stage, the CPI Programme states that it is imperialism and feudalism. As regards the basic targets of the Indonesian revolution, the CPI Programme states among other things: "*As long as conditions in Indonesia do not change, or in other words, as long as imperialist power has not been overthrown and the remnants of feudalism not yet wiped out, the Indonesian people will not possibly be able to free themselves from impoverishment, backwardness, distortions and powerlessness to face up to imperialism. The forces of imperialism and the survivals of feudalism will never be abolished from Indonesia so long as state power in our country is held by the landlords and compradores who are closely related with foreign capital, because they want to preserve imperialist oppression and the survivals of feudalism in our country, because they are most of all afraid of the Indonesian people.*"

When we say that the basic targets of the Indonesian revolution are imperialism and feudalism this means that the principal enemies of the Indonesian people at this stage of the revolution are the big bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries and the landlord class at home. These are the classes which conspire to exploit the Indonesian people. Since imperialism's oppression of the Indonesian people is the most brutal of all, imperialism is the principal and most bitter enemy of the Indonesian people.

The Indonesian revolution must not only resist the big bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries and the domestic landlord class but it must also resist the compradores or the agents of foreign imperialism which are composed of Indonesians themselves. Resisting foreign imperialism without resisting the compradores who are its agents is futile, because the foreign imperialists would not possibly be able to remain in power today if it were not for the network of agents which infiltrate everywhere, for example in the central and local government apparatus, in the government departments, in the economic and financial organs, in the political parties, in the mass organisations, in the press, in the cultural bodies, in the universities, the armed forces and police forces, in the various official and unofficial committees, in the research institutes, in religious circles and in the gangs of bandits. There are some among these agents of imperialism that have capital alliances with the big foreign capitalists but some of them do not have such alliances and get paid out of the special funds or other forms of bribe provided by the imperialists.

Thus it is clear that the enemies of the Indonesian revolution are still strong, they are still very dangerous, namely a combination of imperialists, compradores and feudal landlords who regard the Indonesian people as their enemy. The fact that the enemies of the Indonesian revolution are still strong does not mean that they are still in a stage of growth; on the contrary, they are in a stage of disintegration and decay. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake for us to underestimate the strength of these enemies of the Indonesian revolution.

Since the enemies of the Indonesian revolution are still strong, the struggle to defeat these enemies is a bitter, difficult and protracted struggle. It is a mistake to regard the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people lightly, just as it is a mistake to believe that this struggle can be completed within a short space of time and hastily.

As we give leadership to the bitter, difficult and protracted struggle of the people, we must adopt tactics of taking the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people forward slowly and cautiously, but surely. In the course of carrying out this protracted struggle, we must unceasingly oppose two deviations, the deviations of surrenderism and of adventurism, both of which originate from petty bourgeois wavering.

Since the enemies of the people make use of all forms of struggle, we too must be skillful at making use of all forms of struggle. We must be skillful at utilising all forms of open and legal struggle, the forms which are permitted according to law and the regulations, and according to habits and customs in society. The Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPI drew attention, among other things, to the fact that we "*must be vigilant and must always hold ourselves in readiness and prepare the people in all respects so that the reactionaries will not be able to stand in the way of the people's desire to achieve fundamental social changes peacefully, by parliamentary means*". Of course, the CPI's activities are not confined to parliamentary work alone but also and especially include activities among the masses, the masses of the workers, the peasants, the intellectuals and other masses of working people and democratic masses. All these activities, both within and outside Parliament, are aimed at changing the balance of forces between the imperialists, the landlord class and the compradores on the one hand and the forces of the people on the other. In order to attain the objectives of the Party, we must, in making use of these forms of struggle, base ourselves on the principles of justice, advantage and a knowledge of how far we can go. The most important thing is not how great are the results but that this struggle

should succeed, and that these successes should become the basis for achieving greater and more successes.

In short, in the course of the protracted work of mobilising all forces to defeat enemies which are still strong, hoarse shouting and hasty actions will not bring the Indonesian revolution to the destruction of its targets. Perseverance and persistent hard work is what our Party demands of every member, particularly of its cadres.

B. *On the Tasks of the Indonesian Revolution.* The CPI Programme states that the task of the Indonesian revolution is to create a people's government which "*is not to carry out socialist changes but democratic changes. It will be a government which is capable of uniting all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces, which will be capable of giving land free of charge to the peasants, which will be capable of guaranteeing democratic rights for the people; a government which will be capable of protecting national industry and commerce against foreign competition, which will be capable of raising the material living standards of the workers and of abolishing unemployment. In brief, it will be a people's government which is capable of guaranteeing national independence and its development through the path of democracy and progress*".

It is clear that the most important tasks are to fight against two enemies, that is, to carry out the national revolution to overthrow the forces of imperialism, the enemy from without, and to carry out the democratic revolution to overthrow the forces of the feudal landlords at home. Of these two important tasks, the principle one is the national revolution to overthrow imperialism.

By saying that the principal task is to overthrow imperialism, it does not mean that these two important tasks of the Indonesian revolution can be carried out separately. No! These two important tasks are closely linked. Without overthrowing the forces of imperialism, the forces of the landlord class could not possibly come to an end because imperialism is the most important supporter of the landlord class. On the other hand, since the feudal landlords are the important social basis of imperialist power over Indonesia, it will not be pos-

sible to overthrow the forces of imperialism without overthrowing the forces of the feudal landlords. This latter can only be overthrown if the proletariat is capable of arousing the basic forces of the revolution, that is, the peasant masses, by way of helping them to overthrow the feudal landlords. This makes it clear that the anti-feudal front of the workers and the peasants is the basis of the anti-imperialist united national front. Thus, the two tasks of the Indonesian revolution differ from each other, but at the same time they are also linked up one with the other.

The idea of "*finishing the national revolution first*" and then only "*after the national revolution has been completed*" of carrying out the "*anti-feudal democratic revolution*" is a dangerous and incorrect idea. This is because the idea of "*completing the national revolution*" without struggling for the emancipation of the peasants from the exploitation by the survivals of feudalism means not drawing the peasants over to the side of the revolution. This mistaken idea is basically inspired by a desire not to see the position of the feudal landlords disturbed. They claim that if the landlords were troubled then they would quit the anti-imperialist national front and oppose the revolution. But is this true? Not at all! If this idea were to be accepted, then the result would be none other than that the landlords will continue not to strengthen the national front in real earnest; while the peasants, the basic force of our revolution, would not be aroused and mobilised into opposing imperialism because the basic and direct enemy of the peasants, the feudal landlords, are not dealt with at all and are left free to continue with their economic exploitation and political suppression of the peasants. Without arousing the peasants and drawing them into the revolution, the national revolution cannot possibly be completed in its entirety.

The Party already has a Programme to complete the demands of the August Revolution in their entirety, that is, co-operation between the CPI and all parties, and with all democratic and patriotic groups and individuals in order to complete all the demands of the August Revolution. Besides carrying out propaganda for its

general programme, the CPI unites the people on the basis of the present-day concrete political and economic demands and makes these concrete demands the platform for co-operation at the present time with all democratic and patriotic parties, groups and individuals. The urgent political demand to unite the people as much as possible at the present stage is the demand for the 100% implementation of President Sukarno's Concept, as an important step towards achieving the strategic objective of the Indonesian revolution, that is, the implementation of the August Revolution in its entirety.

C. *On the Driving Force or the Force Pushing the Indonesian Revolution Forward*, the General Programme of the Constitution of the CPI states that "*the driving force of the Indonesian revolution is the working class, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and other democratic elements whose interests are harmed by imperialism*". All these make up the progressive forces in Indonesian society. The question of the forces pushing the revolution forward or the driving forces of the revolution is the question of which classes and sectors in Indonesian society consistently fight against imperialism and feudalism. The problem of the basic tactics of the Indonesian revolution can only be correctly solved if this is clearly understood.

The CPI Programme states that "*the workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie must unite in one national front*". The national front is the unification of the progressive and the middle-of-the-road forces. The middle-of-the-road forces are basically the forces of the national bourgeoisie.

The CPI Programme also states that the way out of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal situation lies in "*changing the balance of forces between the imperialists, the landlord class and the compradore bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the forces of the people on the other. The way out lies in arousing, mobilising and organising the masses, especially the workers and the peasants*". The IVth Plenum of the CPI Central Committee, (held at the end of July, 1956) stated among other things that there are in Indonesian society three forces, the diehard forces, the middle-

of-the-road forces and the progressive forces. It further stated that at the present time, the forces of the people, that is the combination between the progressive forces and the middle-of-the-road forces, are striving for the formation of an Indonesian state which is independent in the political and economic spheres. But these efforts are strongly opposed by the compradore and feudal classes who are in alliance with the imperialists who are stubbornly doing all they can to convert Indonesia into a satellite state, that is, a state that is independent in form only but in essence has surrendered to imperialism. The CPI's political line in dealing with these three forces is: "*with all its power and tirelessly to develop the progressive forces, unite with the middle-of-the-road forces and isolate the diehard forces*". The implementation of this line is very important in changing the balance of forces in society.

There is in Indonesian society today a landlord class and a bourgeois class: the upper strata of the landlord class and the upper strata of the bourgeois class are the classes that govern. The governed are the proletarian class, the peasants and all types of petty bourgeoisie besides the peasants; all these make up by far the largest group in society. Thus, it can also be said that the way out of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal conditions in Indonesia is by changing the balance of forces between the classes that govern on the one hand and the classes that are being governed on the other.

The attitudes and position of all classes, both those that govern and those that are being governed are completely determined by their social and economic position. Thus the character of Indonesian society not only determines the targets and tasks of the revolution but also determines the forces pushing the revolution forward. Which classes can be included within the forces pushing the Indonesian revolution forward? In order to know this, we need to make an analysis of the classes within Indonesian society.

The *landlord class* which exploits and suppresses the peasants and which does more to oppose the political, economic and cultural development of Indonesian society than to play a progressive role,

is not a force pushing the revolution forward but is a target of the revolution.

The *bourgeois class* is composed of the compradores and the national bourgeoisie. The big bourgeoisie that is compradore in character directly serves the interests of the big foreign capitalists and is thus fattened up by them. In the Indonesian revolution, the compradore bourgeoisie is not a driving force but an obstacle in the way of the revolution, and this is why it is a target of the revolution. However, the national bourgeoisie displays two features. As a class that is also suppressed by imperialism and whose development is also stifled by feudalism, this class is anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, and in this respect it is one of the revolutionary forces. But on the other hand, this class does not have the courage fundamentally to fight imperialism and feudalism because economically and politically it is weak and it has class ties with imperialism and feudalism. The dual character of the national bourgeoisie is the reason why we have two sets of experiences with them, that is, at certain limits, this class can take part in the revolution against imperialism, against the compradores and against the landlords (for example during the August Revolution), but at other periods they trail behind the compradore bourgeoisie and become their ally in the counter-revolutionary camp (for example, during the "Madiun Affair" in 1948 and during the August Mass Arrests in 1951).

As regards this Indonesian bourgeoisie, the Fifth Congress of the CPI drew the following conclusion, on the basis of the experiences during some phases of the struggle of the Indonesian people (the periods from 1920—1926, from 1935—1945, the period from 1945—1948, and the period since 1951):

"*The Indonesian national bourgeoisie, because it too is oppressed by foreign imperialism, can, in certain circumstances and within certain limits, take part in the struggle against imperialism. In such specific circumstances, the Indonesian proletariat must build unity with the national bourgeoisie and preserve this unity with all its strength. In other more specific circumstances, if the Party's policy is at a particular time only directed at one imperialism, then a*

part of the compradore bourgeoisie can also be an additional force opposing that particular imperialism. But even so, the compradore bourgeoisie is still very reactionary and still aims at smashing the Communist Party, smashing the proletarian movement and other democratic movements.

"Because of the weakness of the Indonesian national bourgeoisie economically and politically, under certain historical circumstances, the national bourgeoisie which is by nature wavering, can vacillate and betray. This is why the Indonesian proletariat and the Communist Party of Indonesia must be on guard against the possibilities that under certain circumstances, the national bourgeoisie will not participate in the united front but under other circumstances, it will again participate."

In facing the wavering characteristics of the Indonesian national bourgeoisie attention should be paid to the fact that it is precisely because it is politically and economically weak that it is not very difficult to pull this class to the left to make it stand firmly on the side of the revolution so long as the progressive forces are large and the tactics of the Communist Party correct. This means that the wavering nature of this class is not fatal, it is not insurmountable. But on the other hand, if the progressive forces are not large and the tactics of the Communist Party not correct, then this economically and politically weak national bourgeoisie can easily run to the right and become hostile to the revolution.

The *petty bourgeoisie besides the peasants*, that is, the urban poor, the intellectuals, the small traders, the handicraft workers, the fishermen, the independent workers and so on, have a status which is almost the same as that of the middle peasants. They also suffer from the oppression of imperialism, feudalism and the big bourgeoisie and are every day pressed further and further towards bankruptcy and ruin. This is why they are one of the forces pushing the revolution forward and are a reliable ally of the proletariat. They can only attain their freedom under the leadership of the proletariat. The *intellectuals and the student youth* are not a class in society but their class position is determined by family origin, by their conditions of living and by their political outlook. The *small traders* in general

have stalls and small shops and either employ just a few assistants or none at all; they live under the constant threat of bankruptcy because of the exploitation by imperialists, the big bourgeoisie and the money-lenders. The *handicraftsmen* and *fishermen* possess their own means of production, they do not employ any workers or perhaps employ only one or two. The *independent workers* are persons in various spheres of work, such as private doctors and lawyers, they work on their own, they do not exploit others or exploit others only very slightly. All the petty bourgeoisie besides the peasants can generally support the revolution and are good allies of the proletariat. Their weakness is that some of them easily come under the influence of the bourgeoisie and this is why special attention must be devoted to carrying out propaganda and undertaking revolutionary organisational activities among them.

The *peasants* account for 60%—70% of the population of Indonesia, they make up the biggest group and together with their families number tens of millions of people. The peasants are basically divided into the rich peasants, the middle peasants and the poor peasants. There are indeed some persons among the *rich peasants* that lease out a part of their land, carry out money lending and brutally exploit the peasants-labourers and they are by nature semi-feudal, but besides this, they themselves generally participate in labour, and in this sense they make up a part of the peasantry. Their productive activities will continue to be utilised for a certain period to come and they can also help the struggle against imperialism. They can adopt an attitude of neutrality in the revolutionary struggle against the landlords. This is why we cannot consider them as part of the landlords. The *middle peasants* are independent economically, they generally do not exploit others and do not earn interest on money, on the contrary, they suffer from the exploitation of the imperialists, the landlords and the bourgeoisie. Some of them do not own sufficient land for them to work it themselves. The middle peasants can not only become part of the anti-imperialist revolution and the agrarian revolution, but they can also accept Socialism. This is why

they are one of the important forces pushing the revolution forward and are a reliable ally of the proletariat. Their attitude towards the revolution is a decisive factor for victory or defeat because the middle peasants comprise the majority in the countryside after the agrarian revolution. The *poor peasants* together with the agricultural labourers comprise the majority in the villages in our country, prior to the agrarian revolution. The poor peasants do not have any land or do not have sufficient for them to work it themselves, they are the village semi-proletariat, they are the largest force pushing the revolution forward and it is natural for them to be the most reliable of the allies of the proletariat and a basic part of the forces of the Indonesian revolution.

The poor peasants and the middle peasants can only attain their emancipation under the leadership of the proletariat, and the proletariat can only give leadership to the revolution if it has made a firm alliance with the poor and middle peasants. What we mean when we use the term "peasants" is mainly the poor and middle peasants that make up the majority of the inhabitants of the villages. In leading the people's struggle in the countryside, the Party must always strive to be able to draw in and mobilise 90% of the village inhabitants and must firmly base itself on the poor peasants and the peasant labourers as well as make an alliance with the middle peasants.

The Indonesian *proletariat* consist of about 500,000 workers in modern industry (transport workers, factory-workers, repair-shop workers, mine-workers, etc.). The workers in small industry and the handicrafts in the towns number more than 2,000,000. The agricultural and forestry proletariat and other groups of workers make up a very large number. All this amounts to about 6,000,000 or, together with their families, some 20,000,000 which is about 25% of the entire population of Indonesia. Besides this town and village proletariat, there are also in the villages of Indonesia millions of peasant labourers, those village inhabitants who generally own no land and agricultural implements and who make a livelihood out of selling

their labour power in the villages. The peasant labourers are the group which suffers most in the villages and their position in the peasant movement is just as important as that of the poor peasants.

As is also the case with the proletariat in other countries, the Indonesian proletariat has very fine qualities. Their work makes them unite in the most advanced economic forms, it gives them a strong understanding of organisation and discipline, and because they do not own any means of production, they are not individualistic by nature and apart from this, since the Indonesian proletariat is exploited by three forms of brutal exploitation, that is, imperialism, capitalism and feudalism, they become more firm and more thorough-going in the revolutionary struggle than the other classes. Since Indonesia is not fertile soil for social-reformism as is the case in Europe, the proletariat in its entirety is very revolutionary indeed, of course with the exception of a small number who have become the scum. It is because the Indonesian proletariat has been led by its revolutionary political party, the Communist Party of Indonesia, ever since it appeared on the arena of the revolutionary struggle that it is politically the most conscious class in Indonesian society. Since a large part of the Indonesian proletariat consists of bankrupt peasants, it has natural bonds with the broad masses of the peasants, a fact which facilitates its alliance.

Although the Indonesian proletariat contains within it certain unavoidable weaknesses, such as for example its smallness in number by comparison with the peasants, its young age by comparison with the proletariat in capitalist countries and the low level of its culture by comparison with the bourgeoisie, it is nevertheless the basic force pushing the Indonesian revolution forward. The Indonesian revolution will not succed unless it is under the leadership of the Indonesian proletariat. As a recent example, the August Revolution was successful in the beginning because the proletariat more or less consciously took an important part in it, but later on, the revolution suffered defeat because the role of the proletariat was pushed into the background and the upper strata of the bourgeoisie betrayed

the alliance with the proletariat (the "Madiun Affair") besides the fact that the Indonesian proletariat and its political Party had not yet gained enough revolutionary experience. Without the proletariat taking an active part, nothing will ever run properly in Indonesian society. This has already been proved and will continue to be proved by history and experience.

It must be understood that although the Indonesian proletariat is the class which has the highest political consciousness and organisational understanding, the victory of the revolution can never be achieved without the revolutionary unity under all circumstances with all other revolutionary classes and groups. The proletariat must build up a revolutionary front. Of the classes in society, the peasants are the firmest and most reliable ally of the working class, the urban petty bourgeoisie is a reliable ally, and the national bourgeoisie is an ally under certain circumstances and within certain limits: this is the fundamental law which has already been and is being proven by Indonesia's modern history.

The *loiterers and vagrants* are one of the products of a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society in view of the fact that this society has given rise to unemployed in the villages and towns and these unemployed then live a life of vagrancy without any idea of what to do, and eventually dragged down into adopting the path of crime, becoming thieves, robbers, gangsters, beggars, prostitutes and all other such abnormal ways of living or working. This group is wavering in character and some of them can be bought up by the reactionaries, while others can be brought into the revolution. In the case that they enter the revolution they can become the ideological source of roaming destructive elements and of anarchism within the ranks of the revolution. They can easily be made to waver both with material bribes as well as with incitement to hatred and to the destruction of anything constructive. They can easily be swayed by loud and fiery speeches. They can easily be told by the counter-revolutionaries to mouth revolutionary phrases so as to oppose and destroy the Party of the working class, the workers' movement and the revolution-

ary movement in general. This is why we must be skillful at changing their characteristics, especially their destructive nature.

Based on the above analysis of the classes in Indonesian society, it is clear which classes and groups are the pillars of imperialism and feudalism, that is, the landlords and the compradores. They are obstacles standing in the way of the revolution and that is why they are the enemies of the people. The above analysis also makes it clear which classes and groups are the basic driving force of the revolution, that is, the working class, the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie. It makes clear too which classes can take part in the revolution, that is, the national bourgeois class. This is why the workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie are the People, and make up the forces of the revolution, the forces of the united national front.

D. *On the Nature of the Indonesian Revolution* the CPI Programme has the following to say, among other things: "*Bearing in mind the backwardness of the economy of our country, the CPI is of the opinion that this government (the People's Democratic government) is not a government of the dictatorship of the proletariat but a government of the dictatorship of the people. This government does not have to carry out socialist changes but democratic changes.*" In other words, the character of the Indonesian revolution at the present stage is not a proletarian-socialist revolution but a bourgeois democratic revolution.

We can determine the character of our revolution after we understand the specific conditions of Indonesian society which is still semi-colonial and semi-feudal, after knowing that the enemies of the Indonesian revolution at the present time are imperialism and the feudal forces, that the tasks of the Indonesian revolution are to complete the national revolution and the democratic revolution so as to overthrow the two basic enemies (imperialism and feudalism), that the national bourgeoisie can also take part in this revolution and that if the big bourgeoisie betray the revolution and become an

enemy of the revolution, the direct blows of the revolution must continue to be aimed more at imperialism and feudalism than at capitalism and private ownership of the national capitalists in general.

But, the Indonesian bourgeois-democratic revolution of today is no longer general in character, is no longer of the old, out-dated type, but is something special, a new type. This new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution is also called the new democratic revolution or the revolution of people's democracy. It is a part of the world proletarian revolution which firmly opposes imperialism, that is, international capitalism. In the present era it is no longer possible to have a bourgeois democratic revolution that does not harm the interests of the international capitalists and that does not benefit the world proletarian revolution which was begun with the Great October Russian Socialist Revolution of 1917.

The People's Democratic revolution politically means the joint dictatorship of the revolutionary classes over the imperialists, the compradores, the landlords and the other reactionaries, and opposes transformation of Indonesian society into a society under bourgeois dictatorship such as happened with the French bourgeois revolution of 1789. Economically, the People's Democratic revolution means the nationalisation of all capital and enterprises of the imperialists, the compradores and other reactionaries, the division of the landlords' land free of charge to the peasants, and together with that, general protection of the enterprises of individual national capitalists while the rich peasants are left alone. Together with general protection for the individual enterprises of the capitalists, the People's Democratic revolution creates the preparatory conditions for Socialism. The period of People's Democratic power is a period of transition to Socialism and not a form of society in itself quite apart from Socialism.

The present stage of the Indonesian revolution is the transitional stage between the end of semi-colonial (West Irian is still completely colonised) and semi-feudal society and the building of a socialist society. This process of transition began with the movements for

national independence at the beginning of the twentieth century. One of the climaxes of this transitional process was the August 1945 Revolution. But the August Revolution was not able to fulfil its tasks, that is to overthrow the forces of imperialism, the enemy from without and to overthrow the feudal landlord forces at home, because it was betrayed by the upper strata of the bourgeoisie and because of the lack of revolutionary experience of the Indonesian proletariat.

In 1948, the upper strata of the Indonesian bourgeoisie threw down the banners of the August Revolution, betrayed the alliance with the proletariat and capitulated to imperialism. It is an honour and a source of pride for the proletariat to have remained faithful to the August Revolution under such circumstances, and to have picked up again these banners that had been thrown down and to have called upon the entire Indonesian people not to stop half-way, to re-unite and struggle on for the completion of the demands of the August Revolution in their entirety, to bring this revolution to its completion by putting an end to imperialist and landlord power on Indonesian soil.

The experience with the August Revolution and the experience with the struggle of the Indonesian people against colonialism and for democracy during recent years show that anyone or any class will fail in determining Indonesia's fate if it underestimates and separates itself from the proletariat, the peasants and the other sections of the petty bourgeoisie. The democratic republic for which the Indonesian revolution is struggling at the present stage can only be realised if the workers, the peasants and the other sections of the petty bourgeoisie occupy a decisive place and play the decisive role. A democratic republic that does not want to fail must be based on the revolutionary alliance of the workers, the peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the other anti imperialist and anti-feudal people.

The experience of the Indonesian people shows that the Republic of Indonesia under the leadership of the bourgeoisie is not capable of putting an end to imperialist and landlord power. It is only

under the leadership of the proletariat that the Republic of Indonesia can become a Republic which is truly democratic, which can put an end to the power of the imperialists and feudalists.

E. *The Perspectives of the Indonesian Revolution* become evident when the targets, tasks, driving force and character of the revolution at the present stage have been clarified. Knowing all this clarifies the problem of the perspectives of the Indonesian revolution, the problem of the link between the Indonesian bourgeois-democratic revolution and the Indonesian proletarian-socialist revolution, the link between the present and the future of the Indonesian revolution. Since the Indonesian revolution at the present stage is marked by world Socialist construction and the dis-integration of world capitalism, there can be no doubt that the future of the Indonesian revolution is not capitalism but Socialism and Communism. Whether we like it or not, whether we agree or not, whether we oppose it or not, this is the perspective for the Indonesian revolution.

But do not the perspectives of "Socialism" and "Communism" conflict with the objective of the revolution at the present stage which "should not carry out socialist changes but democratic changes"? No, there is no conflict. It is indeed so that, seen from one angle, a capitalist economy will develop within certain bounds after the victory of the people's democratic revolution in view of the fact that the obstacles standing in the way of capitalism's growth will have been swept aside. But this is not surprising nor should it be cause for anxiety. The growth within certain bounds of national capitalism is only one aspect of the victory of the Indonesian revolution. Another aspect is that the victory of the democratic revolution will mean the development of *socialist factors*, such as the growing political influence of the proletariat, the growing recognition by the peasants, the intellectuals and other petty bourgeois elements of the leadership of the proletariat, the growth of state enterprises as well as co-operatives among the peasants, the handicraftsmen, the fishermen and other sections of the people. All these are socialist

factors which provide the guarantee that the future of the Indonesian revolution is Socialism and not capitalism.

If we know that the perspective of the Indonesian revolution is Socialism and Communism, the task of our Party at the present stage of the revolution and in the future becomes clear. Our Party has a dual task in leading the Indonesian revolution. Firstly, under the slogan "Fulfil the demands of the August Revolution in their entirety", we carry out to their completion the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution; secondly, after the first task has been carried out, we carry out to their completion the tasks of the revolution which is proletarian-socialist in nature. This is, in total, the task of the Indonesian revolution. Every member of the CPI must be ready to carry out this complete task of the revolution and must unswervingly continue without stopping half-way. The Indonesian revolutionary movement led by the CPI is not a half-hearted revolutionary movement but a complete revolutionary movement and that is why it embraces two revolutionary processes which differ in character but which are linked up with each other. The first stage is the preparation necessary for the second stage, and the second stage is impossible until the first stage has been completed.

In order to carry out these great and difficult yet glorious tasks, we must struggle on to make our Party a party which covers the entire nation, which has a broad mass character, which is completely consolidated in the ideological, political and organisational sphere. All members of the CPI must take an active part in building such a Party. For such a Party, there is no fortress that cannot be stormed, including the fortress of a Democratic Republic and the fortress of a Socialist Republic.

THE BIRTH AND GROWTH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA

The Communist Party of Indonesia was founded on May 23rd, 1920. Thus, this May 23rd, 1955, is the 35th anniversary of the CPI.

The birth of the CPI 35 years ago was the birth of a Party of the Indonesian working class. The development of this Party is the development of the history of the Indonesian working class in leading the peasants and other masses of the people in the heroic struggle against imperialism and its hirelings, in the struggle to overthrow reactionary power and establish people's power based on the alliance of the majority of the people, that is, the alliance of the workers and peasants. Only such a people's power will make possible the attainment of a socialist Indonesia in the future.

The 35-year history of the CPI is not a tranquil and peaceful one; it is a history which has gone through many turmoils and many dangers, many mistakes and many sacrifices. But it is also a heroic history, a joyful history, a history with many lessons, a successful history.

The growth of the CPI during these past 35 years can be divided as follows:

I. The Foundation of the Party and the Struggle against the First White Terror (1920—1926)
II. Twenty Years Underground and the Anti-Fascist Front (1926—1945)
III. The August Revolution and the Struggle Against the Second White Terror (1945—1951)
IV. The Broadening of the United Front and the Building of the Party (1951—....)

I.

The Foundation of the Party and the Struggle against the first White Terror (1920—1926)

The CPI is the synthesis of the Indonesian workers' movement with Marxism-Leninism. It was not by chance that the CPI was founded on May 23rd, 1920; it was an objective fact. The CPI was born in the era of imperialism, after a working class had come into existence in Indonesia, after trade unions and the ISDV (Indonesische Sociaal Democratische Vereniging) had been established in Indonesia, after the 1917 October Socialist Revolution in Russia. The CPI was a child of the period which was born on time.

That the CPI was born because of the necessity of the period becomes clear from the following statement of Stalin in his work, "Foundations of Leninism":

> "Imperialism is the most barefaced exploitation and the most inhuman oppression of hundreds of millions of people inhabiting vast colonies and dependent countries. The purpose of this exploitation and of this oppression is to squeeze out superprofits. But in exploiting these countries, imperialism is compelled to build railroads, factories and mills there, to create industrial and commercial centres. The appearance of a class of proletarians, the emergence of a native intelligentsia, the awakening of national consciousness, the growth of the movement for emancipation—such are the inevitable results of this 'policy'. The growth of the revolutionary movement in all colonies and dependent countries without exception clearly testifies to this fact. This circumstance is of importance for the proletariat in that it radically undermines the position of capitalism by converting the colonies and dependent countries from reserves of imperialism into reserves of the proletarian revolution."

This statement of Stalin's is fully in keeping with what happened in Indonesia at the beginning of the 20th century. In view of the fact that capital investment in Indonesia rapidly increased at

the beginning of the 20th century, colonial capital was compelled to introduce great changes in Indonesian economic life. It was forced to set up industries to process raw materials such as sugar and rubber, it was forced to build harbours, railways and repair shops. Thus, even though imperialism strove to preserve feudal relations, it could not prevent capitalist trends from penetrating into Indonesian society. Thus it was that new classes arose in Indonesian society, among others the proletarian class. This provided a new basis for the struggle for Indonesian independence and it was upon this new basis that the CPI was founded. The irregular peasant revolts which had always met with failure were now replaced by the organised struggle of the proletariat which led the peasants and other revolutionary classes.

The fact that the birth of the CPI was preceded by the establishment of trade unions and the ISDV can be explained from the following: in 1905, a trade union of railway workers called the SS-Bond was formed. In 1908, the VSTP (Verenigingen van Spoor -en Tram Personeel), a militant trade union of railway workers, was set up. But the advanced consciousness of the Indonesian working class already required an organisation which was not only confined to a trade union struggle. In May 1914, the ISDV, a political organisation which brought together Indonesian and Dutch revolutionary intellectuals and which aimed at spreading Marxism among the Indonesian workers and people, was established in Semarang. It was this ISDV which, on May 23rd, 1920, became the Communist Party of Indonesia (CPI).

Concerning the October Socialist Revolution of 1917 which stimulated the foundation of the CPI, I should like only to borrow the following words of Comrade Mao Tse-tung:

> "The salvoes of the October Revolution awoke us to Marxism-Leninism. The October Revolution helped the progressives of China and of the whole world to adopt the proletarian world outlook as an instrument for foreseeing a nation's future and considering anew one's own problems."

The foundation of the CPI made it clear that the Indonesian progressives were not behind in welcoming the salvoes of that great October Revolution. In other words, Indonesian progressives and the revolutionary masses of the Indonesian people, precisely at the right time, joined in strengthening the new revolutionary front opposing world imperialism. With this, the struggle for Indonesian independence became an inseparable part of the struggle of the proletariat of the world to smash capitalism.

The tasks of the Indonesian Communists was already made clear by Lenin in his appeal in November, 1919, to the Communists of the Eastern peoples:

> "You are facing a task which has never before been faced by the Communists of the whole world: basing yourselves on the general Communist theory and practice and adapting yourselves to the peculiar conditions which do not exist in European countries, you must be able to apply this theory and practice to conditions in which the main mass will consist of the peasantry, in which you must solve the task of the struggle not against capital, but against Middle Age vestiges."

From this call of Lenin's, it became clear that the Communists in the East, and therefore the Indonesian Communists as well, not only had to base themselves on "the general theory and practice of Communism" but also had to *adapt themselves* to "the peculiar conditions which do not exist in European countries", and what Lenin meant by this was the peasantry.

The CPI is the Party of a new class, that is the working class, which is required to bear the responsibilities of leadership. Why is it that the working class must bear the responsibilities as the leader? The Indonesian working class, although not large in number (about six million wage-earners, among which about 500,000 are modern workers or proletariat), is, however, different from the peasants because the working class represents a new productive force; the working class is, also, not like the bourgeois class because the working class has the determination to struggle consistently, because this class

suffers from three types of oppression, i.e. the oppressions of imperialism, feudalism and capitalism. Because of its sphere of work, the working class is the most disciplined class; since it does not own any means of production, the working class is the most consistent class and it is not individualistic. It is because of all this that the working class, although not great in number, must bear the responsibilities of leadership.

The foundation of the CPI which subsequently became renown as the champion of the struggle against Dutch imperialism was enthusiastically welcomed, not only by the Indonesian workers and peasants, but also by other sections of the people. It was welcomed, too, among the soldiers and sailors. The CPI grew very rapidly.

Within a short period, the Communists had gained an influence in the PPKB (United Movement of Workers) whose congress in August, 1920, in Semarang was attended by 22 trade unions with a total membership of 72,000. The Communists exerted this influence mainly through the militant VSTP. This was the beginning of the good tradition of the CPI in the workers movement.

In 1920, strikes took place in Java and Sumatera which in general resulted in victories for the workers. These victories gave spirit and joy in the struggle to the workers, educated them as to the importance of organisation and discipline and opened the eyes of the workers and the people generally to the bankruptcy of the colonial labour regulations and the colonial government.

The advances achieved by the workers movement struck fear into the government, and the most frightening thing was that the influence of the Communists was growing. The government tried to influence the Serikat Islam (Islamic Union, Tr.) and to sharpen the contradictions between the Communists (CPI) and the SI. Reformist elements in the PPKB were supported by the Dutch government, thus sharpening the contradictions between the revolutionary trend and the reformist trend.

In the CPI Congress in Kota Gede, Jogjakarta, in December, 1924, it was registered that the CPI had 38 sections with 1,140

members while the Serikat Rakjat (People's Union, Tr.), a "substructure" of the CPI, had 46 sections with 31,000 members. The number of CPI members in 1924, 1,140, was very large by comparison with the membership of the Communist Party of China which numbered only 900 before the "May 30th" movement of 1925. This is proof of the fact that the CPI grew rapidly even though it faced great obstacles from the Dutch colonial government. The speedy growth of the Serikat Rakjat was an indication of the enthusiastic welcome of the peasants to the CPI because the membership of the Serikat Rakjat was mainly composed of peasants.

But the Party was not able to consolidate the broad sympathy of the masses and the many members of the Party. The Party did, indeed, carry out the important task of arousing a spirit against Dutch imperialism in the ranks of the people, but it was not able to consolidate that which it had already achieved.

The basic mistake of the CPI leaders at that time was that they had fallen prey to "leftist" slogans, that they did not seriously endeavour to explain the situation, that they wanted to solve all problems at one blow such as: liquidate feudalism, free the country of the Dutch, smash all imperialists, overthrow the reactionary government, liquidate the rich peasants, liquidate the national bourgeoisie. Of course, the result of all this was that unity grew between the real enemies and those who could become enemies and be aroused into opposing the Party. This resulted in the Party isolating itself which greatly weakened it. The Party did not sufficiently draw the attention of the members to small practical activities, to insignificant actions which were linked with the everyday needs of the workers, the peasants and the working intelligentsia. And yet, it was only here, in such activities, that the Party could unite with the broad working masses around the Party. It is of course true that such work is not pleasant nor is it without difficulties, but there is no other way to make the links of the Party with the working masses closer.

As was stated in the general report to the Vth CPI National Congress in March, 1954, in this first stage:

"The Party was still completely unaware of the need for uniting with the national bourgeoisie, in which the Party's slogan was 'Socialism now', 'Indonesian soviets' and 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. This 'left' deviation of the Party was criticised exactly and correctly by J. V. Stalin in his speech before the students of the University of the Peoples of the East on May 18th, 1925, in which he said that this left deviation contained within it the danger of isolating the Party from the masses and converting it into a sect."

The disease of " 'Left wing' Communism" with which the Party was afflicted did indeed convert it into a sect, it isolated the Party from the broad masses of the people and thus made it easier for the barbaric colonial power to smash the Party. What J. V. Stalin said was very correct indeed, that "a resolute struggle against this deviation is an important condition for the training of truly revolutionary cadres for colonial and dependent countries in the East". The truth of Stalin's words was keenly felt in the subsequent development of the CPI.

It was not possible for the upbuilding of the Party to receive proper attention from the Party leaders at that time. There was no Marxist-Leninist theoretical education in the Party; opportunist elements had infiltrated and gained control of the Party leadership; the Party did not yet know anything about criticism and self-criticism and about the method of collective leadership. These facts made the Party very weak in the ideological, political and organisational spheres.

In a situation in which the Party was isolated from the masses and in which the organisation of the Party was extremely weak, the crisis in Indonesia deepened, the living conditions of the people grew worse and worse, and unorganised acts of resistance of the people against the government apparatus increased. It was in such a situation that Dutch colonial government provocations followed one another in quick succession, in the form of dismissals of strikers, arrests of peasants, the closing down of schools set up by the CPI or the Serikat Rakjat, bans on workers' newspapers, arrests of workers'

leaders, etc. Especially in order to deal with the peasants, the Dutch created terrorist gangs such as, for example, the "Sarikat Hedjo" in Priangan. All this led to the outbreak of a people's revolt on November 12th, 1926, in Java, and in the beginning of 1927 in Sumatera. Following the outbreak of this revolt, the CPI came forward to give it leadership, as far as was possible. The CPI's attitude of speedily giving leadership to this people's revolt was a correct one.

During and after this revolt, the weaknesses of the Party became very apparent; for example, the lack of unanimity in the Party leadership concerning this revolt, the lack of preparations to safeguard the Party cadres and leaders, the lack of co-ordination between actions in one place and actions elsewhere, the lack of any link between the actions in the countryside and those in the towns, etc. Apart from this, there were also such people as Tan Malaka, at that time a leader of the CPI, who did not take resolute action prior to the revolt but blamed the revolt after it had broken out. More than that, he and his clique openly adopted Trotskyite practices by setting up a new party, the Pari (Indonesian Republican Party) in a situation when the CPI was facing white terror from the colonial government and its lackeys. This split in the CPI made the work of the CPI, already difficult as it was, even more difficult and helped the Dutch splitting policies in the CPI and in the national independence movement in general.

Thousands of members and functionaries of the CPI were hunted down and sentenced, some of them even hanged. Many were exiled to the swamps of Digul in Irian. Only a few CPI leaders succeeded in escaping abroad, among them being CPI Central Committee member, Musso.

Most of the CPI members and functionaries, even though they had not long been Party members, were imbued with a strong Party spirit. Without any regrets and with smiles on their lips, they went to the execution block, accepted prison sentences or deportation to places of exile. The CPI's consistent anti-Dutch imperialist policy

and the heroic stand taken by the CPI members and functionaries in face of colonial power at that time, raised the prestige of the CPI's policy in the eyes of the genuine fighters for independence, and in the eyes of the Indonesian people. This increased the confidence and love of the oppressed people for the CPI.

The 1926 revolt ended in defeat for the CPI and the revolutionary Indonesian people. But there is one thing which cannot be forgotten and that is that this revolt showed the Indonesian people that the Dutch could be thrown into confusion, that colonial power could be shaken, that this power was not eternal. This is why the 1926 revolt was of exceptionally great significance in raising the political consciousness of the Indonesian people.

The conclusion from all this is that the CPI leadership was not yet able to combine the general truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Indonesian revolution because they did not yet possess Marxist-Leninist theory and they did not yet have an understanding of the historical conditions and of Indonesian society, of the peculiarities of the Indonesian revolution and of the laws of the Indonesian revolution. The result was that the Party did not know the basic objective demand of the Indonesian people, the demand for the elimination of imperialism and feudalism and the attainment of national independence, democracy and freedom. Further, the Party leadership was not aware that in order to attain this basic demand, a broad united front had to be built between the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie, based upon the alliance of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class. As a result of the lack of understanding of all this, there arose within the Party leadership of the time erroneous views to the effect that "the peasants cannot be relied upon in every action", that "the middle classes and the educated people have already become tools of the capitalists", that the CPI must take an "anti-all capitalisms" stand, that the CPI slogans should be "socialism now", "a Soviet Indonesia", "dictatorship of the proletariat" and the like.

Although, at this stage, the Party organisation grew, the Party did not become consolidated. Party members and cadres were not ideologically and politically strong and they did not get the required Marxist-Leninist education. The active elements in the Party could not be made into the backbone of the Party. In a critical situation of coping with provocation and the first terror, the elements in control of the Party leadership were not able to lead the entire Party in such a way as to save it.

Basically, in this first stage, the CPI had no experience in two fundamental questions, namely: (1) the question of the united front, and (2) the question of building the Party.

II.
Twenty Years Underground and the Anti-Fascist Front (1926—1945)

After the 1926 revolt, the CPI was banned by the Dutch colonial government. Since the CPI could no longer work legally and since it had been attracted by left slogans, the revolutionary masses which had previously been led by the CPI welcomed the left-wing nationalist party, the PNI (Indonesian Nationalist Party) which was established in 1927. Many CPI cadres and members entered this left-wing party and also entered mass organisations. But the activities of the CPI cadres and members were not well led at that time because the CPI did not yet have a new central leadership.

After the defeat of the 1926 revolt, a period of decline set in in the Indonesian national independence movement. It became clear that the Dutch colonial government not only suppressed the CPI and the revolutionary mass organisations under its leadership, but also the PNI which it suppressed by various provocations, by obstructing all its activities and by exiling its leaders.

This situation in which the CPI and the left-wing nationalist party were being beaten by the colonial government was utilised

by the right-wing nationalists whose main strength was in the Party of the Indonesian Nation (PBI), to strengthen co-operation with the Dutch government. They concentrated their activities in what they called "positive" work, aimed at setting up co-operatives, schools, trade associations and so on. Within certain limits, the right-wing nationalists did succeed in expanding their activities out to some of the regions right up to the villages. The Dutch were fond of calling them "healthy nationalists" because their activities were not in conflict with the interests of the Dutch government and, as a result of this, too, they obtained the necessary facilities from the Dutch government.

But the period of decline in the independence movement did not last long. World crisis followed by the impoverishment of the masses of the people, by retrenchment drive, higher taxes, mass dismissals and the like hindered the peaceful collaboration between the right-wing nationalists and the Dutch government. Radical voices from among the workers, the peasants and the intelligentsia were becoming increasingly distinct. This crisis period is best known as the "depression" or, as the Indonesian peasants call it, the "period of misfortune".

Then, like a sudden flash of lightning on a hot summer's day, in February, 1933, the "Zeven Provincien" (Dutch warship, Tr.) mutiny occurred, an event which was warmly welcomed by the workers of many countries. This event was important in reviving the spirit of resistance of the Indonesian people against Dutch colonial power. Later, in July, 1933, there was a railway strike threat in Java which the Dutch government managed to prevent only with great difficulty and with the help of Indonesian reformists.

In the regions, resistance grew, mostly in the form of individual measures and actions, evidence that the spirit of resistance was increasing. Dutch suppression of workers' actions and people's resistance was facilitated by the fact that the CPI had not yet succeeded in properly reforming its central leadership.

From 1932, the CPI worked underground basing its activities on an 18-point programme which, among other things, called for: complete independence for Indonesia, the release of all political prisoners and the liquidation of the Upper Digul concentration camp, the rights to strike and to demonstrate, equal pay for equal work, struggle against every cut in wages, state assistance to the unemployed, land to the peasants and confiscation of the land of the imperialists, landlords and money-lenders, opposition to a new imperialist war and so on. This programme was drawn up before the fascists (national socialists) came to power in Germany.

In March, 1933, the German fascists, under Hitler's leadership, rose to government power. J. V. Stalin said, among other things, at the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that this victory of fascism in Germany

> "...must be regarded not only as a symptom of the weakness of the working class and as a result of the betrayal of the working class by Social Democracy, which paved the way for fascism; it must also be regarded as a symptom of the weakness of the bourgeoisie, as a symptom of the fact that the bourgeoisie is already unable to rule by the methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy, and, as a consequence, is compelled in its home policy to resort to terroristic methods of administration—it must be taken as a symptom of the fact that it is no longer able to find a way out of the present situation on the basis of a peaceful foreign policy, and, as a consequence, it is compelled to resort to a policy of war".

In other words, in order to overcome the very severe economic crisis, in order to overcome the deepening general crisis of capitalism and to cope with the increasingly revolutionary masses of the working people, the bourgeoisie in power sought defence in fascism.

By means of fascism, the imperialists strove to throw the entire burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the working people. They sought to solve the problem of the markets by enslaving the weak nations, by further intensifying colonial oppression and redividing

the world in a new war. They wanted to obstruct the growth of the revolutionary forces by smashing the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants as well as by launching a military attack on the Soviet Union—the bulwark of the world proletariat.

G. Dimitrov said, among other things, in his speech to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in August, 1933, that

> "Hitler fascism is not only bourgeois nationalism, it is bestial chauvinism. It is a government system of political gangsterism, a system of provocation and torture practised upon the working class and the revolutionary elements of the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia. It is mediaeval barbarity and bestiality, it is unbridled aggression in relation to other nations."

The change in the international situation which took place with the coming into power of the fascists in Germany greatly influenced the political situation in Indonesia. The Soviet Union directed its struggle above all to the creation of a peace front against the aggressor states, and the Comintern, at its Congress in August, 1935, in Moscow, adopted a programme aimed at the formation of a united front in the workers' movement and the formation of people's fronts and people's governments to oppose war and fascism. This meant that broader co-operation was required between the Communists and the democratic bourgeois elements.

It was in order to bring this anti-fascist political line that Musso returned to Indonesia from abroad in 1935. He not only brought this new political line but he also succeeded in drawing together again the cadres of the CPI and building a new CPI Central Committee. But Musso could not remain in Indonesia for long; he had to leave the country quickly because the Dutch government had got wind of his activities. Thus he did not have the opportunity to do much towards building the Party and so, the CPI leaders worked without any firm guiding lines to build a Party of the Lenin type.

On the initiative of a few left-wing nationalists and a few Communists, a legal people's organisation called "Gerindo" (Movement of the Indonesian People) was formed. The formation of the Gerindo gave new strength to the national independence movement and the anti-fascist movement. On the initiative of the Gerindo and some other democratic parties, the *Gapi* (Indonesian Political Union) was set up; this was a united front of parties which aimed at the creation of a parliament for Indonesia and which offered co-operation to the Dutch government to resist fascism, in particular Japanese fascism which was threatening the Asian peoples.

On December 23—25, 1939, the Gapi convened an *Indonesian People's Congress* in Djakarta which was also attended by organisations which were not political parties such as trade unions, social organisations and the like, at which the question of the parliament was the most important item on the agenda. The Congress considered the establishment of a parliament in Indonesia to be important as a condition for mobilising the forces of the people against the danger of fascism. Later, the Indonesian People's Congress, on the decision of its leaders, became the *Indonesian People's Assembly* which was regarded as representing the entire Indonesian people. This was done in preparation for parliament. But this fact was ignored by the Dutch government. The appeal of the Gapi and the Indonesian People's Assembly to the Dutch to co-operate in face of a Japanese fascist attack was not responded to by Holland right up to the time of the Dutch surrender on March 9th, 1942.

Broad co-operation between the leaders of parties and organisations, which was not, however, backed up by the broad masses of the people resulted in failure for the demand for a parliament and resulted in the failure of the people's movement to force the Dutch government to take an active part in the anti-fascist struggle together with the Indonesian people. This happened because the CPI was not yet a party which was rooted in the masses, which was able

to draw together and activise the broad masses of the people, above all, the workers and the peasants. The resolutions of the Gapi and the Indonesian People's Assembly were never followed up by mass actions in the form of demonstrations or other action which would bring significant pressure to bear on the Dutch colonial government.

As a result of the fact that the anti-fascist movement in Indonesia was not strong enough, the Japanese troops were able to occupy the country, without any resistance, not only without any resistance from the Dutch army but also without any resistance from the people's movement. Both materially and morally, the people were inadequately prepared to face Japanese fascism. The consequence was that, in the early stages, the CPI was in an isolated position in its resistance to Japanese fascism. At the beginning of the Japanese occupation, many members of the CPI Central Committee and important CPI cadres were arrested by the Japanese and some of them were executed.

A few months after the Japanese occupied Indonesia, the Indonesian people, on the basis of their own experiences, became conscious of the brutality and bestiality of Japanese fascism. The anti-Japanese spirit spread and spread among the people, anti-fascist organisations sprang up everywhere, of which many were under the leadership of CPI members and cadres, many of whom were, at the time, being hunted by Japanese spies. The Japanese unceasingly persecuted the Communists. Due to the lack of a well-knit organisation, the Japanese were frequently able to arrest important CPI cadres. But despite that, Japanese cruelty did not extinguish the people's resistance. Revolts broke out everywhere, such as in Singaparna, Indramayu, Semarang and elsewhere. Even in the ranks of the Peta (Defend the Fatherland) Army (set up by the Japanese and consisting of Indonesian soldiers and officers under Japanese leadership, Tr.) revolts broke out, and the most famous of all was the Peta army revolt in Blitar, Kediri (East Java).

Concerning the anti-fascist front, both before and after the Japanese occupied Indonesia, the general report to the Vth CPI National Congress stated, among other things:

> "This anti-fascist front (before the Japanese occupation, DNA) not only succeeded in drawing in the national bourgeoisie, but also, a section of the compradore bourgeoisie added further strength to the anti-Japanese front. But after the Japanese armed forces occupied Indonesia, the majority of the national bourgeoisie and virtually the entire compradore bourgeoisie pursued a policy of collaboration with Japan. The national bourgeoisie pursued a policy of collaboration with Japan after seeing that the forces of the people resisting Japan were not very great, and because they were under the illusion that Japan would give 'independence' to Indonesia."

But, with the increase of the anti-Japanese spirit and, even more so, after the peasant and army uprisings had taken place, the loyalty of the Japanese hirelings to their masters became weaker and weaker. Finally, not a few highly-placed people established contact with the underground anti-Japanese movement. Groups of Indonesian students and school-children also played an important part in the resistance against Japan.

The conclusion to be drawn from all this is that, although the anti-Japanese and anti-Dutch spirit of the people overflowed, although the political prestige of the Party was very high as a result of its consistent anti-fascist policy, although the situation at home and abroad was very favourable for a revolution, the task of facing the Revolution which broke out in August, 1945, was a very heavy one for the Party because it had not drawn the conclusions from its experiences in the first and second stages of the united front and because it still had no experience in the question of building the Party. Besides that, the Party also had no experience in armed struggle, something very necessary for a Party in a period of revolution.

III.

The August Revolution and the Struggle against the Second White Terror (1945—1951)

During the period of the August Revolution, the CPI was in a position in which it had not yet drawn the conclusions from its experiences of the united front, in which it still had no experience either of building the Party or of the armed struggle.

Under the pressure of the masses whose spokesmen were the still young revolutionary leaders, among whom were CPI members who had led underground organisations during the Japanese occupation, the Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed on August 17th, 1945. This August 17th, 1945 Proclamation was a manifestation of the independence yearnings of the Indonesian people which had never been extinguished during the three centuries of Dutch colonisation and which had grown stronger during the Japanese occupation.

The workers, the peasants, groups of progressive youths and students of Indonesia, following the example of many countries in Europe that had liberated themselves from imperialism after the defeat of the fascist army, and also drawing inspiration from the great freedom struggle of the Chinese people, understood the possibilities of a revolution which had already been determined by history. At the time of the Proclamation, there were no other military troops in Indonesia (excluding West Irian) with the exception of the defeated Japanese army. This favourable situation was correctly utilised by the Indonesian people.

The workers, peasants and groups of progressive youths and students stubbornly defended the Republic of Indonesia, in the beginning against the Japanese army, later on, against the British army, and then against the Dutch army during the two colonial wars.

Despite the fact that the blood of patriots flowed in this struggle and despite the various military attempts made by the Dutch

imperialists to crush the Republic, the Republic remained in existence.

The Dutch only succeeded in their attempts to weaken the Republic by making use of British and American advisors as well as with the help of their hirelings among the Indonesian people themselves, by traversing a long road, the road of "peaceful negotiations", intrigue and provocation, and agreements advantageous to imperialism concluded under the threat of guns and bombs.

The right-wing socialists under the leadership of Sutan Sjahrir, who had controlled the government ever since the beginning of the Revolution, played an important role in serving the policy of "peaceful negotiations" under the threat of guns and bombs. This was made possible because the Indonesian people, as a result of a long period of colonial suppression, could not be in possession of a corps of people who sufficiently mastered the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

The August Revolution was a revolution of the united national front in which the main blow was concentrated on and directed against foreign imperialism, and in which the national bourgeoisie gave its support to the Revolution.

Concerning the united national front during the Revolution (1945—1948), the following, among other things, was stated in the general report to the Vth CPI National Congress:

> "The national bourgeoisie re-entered the united national front after seeing that the strength of the People's Revolution was great. The great strength of the People's Revolution caused the national bourgeoisie to adopt a firm attitude during the first years of the Revolution."

But it stated further, "The weaknesses of the Party in the political, ideological and organisational spheres made it incapable of providing leadership to the objective situation which was, at that time, very favourable".

Concerning the Party in connection with this national bourgeoisie, it said:

"During this Revolution, the Party departed from its political, ideological and organisational independence and it did not place any importance on work among the peasants. These are the basic causes for the failure of the Revolution. The weakness of the leadership of the Revolution resulted in the Revolution continually experiencing military, political and economic defeats and these defeats caused the national bourgeoisie to waver and finally side with the compradores and the imperialists. The resolution, 'The New Road for the Republic of Indonesia' which was approved by the CPI conference held in August, 1948, was the way out of the difficult situation which the Republic of Indonesia faced at that time. But before this resolution could be implemented, the Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir Government succeeded in engineering the 'Madiun Affair' provocation."

One extremely fortunate thing was that, at the beginning of the Revolution, theoretical books on Marxism and Leninism were brought in from Australia and Europe. But these books were written in foreign languages, mainly in English and Dutch, so that the number of cadres who could study them was extremely limited. Very little attention was paid to the work of translating theoretical books into Indonesian by the dominating elements in the leadership of the Party at that time. But nevertheless, these theoretical books made possible the birth of a backbone in the Party from among those cadres who had the opportunity to read them themselves. Although it was not yet large in number, this was nevertheless the first opportunity for the CPI to create a theoretical backbone from among its ranks, and this was one of the important guarantees of the further growth of the Party.

During the Revolution, the Party had its armed forces, but it was not in a position to control them. In an irregular fashion, Party cadres studied military science and the science of revolutionary warfare. Learning from the revolutionary war of the Chinese people, Comrade Amir Sjarifuddin, who several times held the post of Minister of Defence in the Government, fought for the victory of

the idea that guerilla warfare is one of the correct forms of struggle to win a revolution. Amir Sjarifuddin had to fight hard against the ideas of military leaders who had a low opinion of guerilla warfare. While on the one hand, Amir Sjarifuddin did succeed in securing victory for his idea, on the other hand, obstacles were placed in the way of its implementation because it was opposed by those who belittled guerilla warfare, because of a shortage of military cadres who understood and because things were made difficult by the absence of a correct policy on the united front and on the building of the Party.

One of the basic mistakes of the Party in studying from the Chinese revolution at that time was that the Party only tried to know the similarities between the Chinese revolution and the Indonesian revolution, but did not try to get to know the differences, did not notice the peculiar conditions in Indonesia.

According to experience in China, for an under-developed country such as Indonesia, guerilla warfare, the creation of liberated guerilla areas and the organisation of a people's liberation army in these areas is one of the correct forms of struggle to achieve complete national independence. But in Indonesia, this form of struggle did not have the broad possibilities available in China. This is because of the peculiar conditions in this country.

The most advantageous conditions for guerilla warfare are extensive regions, mountainous areas and forest lands which are both wide in extent and far from the towns and the highways. The conditions in Indonesia met only some of these requirements.

Further, we know from the experiences of the Chinese Communists that it was only after they had reached Tung Pei (Manchuria) which borders on the Soviet Union that they had a rear on which they could rely. After they had got the Soviet Union as their rear, Chiang Kai-shek could no longer encircle the Chinese revolutionary forces. Moreover, after being able to prevent the possibility of enemy encirclement, the Chinese Communists were in a position to launch planned attacks on the Chiang Kai-shek troops.

The Indonesian revolution did not possess such conditions. Indonesia is a country composed of islands. A people's liberation army cannot rely upon a friendly neighbouring country as its rear.

In putting forward the above facts, does it mean that guerilla warfare cannot be operated in Indonesia? Not at all. But what we should have done to make guerilla warfare methods more effective under the prevailing conditions in Indonesia, was to combine the methods of guerilla warfare with revolutionary actions of workers in the towns occupied by the enemy, with economic and political strike actions of a general character. Under the conditions in Indonesia, special significance attaches to workers' actions in all spheres of transport, railway, automobile, sea and air ways, since general strikes by these detachments of the proletariat could paralyse the enemy of the revolution and in this way render substantial support to the guerilla struggle. Work in the Dutch-occupied regions aimed at organising the workers and leading workers' actions was very much neglected by the Communists during the August Revolution.

Apart from that, during the August Revolution, the CPI did not carry out intensive work in the ranks of the Dutch armed forces which, to a not inconsiderable extent, were composed of peasants' and workers' sons who could have been won over to the side of the revolution. And yet, intensive revolutionary activity among the armed forces of the enemy can greatly weaken the enemy's strength and this means rendering important assistance to the guerilla struggle.

Thus, guerilla warfare during the August Revolution could have spread and been consolidated if the CPI had based the solution on the work of combining these three forms of struggle, namely the guerilla warfare in the rural districts (mainly consisting of peasants), revolutionary actions by the workers in the towns occupied by the Dutch and intensive work in the ranks of the Dutch armed forces.

The defeats sustained in the armed struggle and the decline of the revolutionary spirit in the armed forces every time cause setbacks in the work of the united front and of building the Party. Symptoms

of the defeat of the August Revolution became evident after some sections of the armed forces, under the influence of reactionaries, opposed the workers' and peasants' movement.

In a situation in which the August Revolution had almost been defeated, the CPI at its Conference in August 1948, on the proposal of Musso, approved a resolution entitled "The New Road for the Republic of Indonesia" as the way out of the complicated situation faced by the Republic of Indonesia at that time.

The "New Road" resolution reminded the Party of its most important tasks which had been neglected or completely overlooked during the August Revolution.

Concerning the *united front*, it said that during the revolution

> "the Communists neglected the establishment of a national front as a weapon of the national revolution against imperialism. Although they later became conscious of the importance of this national front, they did not properly understand the technique of its creation. Various forms of national fronts have been set up during the past three years, but they always remained only on paper, they just consisted of conventions between organisations or between leaders, so that as soon as there was any dispute between the leaders, the national front just broke up. The CPI is convinced that at the present time, the Party of the working class cannot possibly complete the bourgeois democratic revolution on its own and that is why the CPI must co-operate with other parties. The Communists should already have been striving to reach unity with members of other parties and organisations. The only unity of this type is the national front".

Concerning the initiative which the Communists must take in forming the national front, it said that this initiative

> "does not to the slightest degree mean that the Communists should force other parties or people to follow it, but the CPI must patiently persuade honest people that the only way to achieve victory is by forming a national front supported by

all progressive and anti-imperialist people. Every Communist must be absolutely convinced that without a national front, victory will not be achieved".

Concerning the *armed struggle*, the "New Road" resolution stated that this struggle must be given priority. The armed struggle had to get priority because the Dutch imperialists were constantly trying to increase their strength. It went on to say that

"the army as the most important weapon of State power must receive special attention. Its cadres and members must be given special education in keeping with the tasks of the army as the most important apparatus to defend our national revolution which also means to defend the interests of the working people. The army must unite with and be loved by the people. The army must be led by progressive cadres. Obviously, and above all among its cadres, the army must be cleansed of reactionary and counter-revolutionary elements".

This resolution criticised the neglect in the question of making provisions for the members of the army and police, in particular, and of the working people in general (workers and government employees), as a result of which their living conditions had been ignored.

Concerning the *Party*, the resolution said that the basic mistake of the Communists had been to minimise the role of the CPI as the only force which should hold leadership of the working class in carrying out a revolution. Based on this mistake, the "New Road" said that the CPI had decided to advance the proposal

"that, as quickly as possible, the three Parties which recognise the principles of Marxism-Leninism (the CPI, the Socialist Party and the Indonesian Workers Party, DNA) which are now associated together in the People's Democratic Front and which have carried out common actions on the basis of a common programme should fuse into a single Party of the working class with the historic name, i.e., the Communist Party of Indonesia..."

In connection with the CPI support to the reactionary policies of the right-wing socialists led by Sutan Sjahrir, the "New Road" resolution said that, by supporting this right-wing socialist policy, the CPI had committed two mistakes:

The *first mistake* was that it had not understood the revolutionary teaching that "an anti-imperialist national revolution in the present period is already a part of the world proletarian revolution", that "the national revolution in Indonesia must be closely bound to the other anti-imperialist forces of the world, that is, the revolutionary struggle throughout the world, both in colonial and semi-colonial countries as well as in capitalist countries..."

The *second mistake* was that the CPI "did not sufficiently understand the balance of forces between the Soviet Union and Anglo-American imperialism after the Soviet Union had succeeded in rapidly occupying the whole of Manchuria. At that time, it had already become clear that the position of the Soviet Union in the continent of Asia was extremely strong and that it held down much of the military strength of American, British and Australian imperialism and thus provided a favourable opportunity for the Indonesian people to start with their revolution. At that time, the Indonesian Communists had over-estimated the strength of Dutch and other imperialisms and had under-estimated the strength of the Indonesian revolution and of the other anti-imperialist forces".

The resolution declared that the CPI had hereby altered its policy, that is, it firmly rejected the Linggardjati and Renville agreements which had in practice become the source of various conflicts between the leaders and the common people. The rejection of the Linggardjati and Renville agreements also signified a sharp self-criticism in the ranks of the CPI.

The conclusion drawn in the resolution was that the CPI's principle mistakes during the August Revolution had been caused by the weaknesses in the Party's ideology. In view of this, it was decided that Party members must study Marxist-Leninist theory. It was

made compulsory for every Communist to read and study revolutionary theory and to hold courses among the workers and peasants so that, in this way, they would always be able to link up theory closely with practice. Theory which is not linked with the masses cannot be a force, but on the contrary, if closely linked with the masses, it is a mighty force.

Thus it was that with the "New Road" resolution, the foundations were laid for better work by the CPI in the sphere of the united front, the armed struggle and the building of the Party. The "New Road" resolution constitutes a merciless verdict against the opportunists inside and outside the Party. It was an important step towards saving the Indonesian revolution which was then in danger, and the first important step towards building a Party of the Lenin type.

The CPI's new policy made possible the development of a new upward trend in the Indonesian revolution. Public meetings held by the CPI, at which the CPI's new programme was explained, were attended by tens and hundreds of thousands of people. The masses enthusiastically welcomed the CPI's call to continue the independence war against Dutch imperialism. A beginning was made in tearing aside, in front of the masses, the masks of the reactionary government in power at the time and the masks of the anti-Communist Masjumi party. The masses began to understand that the new road indicated by the CPI was the only way to win the revolution.

Afraid of the new upward swing in the Indonesian revolution, Dutch and American imperialism and its Indonesian hirelings intensified their activities and decided upon measures to smash the CPI and the independence movement led by the CPI.

Eventually, at the end of August, 1948, provocations took place in Solo and later in several other places. Revolutionary army officers were murdered in a cowardly fashion. The offices of trade unions and of the Indonesian Socialist Youth (Pesindo) were occupied by force by certain army troops. The right-wing socialists, the

Trotskyites and the Masjumi were active assistants to the imperialists in realisation of their anti-Communist policy.

In the middle of September, 1948, an incident occurred in the Army in Madiun between the group which agreed to the then government's reactionary and provocative policy and the group which remained faithful to the revolution. This event was fanned by the Hatta government and it was said that in Madiun the Communists had carried out a seizure of power and that they established a soviet state. On the basis of this lie, the government called on its entire apparatus to hunt down, arrest and murder members and sympathisers of the CPI. Thus, the second white terror broke out, a duplicate of the white terror of the Dutch government in 1926-27. But this second one was much more cruel and more bestial than the first. Masjumi members were also mobilised to hunt down, arrest and murder Communists. In such a situation, there was nothing else for the Communists to do but to take up arms and defend themselves with all their might against the white terror which was then raging.

The Madiun provocation was a preparation for the new Dutch colonial war which took place in December, 1948, and all this was in preparation for forcing Indonesia to make further capitulations to Dutch imperialism. Indeed, not long afterwards, there was a cease-fire with the Dutch which was followed by the Round Table Conference in Holland.

During the war against the Dutch, from the end of 1948 to the beginning of 1949, CPI cadres and members including those who had been released or who had escaped from the Hatta government prisons, courageously took part in defending the Republic of Indonesia in the most advanced lines. This fact opened the eyes of the people to the falseness of the slanders which the reactionaries had levelled at the CPI during the "Madiun Affair". The CPI's stubborn resistance to the Dutch army raised the prestige of its policy in the eyes of the people and this made it quite impossible for the government to outlaw the CPI.

On November 2nd, 1949, the treacherous Round Table Conference agreement was signed by Indonesia and the Dutch Kingdom. During the negotiations, the USA had placed Merle Cochran in Holland as the man who gave out instructions left and right.

Concerning the situation of the united front from the time of the Madiun Provocation (1948) up to the downfall of the Masjumi government, the Sukiman Cabinet (1951), the general report to the Vth CPI Congress states as follows:

> "The national bourgeoisie split way from the anti-imperialist united national front and sided with the Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir Government which provoked the 'Madiun Affair'. The national bourgeoisie joined forces in capitulating to imperialism by agreeing to the treacherous RTC agreement... The policy of the national bourgeoisie which had split itself away from the united national front was heavily felt by the Party because the Party, as a result of the weakness of its work among the peasants, was not yet able to rely on the peasants. This situation forced the Party to adopt tactics of gaining time in order to draw the national bourgeoisie back into the anti-imperialist united national front and to improve as well as strengthen the Party's work among the peasants. The correctness of these tactics of the Party was proved by the new political developments in the country which began to take place in 1952."

The conclusion from all this is:

The August Revolution (1945—1948) met with defeat because, in coping with this revolution, the CPI had not yet drawn the conclusions from its experiences in the question of the united front and was not experienced in the questions of armed struggle and of building the Party.

But even though this revolution was defeated, it gave the CPI experiences in the united front. The revolution gave the CPI important experiences concerning the wavering nature of the national

bourgeoisie, that under certain conditions, this class can participate and firmly side with the revolution, but under other conditions, it can waver and betray. Because of this, the proletariat and the CPI must always and unceasingly draw the bourgeoisie into the revolution, but they must also guard against the possibility of its betraying the revolution. The dualistic character of the Indonesian national bourgeoisie greatly affects the political line and upbuilding of the Party. The progress or decline of the Party and of the revolution depends to a great extent on the Party's relations with the national bourgeoisie and the reverse is also true.

In uniting with the national bourgeoisie, the Party must not abandon its independence and it must not neglect its most reliable and most numerous ally, the peasantry.

The revolution also made the Party experienced in the question of building the Party, it gave the CPI cadres a better understanding of the conditions prevailing in Indonesian society, of the peculiarities and laws of the Indonesian revolution, it made it possible for CPI cadres to study Marxist-Leninist theory and to study so as to combine Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Indonesian revolution.

One experience also gained was that, in a revolution, armed struggle is the most important form of struggle. The development of the Party, besides depending greatly on the united front, also greatly depends on the armed struggle. The advance or decline of the armed struggle greatly influences the advance or decline of the united front and of the Party.

Although not complete, the "New Road" resolution drew the conclusions from the experiences during the revolution. This "New Road" resolution was the first important step towards creating a bolshevised Party, which is nation-wide in scale, has close links with the masses and is consolidated ideologically, politically and organisationally.

The "Madiun Affair" had made the CPI cadres and members more vigilant and more militant.

IV.

The Broadening of the United Front and the Building of the Party (1951—....)

This period began with the *Central Committee Plenum* in April, 1951, which succeeded in drafting the CPI Constitution. This draft, after being sent out to the lower organisations, gave rise to widespread discussion in the Party. Without awaiting its adoption by Congress, the entire Party was simultaneously prepared to use this Draft Constitution as a basis for the everyday activity of building the Party and the practical experiences gained during its implementation were to become material for drawing up amendments.

The discussion and implementation of the CPI Draft Constitution greatly stimulated the growth of the Party, raised the political level of Party members, brought to life inner-party democracy and criticism and self-criticism in the Party, strengthened the discipline, ideology and unity of the Party forces. The Party began to understand and implement its two basic tasks, that is, the task of building a united front and the task of building the Party. All this took place with a reactionary government in power, the Sukiman (Masjumi) Government.

Conscious of the danger which threatened from the revolutionary people's movement and from the CPI which was in a process of growth, seeing that the "Madiun Provocation" had not "killed" the revolutionary movement and the CPI, the foreign imperialists and the domestic reactionaries became infuriated and drew up a new plan to smash the CPI. This time, it was not with a provocation in Solo or Madiun but with an "attack" on a police post in Tandjung Priok (Djakarta harbour, Tr.) which the Sukiman Government proclaimed to be a "Communist attack". About 2,000 Communists and other progressives were arrested and put in jail. But under the pressure of the people, they were all released after having been in prison for many months without it being possible to bring a single person up before court. Sukiman's (Masjumi)

failure with his August Razzia was an indication that the revolutionary movement in Indonesia had been rebuilt and that it had strength.

While the atmosphere of the August Razzia was still present, the CPI held a *National Conference* in the beginning of 1952 which thoroughly discussed the policy towards the Sukiman Government. The Conference decided that the Sukiman Government must be overthrown by the formation of a broad anti-Sukiman Government front, by striving to draw in the national bourgeoisie. Concerning the Darul Islam and the TII (Indonesian Islamic Army, Tr.) which was then waging large-scale terror in West and Central Java, the Conference took the stand that these gangs were weapons in the hands of the imperialists and the domestic reactionaries so as to squeeze in the revolutionary people's movement between the reactionary forces in the towns and those in the rural districts and so as thus to be able to crush the revolutionary movement and gain complete power over the whole country. The Conference decided that all the forces of the Party should be mobilised and, together with the state apparatus and other democratic parties and organisations, smash the DI-TII terrorist gangs. Apart from that, the Conference took important decisions to strengthen the Party's ideology and organisation. In order to be able to carry out these difficult and intricate tasks of the Party, the Conference decided to expand Party membership.

Under the continuous pressure of the democratic people's movement, as the national bourgeoisie inclined more and more to the left, and as a result of the contradictions within the domestic ruling clique, the Sukiman Government was forced to resign and on April 1st, 1952, there was established the Wilopo (Partai Nasional Indonesia) Cabinet, the progressive aspects of whose policy were supported by the CPI. There were also Masjumi and PSI (right-wing socialists, Tr.) ministers in this Wilopo Government. Because of the anti-people's measures carried out by the Masjumi and PSI ministers, the entire democratic forces, including the PNI

itself, brought about the downfall of the Wilopo Cabinet. Under the stronger pressure of the people, the Ali Sastroamidjojo (PNI) Government was formed on July 30th, 1953, without the Masjumi-PSI. The CPI supported the progressive aspects of the Ali Sastroamidjojo Government's policy.

The formation of a government whose policy contained progressive aspects, and which was supported by the working class and the masses of the people, proved that there was an upsurge in the revolutionary movement in Indonesia. It indicated the growing unity of the national forces, including the national bourgeoisie in face of the reactionary forces from abroad and at home. In such a situation, the revolutionary movement and the CPI were able, within certain limits, to grow.

During this upsurge of the revolutionary movement, a CPI *Central Committee Plenum* was held in October, 1953, in preparation for the Vth Party Congress. At this Plenum, amendments were introduced to improve the Draft Constitution, a Draft CPI Programme was drawn up, the general report to the Congress was made and a decision taken concerning Tan Ling Djie-ism, that is, an opportunist trend in the Party which wanted to return the Party's political line and organisation back to the situation of before the "New Road" resolution. This Plenum formulated proposals to the Congress for the solution of all the important and basic problems of the Indonesian revolution.

In March, 1954, the historic *Vth CPI National Congress* was held with the purpose of answering all the important and basic problems of the Indonesian revolution, of improving the Party's work in building the united front, of answering all the basic problems of the up-building of the Party and of strengthening the CPI's ties with the masses. At this Congress, all the documents drawn up by the Plenum of the Central Committee in October, 1953, were approved. Apart from that, the CPI General Elections Manifesto was adopted and it was decided to expand the Party membership and organisation.

After analysing the conditions in Indonesian society, the CPI Programme declared that Indonesia is now a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. In connection with this it stated:

> "As long as the situation in Indonesia remains unchanged, that is, as long as the domination of imperialism is not overthrown and the survivals of feudalism not abolished, the people of Indonesia will not be able to do away with poverty, backwardness, inequality and indefensibility in face of imperialism. Imperialist role and the remnants of feudalism will not be liquidated in Indonesia as long as the state power in the country is held by the feudal lords and compradores who are closely connected with foreign capital because they want to retain the imperialist yoke, and feudal remnants in the country, because they fear the Indonesian people most of all.
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> "If Indonesia is to develop from a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country into an independent, democratic, prosperous and advanced country, it is essential above all to remove the government of feudal lords and compradores and to create a government of the people, a government of the people's democracy."

Concerning the people's government, the CPI Programme said that this government

> "will be a government of a united national front, formed on the basis of the alliance of workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class. Taking into account the country's backwardness, the Communist Party of Indonesia considers that this government must not be a government of the dictatorship of the proletariat but a government of the dictatorship of the people. This government will effect not socialist but democratic reforms. It will be a government capable of uniting all anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces, of transferring the land to the peasants without compensation, of ensuring the democratic rights of the people; a government capable of defending the national industry and trade against

foreign competition, of improving the material conditions of workers and abolishing unemployment. In a word, it will be a people's government capable of securing the national independence of the country and its development along the path of democracy and progress".

But what is the way out of a semi-colonial and semi-feudal situation and what is the way to form a people's government? The CPI Programme gives the answer:

"The way out lies in shifting the balance of forces between the imperialists, landlord class and compradore bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the people on the other. The way out lies in rousing, mobilising and organising the masses, above all the workers and peasants."

Concerning the role of the workers in shifting this balance of forces, it stated:

"The working class must head the struggle of the whole people. With this aim in view the working class itself must increase its activity, educate itself and become a strong and conscious force. The working class must not only wage a struggle to improve its living standard, it must also raise its tasks on a broader scale and higher level. It must support the struggle of the other classes. The working class must support the struggle of the peasantry for land, the struggle of the intelligentsia for its vital rights, the struggle of the national bourgeoisie against foreign competition, the struggle of the whole Indonesian people for national independence and democratic liberties. The people can count on victory only when the working class of Indonesia becomes an independent, conscious, politically mature and organised force capable of heading the struggle of the whole people, only when the people will see in the working class their leader."

Based on an analysis of the classes in Indonesian society, the CPI Programme clarified who were the genuine friends and who the enemies of the revolution. Based on this analysis, too, the CPI

Vth National Congress decided to place an important task on the shoulders of the CPI, that is, the task of forming a united front of all the national forces of the revolution, that is, the workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. This united front must be formed on the basis of the alliance of the workers and peasants, it must be as broad as possible and must be a product of the revolutionary struggle of the masses. This is the condition for the Indonesian people to establish a people's government, to defeat the enemies of the revolution, that is, the imperialists, the landlord class and the compradore bourgeoisie.

To build a real united national front, the primary task of the CPI is to draw the peasants into it. Concerning this question, the general report to the Vth National Congress stated:

> "...in order that the peasants can be drawn in, the most immediate task of Indonesian Communists is to eliminate the survivals of feudalism... The first step to be taken in our work among the peasants is to assist them in the struggle for their everyday needs, for the achievement of their partial demands. In this way, it will mean organising and educating the peasants to a higher level of struggle. This is the foundation on which to create the alliance of workers and peasants as the basis of a powerful united national front."

Concerning the parliamentary struggle and the CPI's support to the Wilopo Government and later to the Ali Sastroamidjojo Government, the CPI Programme states:

> "The CPI regards its work in Parliament not as the main work of the Party and the parliamentary struggle not as the only form of struggle."

But this does not mean that the CPI neglects the general elections and the parliamentary struggle, and that the CPI adopts exactly the same attitude towards all hitherto existing governments and towards the governments that will come into office up to the establishment of a People's Democratic Government.

"The CPI bases its policy on a Marxist analysis of the concrete situation and the relation of forces. The CPI has taken and continues to take a most active part in the parliamentary struggle. The CPI, fully conscious of its political responsibility, treats parliamentary work with the utmost seriousness. The CPI did not take an indifferent attitude towards any of the former governments. In some cases, the Party was in opposition to the government and called upon the masses to overthrow it, in others the Party supported the government, and in still others, it participated in the government."

The parliamentary struggle and the CPI's support to the Ali Sastroamidjojo Government must also be aimed at expanding and strengthening the united national front.

As was stated in the general report to the Vth National Congress, the task of building the united national front is the first urgent task of the CPI.

The second urgent task of the CPI is to continue to build a CPI nationwide in scale which has a broad, mass character and which is fully consolidated in the ideological, political and organisational spheres.

Concerning this, the Congress recalled the words of Stalin, that if we are to win in a revolution, then we must have a Party of the Lenin type.

Such a Party cannot possibly be created if the CPI does not master Marxist-Leninist theory. The vanguard role of the Party is only possible if the Party is led by an advanced theory. Only a Party which masters Marxist-Leninist theory can head and lead the working class and the other masses of the people.

The Congress also felt that the CPI can only fulfil its great and heavy historic tasks if it unceasingly carries out a merciless struggle against both the right and "left" opportunists within its own ranks. Based on this, the Congress supported and strengthened the decision taken by the Central Committee at its session in October, 1953, concerning Tan Ling-djie-ism. The Congress adopted a special

resolution on Tan Ling-djie-ism and drew the conclusion that "in actual fact, Tan Ling-djie-ism dominated the CPI during the 1945-1948 Revolution and up to the beginning of 1951". The Congress established that

> "Tan Ling-djie-ism in the ideological sphere is subjectivism, it is the dogmatic and empirical trends in the Party which caused the Party to make rightist and 'leftist' mistakes which seriously damaged the growth of the Party and the growth of the revolutionary movement".

The Congress warned that the Party must not be conceited if it wins victories, the Party must always see the shortcomings in its work, it must be courageous enough to admit its mistakes and frankly and honestly rectify them. The Party will become invincible if it is not afraid of criticism and self-criticism, if it does not hide the mistakes and shortcomings in its work, if it teaches and trains its cadres to draw the lessons from the mistakes in the Party's work and to be skilful in correcting them in time.

Since Indonesia is a petty-bourgeois country, that is, a country where there is still a wide prevalence of small-scale industry, this means that the petty-bourgeois ideology, namely subjectivism, has a strong social basis. Therefore, the Congress decided that it is very important for the Party to oppose subjectivism in the Party. The two forms of subjectivism, dogmatism and empiricism, are equally dangerous in the Party, they can cause the Party to carry out right and "left" opportunism. Subjectivism can only be resisted if the Party teaches its members to use the Marxist-Leninist method in analysing the political situation and in estimating the class forces, and if the Party directs its members' attention towards research and study in the social and economic spheres.

In order to unite the broad working masses around the Party, the Party must direct its members' attention to tiny, insignificant, practical activities which are connected with the everyday needs of the workers, the peasants and the working intelligentsia. This work is neither pleasant nor is it without its difficulties. But it is

the only way to strengthen the Party's links with the masses and to prevent it from again becoming a prey to "leftist" slogans.

Such are the basic principles decided upon for building the Party. With this, the second urgent task of the CPI becomes clear. This means that the CPI has learnt from its own experiences to build and make itself into a Party of the Lenin type.

Concerning the united front and the CPI's work for the united front since 1951, the Congress drew the following conclusions:

> "...(the) unity with the national bourgeoisie is getting closer and closer but the alliance of workers and peasants is still not strong. In other words, the Party still does not have strong foundations. At this stage, the Party must fight resolutely against the right deviation which gives exaggerated significance to unity with the national bourgeoisie and underestimates the significance of the leadership of the working class and of the alliance of workers and peasants. There is the danger of losing the Party's independent character, the danger of its merging itself with the bourgeoisie. Side by side with this, the Party, of course, must also resolutely prevent the 'left' deviation, prevent sectarianism, that is, the attitude which places no importance on the policy of a united national front with the national bourgeoisie; the Party must preserve the united front with all its might. Since the compradore bourgeois cliques rely on different imperialisms, and because Party policy is at present directed in the first place against Dutch imperialism and not against all foreign imperialisms, increasingly sharp contradictions have arisen between the imperialists themselves, and these contradictions have naturally arisen among their compradores, too. The creation of a united national front with the national bourgeoisie opens up new prospects for the development and building of the Party and for the immediate task of the Party, that is, the building of the anti-feudal alliance of workers and peasants. The upbuilding of the Party and the building of the alliance of the workers and peasants are

guarantees that the united national front will be under proletarian leadership."

The CPI Vth National Party Congress, learning from the long history of the CPI and using Marxism-Leninism as its guide, liquidated the pre-1951 period in the CPI. With the success of this Congress, the dark period of our Party was definitely brought to a close for ever, and a new period developed rapidly, the period which began in 1951.

In November, 1954, with the convening of the *2nd Plenum of the Central Committee*, this new period was developed with the decision to further broaden the united front. Based on an analysis of the political situation in Indonesia, this session established the fact that the CPI had already become an important and great national force, which could not be ignored by either friend or foe. Based on an analysis of the history and the situation of the parties in Indonesia, the Central Committee decided that the CPI should actively strive to achieve co-operation between the CPI and other parties, in particular, the Nationalist parties and the parties based on the Islamic religion. The decision concerning this question stated, among other things:

"...co-operation between the Party and the Communist masses and the Nationalist and Islamic parties and masses is not something which is to last only until the forthcoming elections have been held, as Nationalist and Islamic leaders often declare. We favour co-operation after the elections as well, regardless of who wins. This is in keeping with the slogan of our Republic, 'Bhineka Tunggal Ika' (unity in diversity)."

Another important decision taken by the Central Committee concerned collective leadership

"...as the indispensable condition for consolidating the Party in the ideological and organisational spheres, for making the Party more militant and strengthening its ties with the masses. With such a Party, the broader unity of all the national forces will definitely become a fact."

From the above outline, it becomes clear that, for the last 35 years, the process of building and bolshevising the Party has been very closely linked with the Party's political line, with the fact as to whether or not the Party correctly solves the problem of the united front, and especially the problem of regulating its relations with the national bourgeoisie. Conversely, the more bolshevised the Party becomes, the more correct is the Party's political line and the more correctly the Party solves the problems of the united front, especially of regulating its relations with the national bourgeoisie.

Faithful to its heroic and patriotic history, learning from its experiences gained with the sacrifice of the best sons of Indonesia and guided by creative Marxism-Leninism, the CPI is continuing with its historic task. In the present situation, the CPI will ceaselessly and with all its might work for the broadening and strengthening of the united national front. Apart from that, it will unceasingly and with all its might continue to build and bolshevise itself as the basic guarantee for the safety and success of the united national front.

Long live the united national front!

Long live the Communist Party of Indonesia!

Long live glorious, creative Marxism-Leninism!

WE ACCUSE "MADIUN AFFAIR"

Your Honour,

First of all, I should like to express my thanks to Your Honour who, as Chairman of this court which is examining my case, has directed the hearings well. To the members of the public who have come to attend this session, I also express my thanks.

I am certain that this present court session is being followed not only by us who are inside the courtroom but also by millions of people outside. It is being followed by people in the towns and the villages, by workers in the factories and on the estates, by office employees, by fishermen on our shores, by our youth and students, by our artists and intellectuals, in brief by all sections of Indonesian society.

The great interest being shown in this trial is evident from the thousands of letters and telegrams which have been sent to the Djakarta State Court, copies of which have also been sent to the Central Committee of the CPI.

Millions of people, their hearts anxiously beating, are awaiting the court's decision on this case which has brought me here before it.

Of course, I am neither permitted to nor do I wish to influence this court, but I must give expression to my feelings and thoughts which are that the decisions the court will take in my case will be a measure of the justice which the Indonesian people can expect from this State Court.

Before turning to the main points in my defence plea, I feel it is necessary to bring to light some things which I consider to be strange and to which the attention of this court should be drawn.

As is already known, before I myself knew that I was going to be called before the Djakarta State Court, several newspapers and a news agency had printed news about this fact. I only heard about the matter on September 30th, following a letter from the court which, up to this very day, I myself have never seen. I understand that this letter was dated September 21st, 1954, and stated that I should appear before the Djakarta State Court on September 23rd, 1954. But, Your Honour, it is a strange fact that the "Antara" news agency in its bulletin of September 11th, and the newspapers "Pedoman", "Abadi" and "Keng Po" (all opposition newspapers, Tr.) in their issues of September 13th, had already published the news that I should be appearing in court.

At first, I thought that these reports were only a part of the campaign of attack which the Masjumi (right-wing Moslem party, in opposition to the present Government, Tr.), the BKOI (liaison body of Moslem organisations under Masjumi leadership, Tr.) and the BPII (Moslem ex-servicemen's organisation also under Masjumi leadership, Tr.) were waging against the CPI, because at that time, the Masjumi and its satellite organisations and newspapers were violently attacking the CPI and utilising the "Madiun Affair" as what they assumed to be an infallible weapon.

I make no accusations but, at that time, I really thought that the State Court or the Djakarta Prosecutor's Office were, either deliberately or accidentally, helping the Masjumi in its anti-communist campaign because, as I thought at that time, if not from the Djakarta State Court or the Djakarta Prosecutor's Office then from where did the "Antara" news agency and the newspapers I mentioned above receive the news that I was to appear before court while I myself knew nothing at all about it?

Basically, I have no misgivings about Mr. Dali Mutiara, either personally or as an attorney, but in a matter where the Masjumi is pursuing an anti-communist policy and is using foul methods to do so I cannot but suspect that Mr. Dali Mutiara is either a member or a sympathiser of the Masjumi.

I have been called to appear before court in connection with a statement issued by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPI in connection with the CPI commemoration of the Madiun Affair. Thus it is clear that the statement which led to this case is connected with the Madiun Affair. In connection with this, I want to assure you in all seriousness that it is neither a pleasant nor a happy thing for me to speak about the Madiun Affair. Were I not compelled to do so, I should not want to speak about that tragic event. In my second speech before Parliament some months ago, I said that there were two reasons why I do not find it pleasant to speak about the Madiun Affair. Firstly, because it recalls to mind my comrades and the many Indonesian people who fell victims in this affair. Secondly, because it recalls to mind a time at which there was a very wide split in our camp of national unity.

Apart from this, I know very well that if I talk about the Madiun Affair, many people will feel uncomfortable because they will be reminded of the weak attitude they adopted at the time this event occurred, or they will be reminded of their guilt for having short-sightedly murdered comrades-in-arms and for having murdered leaders and fellow countrymen about whose guilt nothing had yet been proven. I refer here to weak-minded people; people, however, who are not devoid of feeling. I do not refer to those people who, to this very day, still hope for another orgy at which to make the blood of Communists flow, as happened in the Madiun Affair. I refer to the ordinary people who have feelings, particularly to our boys and our friends who were in the armed forces at the time of the Madiun Affair. I know for certain that not a few of those who took part in the "red-hunt" were only following others or were acting on orders from above.

I know that not a few of these ordinary people now regret their deeds after having been given a proper explanation about the Madiun Affair. Yes, I am happy to be able to state that, of the people who took part in this "hunt after Communists" because they

did not understand what it was all about, not a few no longer have any prejudices against the CPI and have already pledged to themselves that they will never again allow themselves to become instruments of the imperialists and their lackeys in a civil war.

In short, I do not like to speak about the Madiun Affair. But, under the present circumstances in which I have been brought up before court in connection with a statement containing the CPI's stand towards the Madiun Affair, I am compelled, where necessary, to speak about it. I do this not in order to hurt other people's feelings, not in order to remind people of a time when they were controlled by weaknesses, and certainly not in order to remind people of their guilt. I do this in order to defend my Communist honour, to defend my comrades who fell victims in the Madiun Affair, to defend the honour of the Indonesian people who side with the CPI over the affair. In brief, I am here defending the honour of my Party, defending the honour of the Indonesian people who have frequently been accused and slandered in connection with the Madiun Affair.

The charges against me

In the court session on November 25th last year, the prosecuting counsel, Dali Mutiara, read the indictment against me as the person responsible for the statement of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPI dated September 13th, 1953, (printed in the "Harian Rakjat" on September 14th, 1953) which was entitled "Commemorate the Madiun Affair Internally!" I am accused of having violated Articles 134, 207, 310 and 311 of the Criminal Code. I am accused of having insulted and defamed the honour of the Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia, Mohammed Hatta.

I reject all the charges made against me because I do not feel that I did what I am accused of, nor that I had any interest in doing so. In the said statement of the Central Committee of the

CPI, there was not a single word referring to the Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia, Moh. Hatta. What was mentioned was a government which, at the time the statement was issued, was no longer in office and that is the government which I called the Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir Government. Since the statement made no mention of the Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia, Moh. Hatta, it is not possible to connect it in any way with an insult of any Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia. I therefore consider that it is quite impossible to charge me with having insulted the Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia. The juridical aspects of my defence will be dealt with by my defence counsel, Mr. Suprapto.

In the court hearing on January 27th, 1955, I stated that the statement of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPI issued on September 13th, 1953, was not made with any intent to insult but was made solely in the public interest and for defence purposes. In keeping with Article 310, Paragraph 3 of the Criminal Code, I stated at the January 27th session that I was prepared to bring in witnesses to prove that the Madiun Affair was indeed a provocation and that, in that affair, the hands of Hatta, Sukiman and Natsir were covered with blood. My offer to do this which was also backed up by my attorney, Mr. Suprapto, was not accepted by the court. The prosecution raised objections to the evidence that I wanted to submit with witnesses.

As a result of these objections, the prosecuting counsel withdrew his third charge against me, namely the charge of having violated Articles 310 and 311. By so doing, I was deprived of the chance to acquit myself of all the charges against me by proving that the said statement was really issued in the public interest and for defence purposes.

The articles of the Criminal Code which I am now accused of having violated are Articles 134 and 207. According to Article 134, I am charged with having "deliberately insulted His Majesty the King or Her Majesty the Queen" and according to Article 207,

I am charged with having deliberately, in public, and in written form "insulted a power in Holland or in Indonesia, or a public body in existence there" (Criminal Code, Balai Pustaka translation, 1950). Basically, I am accused of insult.

In the court hearing on January 27th, 1955, I stated that at the time I drew up the statement which has now led to this trial, I did not have the slightest idea that it would be regarded as an insult. I declared that the statement was made in the public interest and for defence purposes.

I say, in the public interest because, apart from averting a provocation which was then being prepared by the Masjumi, the BKOI, the BPII and other organisations, the purpose of the statement was to explain the real facts of the Madiun Affair to the public and to repudiate the many things which the political opponents of the CPI were spreading at the time. The CPI considered it necessary for the public to hear not only the statements which the opponents of the CPI were making on the Madiun Affair but also what the CPI had to say, too. The CPI was of the opinion that the things being spread by its opponents concerning the Madiun Affair were a complete distortion of the facts, that they were all lies and slanders. For this reason, it was necessary for the public to be given a correct explanation by the CPI itself.

It was essential to issue the statement for defensive purposes because, at that time, the CPI was being attacked by its political opponents. About these attacks, I invite Your Honour to read the September 4th, 1953 issue of the "Abadi" which published the demands of the Indonesian Islam Ex-Servicemen's Association (BPII), Jogjakarta. In the section of this statement introduced by the words "bearing in mind", it spoke, among other things, of the "CPI Communist revolt in Madiun with the proclamation of a Communist state led by Musso and Amir (Sjarifuddin, Tr.) in accordance with the instructions of imperialist Russia", that "this revolt was a gross betrayal of and crime against the Indonesian state and people". In the section introduced by the word "decides",

it said, among other things,that the BPII proposed and urged that the Government of the Republic of Indonesia "proclaim the day of the CPI Communist revolt in Madiun, September 18th, as a national day of mourning" and "that the entire people should be ordered to hoist flags at half-mast as a sign of mourning".

The September 4th, 1953 issue of the "Abadi" also reported that, on September 18th, a "demonstration of mourning" would be held in "full solemnity" to the accompaniment of the beating of drums as a sign of mourning and sorrow.

In the September 7th, 1953 issue of the "Pedoman", an announcement of the BKOI Djakarta branch concerning the Madiun Affair was published which said, among other things: "Hundreds of millions of rupiahs worth of state wealth were plundered after the Communists succeeded in seizing power in Madiun. They set up a Soviet government there and carried out a purge. Incomparable cruelties were perpetrated. Innumerable Moslem ulamas (teachers of religion, Tr.), state officials, members of the Army and Moslems were inhumanly murdered." The BKOI, according to that issue of the "Pedoman", also urged the Government of the Republic of Indonesia to take the same measures as had been suggested by the BPII Jogjakarta (see the "Abadi" of September 4th, 1953).

On September 10th, 1953, the "Abadi" published an announcement made by that undemocratic body, the "League to Defend Democracy", the contents of which were basically the same as those of the statements of the BPII and the BKOI referred to above.

It is thus clear that for some days before the statement of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPI was issued on September 13th, 1953, newspapers had been publishing attacks on the CPI, using the Madiun Affair as a stick. There were two possible consequences of these attacks. Firstly, the public could be influenced by the declarations of the political opponents of the CPI concerning the Madiun Affair. Secondly, the members and sympathisers of the CPI could be angered by these slanders and could undertake actions which the leadership of the CPI itself did not

desire. It was in order to avert these two possibilities that the September 13th, 1953 statement of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPI was issued. I therefore feel that my Party acted in the public interest and for defence purposes. The explanation I shall give below will make it clear that the accusations made against the CPI and the Communists in connection with the Madiun Affair by the Masjumi, the BKOI, the BPII, etc. were absolutely false and slanderous.

I protest, if the court case against me is regarded as a criminal case. There are few clearer political cases than the one which is now being examined. This case is a political case. It is a political case seen from the fact that it concerns a political statement issued by a political party, namely the CPI. This superannuated case is a political case because all the fuss about it was made and it was brought to court just at the time when the Masjumi and its satellite organisations and newspapers were busy attacking the Communists and utilising the Madiun Affair as a supposedly infallible weapon. It is a political case because it concerns the political interests of millions of Indonesian people who have expressed their thoughts on the case through thousands of letters and telegrams.

The first charge of the prosecution states that I deliberately insulted the Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia, namely Mohammed Hatta, in writing because the statement of the Political Bureau of the CPI Central Committee issued on September 13th, 1953, included among others the words provocation, cruelties. "served" (in inverted commas), bloodstained and "heroism" (in inverted commas).

Above, I have already stated that the statement was not issued in order to insult. One thing is true and that is that the statement was written in clear, convincing, harsh terms. The terms used were harsh because they described the truth. The harshness of these words will be felt all the more by all persons who do not want to admit their truth.

Apart from this, we cannot use vague and confused terms to give expression to our true feelings and thoughts about deeds which we do not like and which the people do not like. We were compelled to use harsh words against those hostile to us because they, in the first place, had acted harshly towards us. The harshness of our words is the harshness in our hearts and, this is important, it is a condition of life for us in face of our enemies who are used to taking harsh and brutal measures against us.

We used the word provocation because we really meant provocation; we used the word cruelties of the Hatta, Sukiman and Natsir Government because we are of the opinion that that government really was cruel; we said that the Hatta, Sukiman and Natsir Government "served" (in inverted commas) by unleashing civil war because, by unleashing civil war, they really did "serve" their group and class; we said that the hands of the Hatta, Sukiman and Natsir clique were bloodstained because we really meant that; we spoke of the "heroism" of the Hatta, Sukiman and Natsir Government in crushing the Communists and patriots because we really meant that the Hatta, Sukiman and Natsir Government were indeed "heroes" in the eyes of their group and class. We used these harsh words and phrases not in order to insult but in order to state the real facts, to state what really happened. Just as we should not say Dul if we really meant Siti Aminah, so too we do not say that an action was carried out by men wearing silken gloves if what in actual fact happened was a provocation, if it was terror, and if the hands of the perpetrators were stained with blood. Is it an insult to use the name Dul when we really mean Dul? I think that, just as it would be wrong to call Dul Siti, so too it would be wrong if a provocation, a bloody act of terror, an act performed by a bloodstained hand were called the act of a person wearing silken gloves or a friendly act. No, Your Honour, the Madiun Affair was, in truth, not an act of friendship; it was in no sense the act of men wearing silken gloves.

We refer to the sixth cabinet of the Republic of Indonesia which was formed in January 1948, as the cabinet or government of Hatta,

Sukiman and Natsir. This does not mean that we are unaware of the fact that persons of parties and trends other than the Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir trend were also in this cabinet. We know that this cabinet included persons from the nationalist, catholic, right-wing socialist and other parties, just as we know too that the leading role in it was played by Moh. Hatta and the Masjumi representatives (Sukiman and Natsir are both of the Masjumi party, Tr.). In essence, the sixth Indonesian cabinet was a Masjumi cabinet led by Moh. Hatta. From the time of its formation on January 29th, 1948, this cabinet pursued a completely Masjumi policy and the Madiun Provocation was the most important implementation of this policy, i.e. the policy of rounding up and murdering Communists, the policy which the Masjumi leaders still pursue right up to this very day.

The Madiun Affair was indeed a provocation

I declare that the Madiun Affair was a provocation of the government of Hatta, Sukiman and Natsir.

I still remember that, at the beginning of July 1948, that is, before the kidnappings which took place in Solo at the beginning of September 1948, the commander of the IVth Division of the TNI (Indonesian National Army, Tr.) Colonel Sutarto was murdered in a cowardly fashion by a shot from behind. Many people felt that this act of terror had been committed against Col. Sutarto because he was one of the high officers who did not agree to the so-called "rationalisation" of the Army which the Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir Government wanted to carry out at that time. There were, at the time, many officers who opposed the Hatta Government model of "rationalisation" because, if implemented, it would mean eliminating the people's elements in the TNI. Up to the present day nothing is publicly known of how far the investigations made by the Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir Government into this act of terror against Col. Sutarto went. For this reason, I am not surprised that

many people have drawn the conclusion that Col. Sutarto's murder was one of the special ways of implementing the "rationalisation" policy of the Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir Government.

Many inhabitants of Solo cannot forget not only the murder of Col. Sutarto but also the kidnapping of two CPI members, Slamet Widjaja and Pardijo, on September 1st, 1948. In connection with the Madiun Provocation, I consider it necessary to describe certain events in Solo because, as President Sukarno stated, among other things, in his speech on September 19th, 1948, *the Solo affair and the Madiun affair were not separate events but belonged to one series of actions.*

The kidnapping of Slamet Widjaja and Pardijo began with the visit of a certain Alip Hartojo, a person from the government intelligence department, to Slamet Widjaja's house at 6.00 p.m. on September 1st, 1948. One of the things Alip Hartojo said to Slamet Widjaja was: "*Be careful! CPI people and all left-wingers are now going to be cleaned up by the Hatta Government. I've got the plan in my keeping.*" I found it very strange indeed that a government intelligence official should have spoken with such frankness. But I ceased to do so when I learned that Slamet Widjaja was normally a close personal friend of Alip Hartojo's, and when I learned of what happened afterwards. The subsequent events were quite in accord with what Alip Hartojo had said.

When Slamet Widjaja asked Alip Hartojo to show him the Hatta Government's plan, the latter replied: "*Not here. It's not safe. Let's do it at the Mien Satu restaurant* (a restaurant opposite the Surakarta residency office to the west of Warungpelem road-junction, DNA). *Before we go to the restaurant, I shall wait at the Warungpelem road-junction while you go to call for Pardijo at his house* (in the Sudiropradjan campong, DNA). *After that, the three of us* (i. e. Slamet Widjaja, Pardijo and Alip Hartojo, DNA) *will go from Warungpelem to the Mien Satu restaurant.*"

Having made this arrangement, Alip Hartojo and Slamet Widjaja left the latter's house and took a pedicab which Alip Hartojo had already ordered. After arriving at the Warungpelem road-junction,

they both got down from the pedicab. Slamet Widjaja walked to Pardijo's house in the Sudiropradjan campong and from there they both went back to the place where Alip Hartojo was waiting for them. The strange thing was that after meeting Alip Hartojo, he did not take them to the west but, holding them both round the shoulders, he took them northwards for a distance of about 50 metres to where a truck was waiting. The truck had no cover and the back was shut so that only the heads of the soldiers who were sitting inside it were visible. When they were within about five metres of the truck, the soldiers who had been sitting in it suddenly got down through the back which had previously been closed. Slamet Widjaja and Pardijo were both beaten with rifle butts, bound up tight and then thrown into the truck. Meanwhile, nothing happened to Alip Hartojo. In fact, he stood there laughing away with the other kidnappers. This happened at about 6.30 p.m. on that day.

From there, Slamet Widjaja and Pardijo were taken to the Tasikmadu sugar factory where an army unit was stationed. At the army station, bound as they were, they were beaten and were coarsely asked: "*So you're the champs of Solo, eh?*", and "*You're the head of the FDR, are you?*" (FDR is the abbreviation of the People's Democratic Front.)

At 8.00 p.m. on September 8th, 1948, Slamet Widjaja was taken blindfolded by about five armed soldiers from his place of imprisonment to another place for interrogation. During the interrogation, he was asked: "*Do you know where you are now? Tell us the composition of the executive of the CPI Solo Section Committee and tell us who are the persons in the FDR? I'm asking these questions because I know that you are a member of the executive of the Solo CPI Section Committee and also a member of the FDR Secretariat.*"

The above events show quite clearly that the kidnapping of the two CPI members, Slamet Widjaja and Pardijo, was not carried out by common gangsters but by the government apparatus itself. This was not just an ordinary case of kidnapping; it was a case of political kidnapping because the victims were not only deprived of

what they had in their pockets; they were also questioned about the composition of the executive of the CPI Solo Section Committee and about the Solo FDR. There possibly are some people who will say that these measures were taken by the local government machinery and the Central Government knew nothing whatsoever about it. This is pure nonsense.

The fact that Slamet Widjaja and Pardijo were kidnapped by the official government apparatus and with the knowledge of the Central Government became clearer when, on September 24th, 1948, they, together with Lieut. Col. Suharman and Prodjosudodo who was also a TNI officer, were handed over to the Jogja KMK (Town Military Command, Tr.) by the Solo KMK and put in the official government camp at Danuredjan, Jogjakarta. In the Danuredjan camp, they met other persons who had been taken prisoner by the Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir Government, and all of whom were CPI people and other left-wingers. This fact is in accordance with what Alip Hartojo said to Slamet Widjaja on September 1st, 1948, namely "that CPI people and all left-wingers are now going to be cleaned up by the Hatta Government". Further evidence which shows that they were kidnapped with the knowledge of the Central Government is the fact that, once while they were in prison, they were interrogated by someone from the Attorney-General's office.

While they were in prison, Slamet Widjaja and Pardijo and the others were allowed to write to and receive letters from their families. This and other facts refute what the Mayor of Solo, Sjamsuridjal, usually declared: "I don't know anything, and the government didn't plan any kidnappings." Such statements were made several times to the wives of the kidnapped men when they, together with their children organised a demonstration to the Solo Town Hall to demand that Sjamsuridjal take responsibility for the kidnapping of their husbands and fathers.

I have stated the above facts in order to prove how true it was what President Sukarno said in his speech of September 19th, 1948, that the Solo Affair and the Madiun Affair were not separate events

but belonged to one series of measures. I say all this so that the general public may understand why it is that we Communists call the Madiun Affair a provocation; to understand that we use the phrase "the provocation of the Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir Government" not in order to insult but in order to state what really happened.

The kidnapping and torture of Slamet Widjaja and Pardijo were followed by other similar events. On September 7th, 1948, five officers of the TNI, Major Esmara Sugeng, Captain Sutarto, Captain Sapardi, Captain Suradi and Lieut. Muljono were kidnapped. They were kidnapped by Alip Hartojo and an army unit which was located in Srambatan, Solo. Up to this day, nothing is known of what happened to these five kidnapped TNI officers. The only possible conclusion which can be drawn is that they were murdered by the government apparatus which had kidnapped them. They were murdered even though the Commander-in-Chief Sudirman had ordered the Java Military Police Corps (CPM) command to carry out investigations and to try those guilty of the kidnapping.

Who was responsible for these kidnappings and murders? I think that it was not the Communists but the government that was in power at that time, namely the Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir Government. I must recall the fact that these five TNI officers and also Col. Sutarto who was the victim of such cowardly terror, had all been fighters for independence since the time of the Dutch colonial regime before the Second World War, and during the Japanese occupation and also our national revolution. They were among the best sons of Indonesia from the Javanese nationality. They were beloved by their men.

I should like to refer to yet another fact concerning these kidnappings in Solo. Lieut. Col. Suharman whose name I have referred to above, was arrested on September 9th, 1948, while carrying out the instructions of his superior officers to ask Alip Hartojo about the five TNI officers who had been kidnapped. But unfortunately for Lieut. Col. Suharman, he too was kidnapped, taken to the army station at Srambatan, Solo, and then, after going through many bitter and

unpleasant experiences, on September 24th, 1948, he, together with Slamet Widjaja, Pardijo and Prodjosudodo was handed over to the Jogja KMK and imprisoned in the official camp at Danuredjan.

In connection with the kidnappings which took place in Solo on September 9th, 1948, the Commander-in-Chief Sudirman gave permission to Lieut. Col. Suadi who was then in command of the IVth Division in place of Col. Sutarto, to take measures in view of the chaos in Solo. On September 10th, 1948, on the basis of this permission, an ultimatum was sent to the battalion which had carried out the kidnappings to the effect that: *If, by 14.00 hours on September 13th, 1948, the five kidnapped persons are not released, then an attack will be launched.* This ultimatum was circulated throughout the town of Solo and was followed up by military manoeuvres under the direction of the commander of the Surakarta sector, Major Slamet Rijadi. At 12.30, before the ultimatum had run out, Major Sutarmo who had come to the army station at Srambatan on the instructions of the IVth Division to carry out negotiations, was shot at as he alighted from his truck, as a result of which he and some of his guards died instantaneously.

The battalion concerned paid no heed to the ultimatum. As a result, at 14.00 hours on September 13th, fighting broke out between the troops under the command of the IVth Division and the kidnapping troops.

Bitter fighting raged until the evening. Suddenly, at 6.00 p.m. on September 13th, the Commander-in-Chief ordered a cease-fire. Civil and military officials were witnesses to this cease-fire order. The troops of the IVth Division obeyed the order but the other side continued its efforts to occupy Solo. As a result, at 6.00 p.m. on September 15th, 1948, another battle took place between troops under the command of the IVth Division and the kidnapping troops.

Then, a very strange thing happened: the Central Government justified the kidnapping troops and described Lieut Col. Suadi and the troops under his command as "disruptors". The Government called on the people, through the radio and via circulars, to help

the troops which had carried out the kidnappings. These latter were regarded as the troops acting on official instructions and who had been ordered to exterminate what the Government called the "disruptors" of the IVth Division. The Central Government appointed Col. Gatot Subroto Military Governor of Central Java while Lieut. Col. Suadi, commander of the IVth Division, and his troops were pursued.

That is enough about the Solo Affair. I need not continue because it reminds us of the great rift which existed in our society at that time, not only in political circles but also in the ranks of the armed forces, the most important apparatus of our national revolution.

Although I have not spoken very much about the Solo Affair, it is sufficient for an understanding of the background of the political and military tension existing at that time, for an understanding of the background of the Madiun Provocation.

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I have already stated above that the Solo Affair and the Madiun Affair were not separate events but belonged to one series of actions. The Madiun Affair was only the continuation of the Solo Affair. The sharp tension, both inside and outside the Army, which had developed as a result of the kidnappings and murders in Solo spread throughout the territory under the control of the Republic of Indonesia in Central and East Java. The Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir Government was neither able nor did it want to relax this tension.

The sharpness of this tension inside and outside the Army had been very acutely felt in Madiun ever since the terrorist murder of Col. Sutarto in Solo.

On the morning of July 28th, 1948, Wirosudarmo, a railway worker, was shot dead by a member of the Army while he was on his way to the railway station at which he worked. Wirosudarmo's remains were interred at the village of Oro-Oro Ombo with a special tribute from the Madiun branch of the Railway Workers

Trade Union (SBKA) and from many inhabitants of Madiun. At the funeral, several representatives of parties and mass organisations protested against this brutal murder.

Not long after the shooting of the railway worker, an office worker at the Madiun Town Hall was tortured by an Army officer. The Trade Union of Autonomous Government Employees (SEBDA) demanded that the armyman who had beaten up this worker should apologise. But this demand was not met and so the workers under SEBDA leadership staged a sit-down strike. After this action had started, the Army troops concerned were prepared to enter into negotiations and appointed an officer to represent them, but the negotiations broke down. SEBDA turned the question over to the Madiun branch of SOBSI (Central Trade Union Federation) and the latter backed up SEBDA's demand. On SOBSI's request, negotiations were resumed as a result of which the soldier concerned was prepared to apologise.

From the above events, we can draw the conclusion that the situation in Madiun at that time was very tense. The tension was even further increased when the news of the kidnappings and murders in Solo by army troops assisted by Alip Hartojo reached Madiun. The climax came when fighting broke out between troops within the Army itself, that is between Brigade 29 which did not agree with these brutal measures and the troops of the Siliwangi Division and the Mobrig (Mobile Brigade i.e. troops of the armed police, Tr.). This fighting occurred on September 18th beginning at 1.00 in the morning and lasting until 8.00 a.m. on the same day, at which time the Siliwangi and Mobrig troops were disarmed by Brigade 29. During the battle, Lieut. Sapari of Battalion 11, Brigade 29 and Captain Djaja of the CPM lost their lives.

During this confused situation, the head of the region, the Resident of Madiun, Samadikun, was not in Madiun; he had gone to Jogja. The Mayor of Madiun was ill at the time and therefore non-active. It became clear that the Deputy-Resident was unable to take control of the situation. Under these circumstances, the parties affiliated

to the FDR and the mass organisations which supported it, urged that Supardi, the Deputy Mayor of Madiun should provisionally act as resident while the Resident was away. The reason why the left-wing parties and organisations urged Supardi to do so was that he held a position in the government, and he had at the time displayed courage enough to come forward and take control of the situation. It became clear that Supardi's appointment as provisional resident also had the agreement of Lieut. Col. Sumantri (commander of the Madiun Sub-Territorial Command), Sidharto, the Deputy Resident of Madiun, and Purbosisworo, the Mayor of Madiun, each of whom gave their signatures as a sign of agreement. In addition, the chiefs of certain important government departments such as the departments of railways, post, telephone and telegrams, gas and electricity, etc. also gave their consent.

Apart from expressing agreement with the appointment of Supardi as provisional resident, the people's parties and organisations urged the leading persons in the Madiun regional government to report the events in Madiun to the Central Government in Jogja by first sending it a telegram with preliminary information and requesting instructions as to what should be done next. The Madiun regional government did indeed send the telegram to the President, the Prime Minister, the Minister of Defence and also to the Minister of Home Affairs. Apart from this, the Madiun regional government also tried to send an express courier to the Central Government to take a written report of the events in Madiun.

It was this event, that is, the appointment of Supardi who was then Deputy Mayor as provisional resident in order to overcome the confusion, that was magnified by the Central Government and branded by it as a measure "to overthrow the Government of the Republic of Indonesia", a measure "to engineer a coup d'etat and establish Soviet power" and various other things. On the basis of this event and on the full responsibility of the Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir Government, President Sukarno delivered a speech on September 19th, 1948, calling upon the entire people to crush

"the disruptors" by which was meant to crush the Communists, other progressives and their supporters.

In order to make it even clearer that the CPI and the FDR had no plans to carry out a seizure of power in Madiun, I must state that at the time the fighting and disarmament were going on in the Army, at the time Deputy Mayor Supardi was appointed as provisional resident, Comrades Musso, Amir Sjarifuddin, Harjono and others were not in Madiun. Just at that time, Comrade Musso together with a party of persons were on a tour on behalf of the CPI, and they were then in Purwodadi (a place some distance from Madiun, Tr.). Comrade Musso and his group only arrived in Madiun at midnight on September 18th. He came at the request of the FDR leadership in Madiun because of the tense situation. He was one of the persons who most strongly agreed that a report be sent immediately to the Central Government and that it be asked for further instructions concerning what had happened in Madiun.

From the above clarifications it is clear that what the political opponents of the CPI said to the effect that "the CPI seized power in Madiun", that "the CPI set up a Soviet regime in Madiun" and so on, is completely untrue. For these reasons, I am quite bold enough to state that the reports published at the beginning of September, 1953 in the "Abadi", "Pedoman" and "Keng Po" concerning the Madiun Affair were falsehoods and slanders. And it was in order to counteract these falsehoods and slanders that the Political Bureau of the CPI Central Committee issued the statement on September 13th, 1953, which is now on trial.

It is quite impossible for the CPI to have carried out a coup d'etat and set up a Soviet in Madiun, not only because these two steps are contrary to Communist theory but also because they are contrary to the proposal made by Comrade Musso after he returned home from abroad. I still remember the time when Comrade Musso proposed to the CPI Central Committee that the CPI should send letters to the leading bodies of the Masjumi and the PNI in order to build up a united national front. This proposal was accepted

by the CPI Central Committee and letters were sent to these two parties. The Masjumi central leadership sent a reply which was signed by Kasman Singodimedjo rejecting the CPI's call for unity. I still remember when Comrade Musso met President Sukarno at the Palace in Jogjakarta. President Sukarno asked Musso to help reinforce the state and facilitate the smooth running of the wheels of revolution. Comrade Musso firmly replied: "*Indeed, that is my task. I have come back to set things straight*" (see the magazine "Revolusioner", August 19th, 1948, IIIrd year, No. 14). In addition to that, I still remember the CPI Conference in August 1948 which was led by Comrade Musso himself. This conference endorsed a resolution entitled "A New Road for the Republic of Indonesia", a copy of which I attach to this speech. Everybody can know that this resolution did not draw up a programme for a coup d'etat or for the establishment of a Soviet government.

Thus, Your Honour, the CPI had no programme nor could it have had any programme for a coup d'etat or for the establishment of a Soviet republic in Madiun. And what is more, what happened in Madiun was not a coup d'etat; it did not contain within it the seeds of a Soviet. The event which took place in Madiun, the appointment of Supardi as provisional resident, was a constructive measure taken by the left-wing groups to gain control of the situation.

The bloody Madiun Affair would never have taken place if a mountain had not been made out of a molehill, if the good intentions of the left-wing groups had not deliberately been wrongly taken by the Central Government as something which, by chance, gave it an excuse to blacken the good name of the Communists and thus have a "reason" to mobilise all the forces of the state to hunt them down and exterminate them.

There are also some people who like to link up the event in Madiun on September 18th, 1948, with what they call the "FDR programme" to "create disorders everywhere" or what they call the FDR programme "to mobilise all criminal organisations to commit assaults and burglaries night and day". If these people want to link up

the events in Madiun with the so-called "FDR programme" of such a nature, then I can state here and now that the real FDR programme was vastly different from the falsified "FDR programme" which the provocators actively tried to circulate. The Central Secretariat of the FDR at that time had already placed announcements in several newspapers in Jogja concerning falsifications of the FDR programme. Apart from that, the FDR Central Secretariat placed the question of these falsifications into the hands of the Jogja police and the Solo FDR Secretariat did the same in Solo. The FDR Central Secretariat had sent the FDR programme to the regional FDR's through the post and thus there was nothing secret about it.

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It is something of which I am proud that, after the Central Government had called upon the entire state apparatus to exterminate the Communists, after the Minister of Home Affairs Sukiman had declared "civil war" on the Communists, Comrade Musso did not instruct us to flock to the offices of the Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir Government to surrender and be hanged or shot. No, in his speech replying to the Central Government, Comrade Musso commanded us to put up a heroic resistance. We did not surrender nor did we ask for mercy because we were not in the wrong. The kidnappings and murders in Solo had shown us that they wanted to suck our blood as they had sucked the blood of the TNI officers who had been kidnapped and murdered. We did not want to be treated like that. They could suck our blood but they would have to fight us first.

That was the answer we Communists gave to the Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir Government which had already mobilised all the forces at its disposal to crush us. We were defeated in the fight because we had really had no intention of waging war on the government of the Republic of Indonesia. We had directed the people's forces which we had mobilised against the Dutch colonial army. The Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir Government had, on the contrary, mobilised

all its forces to crush the Communists and it was later proved that this was welcomed and supported by the Dutch colonialists (see Van Mook's interview to the ANP on September 21st, 1948, and Lieut. General Spoor's interview to Reuter on September 21st, 1948, both of which are printed in the "White Book on the Madiun Affair", page 17, which is attached to this speech).

But besides suffering defeat, we educated the people to know that, however difficult the situation may be, the Communists would defend their standpoint, that they would always side with the people who did not want to be treated in the brutal way that the TNI officers had been treated in Solo; the Communists would do this even if it meant sacrificing their lives.

In the struggle against the measures which the Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir Government took to hunt down and crush the Communists, Comrade Musso has become a source of lasting pride to us. As a person of Malay nationality and as a genuine son of Indonesia, I bow my head in tribute to this great son of the Javanese people, the courageous hero of the Indonesian people. Musso set an example for every Communist and for every patriot as to how a Communist and a son of the people must sacrifice to defend the aspirations of the people, to defend the truth. Happy are they who are imbued with the same great spirit and courage as Comrade Musso; they are the mountain eagles who are entitled to the highest place of all. They are human beings who will live for ever in the hearts of the Indonesian people and to whom the Indonesian people can entrust their destiny.

The events in Solo such as the murder of Col. Sutarto, the kidnapping of Slamet Widjaja and Pardijo, the kidnapping and murder of the five TNI officers, the kidnapping of Lieut. Col. Suharman, the murder of the railway worker in Madiun and the torture of the Madiun Town Hall employee, clearly reveal the wide extent of the activities which the provocators undertook at that time. *But despite this, they did not succeed in finding a legitimate excuse to hunt down and murder the Communists.*

They hunted down and murdered Communists for no legitimate reason whatsoever. The only excuse which they could use was the fact that the Madiun FDR had urged the Deputy Mayor Supardi to act as provisional resident. But this is ridiculous because Supardi's appointment as provisional resident was made with the agreement of the civil and military authorities in power in Madiun at the time. There is nothing more ridiculous than to call this event an action to "overthrow the state" and it is even more ridiculous to say that it was an action aimed at "carrying out a coup d'etat and establishing a soviet government". A Soviet is a council of the workers, the peasants and the army. It was quite out of the question for the Madiun regional government under the leadership of provisional resident Supardi to have set up a council of workers, peasants and the army as the highest organ of power. A Soviet is a people's representative council in a Socialist state, that is, a state in which it is no longer possible for the means of production to be in private hands. It is quite illogical to think that, at that time, the Madiun regional government which was led by provisional resident Supardi could even have had a plan for (let alone implement) the nationalisation of all the means of production.

Having given the above clarifications, I have for the time being completed the task of proving that the Madiun Affair was a provocation. It is none other than the Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir Government which was in office at the time which was responsible for the provocative acts such as have been outlined above.

Blood-stained hands

On September 7th, 1953, the "Pedoman" published an announcement of the BKOI which stated, among other things, that "after the Communists had succeeded in seizing power in Madiun" there followed "incomparable cruelties". The announcement further stated that "innumerable Islamic ulamas, government employees,

members of the Army, and Moslems were inhumanly murdered". This is an exaggeration and a complete distortion of the facts. The incomparable cruelties did not start with the so-called "Communist seizure of power in Madiun"; they started with the terroristic murder of Col. Sutarto and the kidnapping and murder of the five TNI officers in Solo. In order to repudiate this distortion, the statement of the Political Bureau of the CPI Central Committee pointed out that it was not the CPI which had committed cruelties but that it was the hands of the Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir clique which were stained with blood. These words are possibly unpleasant to the ears of those concerned but they are true.

When describing the Solo Affair, I spoke of the kidnapping and murder of the five TNI officers by the official Hatta Government apparatus. This bloody incident led to other bloody incidents, namely the fighting which broke out between the troops under the command of the IVth Division and the troops who, with the help of Alip Hartojo, had committed the kidnappings.

I am not going to give many examples of what happened after the events that I have described above. I shall only speak of two examples in two places, namely the murders in Ngalijan and Magelang. It does not mean that, by mentioning only these two examples, I do not refer to the cruel murders which took place in other places such as Malang, Kediri, Pati, Blora, Rembang, Kudus, Purwodadi, Tjepu (all these are places in Central and East Java, Tr.) and elsewhere. I take these two examples only in order to save time. In addition to this, I consider these two examples as being sufficiently representative to depict the cruel acts perpetrated elsewhere by the apparatus of a government which claims to have based itself on the law.

First the incident in Ngalijan. Ngalijan is a village in the subdistrict of Lalung, district of Karanganjar, residency of Surakarta (another name for Solo, Tr.). The time: midnight on December 19th, 1948. The grave which was being dug on the orders of the Army by about twenty inhabitants of the village of Karangmodjo to

bury Comrade Amir Sjarifuddin and his ten comrades was not yet ready. According to the order, a grave to accommodate the bodies of these eleven people would have to be about 170 cm deep.

At the time, Comrade Amir Sjarifuddin was wearing a blue-and-white striped pyjama jacket, green trousers and was carrying some things wrapped in a sarong; Comrade Maruto Darusman was wearing a brown jacket and white trousers; Comrade Suripno was wearing a vest and a sarong; Comrade Oey Gee Hwat was wearing white trousers, a white shirt and a dirty white jacket. The other comrades there were Sardjono, Harjono, Sukarno, Djokosujono, Katamhadi, Ronomarsono and D. Mangku.

While waiting for the grave to be finished, Comrade Amir Sjarifuddin asked a TNI captain who was there: "What are you going to do to me?"

The captain replied: "I'm a soldier. I obey orders. Discipline."

After the grave had been dug, most of the persons who had been digging were ordered to leave, only four being told to remain behind in order, so it became clear subsequently, to fill the grave in again.

Then a lieutenant said that the Military Governor, Gatot Subroto, had issued an order for the murder of these eleven men.

One of the things that Amir then asked was: "Do you really want to have me and my comrades murdered?"

The lieutenant replied: "I have only to obey orders."

Comrade Amir spoke again: "Have you thought more deeply about the matter?"

The lieutenant: "There's no need for a lot of talking."

Comrade Djokosujono came in with: "I'm not blaming you, but the state will suffer."

The lieutenant ordered his men to load their guns.

Comrade Amir approached the lieutenant but before he got close he tripped up; then, patting the lieutenant on the shoulder, he said: "Give us time to sing for a while."

The lieutenant replied: "O.K., but be quick."

Comrade Suripno said: "May I send a letter to my wife so that she may know?"

The lieutenant: "Yes, I don't mind."

Then, these comrades wrote letters. After they had finished, they handed their letters one by one to the lieutenant.

After handing over their letters, these eleven men together sang "Indonesia Raja" (the Indonesian national anthem, Tr.) and the "Internationale".

After they had finished singing, Amir shouted: "Workers of the world, unite! I am dying for you!"

Comrade Suripno: "I am defending you with my life; I am for you!"

Then these eleven heroic men were shot dead one by one, first Comrade Amir Sjarifuddin, then Comrade Maruto Darusman, Oey Gee Hwat, Djokosujono and so on.

From the above incident, we know that the members of the armed forces who shot these men were acting on orders from above, in this case on the orders of the Military Governor. The responsibility for all this lies not with the soldiers who loaded the guns and shot Comrade Amir and his comrades after having been commanded to do so; the responsibility rests entirely with the government which was then in power, the Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir Government.

Up to the present time, neither the CPI nor the families of the murdered men have ever been informed of any trial and sentence passed on these eleven patriots. The only official document, and even that was not addressed individually to the families of these eleven men, was a letter from the Chief-of-Police of the residency of Surakarta dated September 20th, 1950, and signed by the Police Commissioner, Sempu Muljono, which contained the explanation that it was true that on Sunday December 19th, 1948, at 11.30 p.m. the government had carried out a military sentence passed on these eleven men. The procedure leading to these military sentences was not explained at all.

On the basis of this letter, Mr. A. M. Tambunan (Vice-Chairman of Parliament, from the Indonesian Christian Party, Tr.) and Comrade Mrs. Mudigdio submitted the following questions to the government via Parliament on December 20th, 1950:

1) What is meant by "the government" in this letter?
2) Could the government pass a military sentence?
3) Which court tried these eleven men?
4) What are the contents of the decision taken by the court?
5) What were the charges of the prosecution (army prosecution) and on what articles of the Criminal Code (or Army Code) were they based?

These questions were repeated in a speech delivered by Mr. Tambunan in Parliament on January 23rd, 1951 (a copy of which I attach to this speech).

I shall now turn to the bloody event in Magelang. It began with a happening on September 21st, 1948. At about 6.00 p.m. on that day, Sarbini, Commander of the Kedu Territorial Staff Command (STC) came to the military prison and explained that he had been charged to provide protection to those who had been arrested, for a certain reason. He said that those who were to be protected need not be afraid and that he would guarantee that they would be well treated. All this was stated in front of a few prisoners because there were not many prisoners there at the time. Among the prisoners were Suprodjo, former Minister of Social Affairs, and Sukarmo, Kendal district chief.

It was indeed true that for about a week after Sarbini's statement, food, drink and cigarettes were provided. But as time went on, the treatment got worse and worse especially after the cell in which Suprodjo and Sukarmo were imprisoned was filled by about 75 prisoners. Guards were strengthened, food became scarcer and scarcer as a result of which protests and even hunger strikes were held. At the request of the prisoners, their families were allowed to send food to the prison.

While they were in prison, the prisoners were asked questions such as, were they members of organisations which aimed at the

overthrow of the government by force, and were they members of organisations aimed at committing crimes. These questions fitted in with the falsifications which had been made of the FDR Campaign Programme and which the FDR had already taken up with the police. These questions were answered: No! Some of the prisoners stated that they were members of the Socialist Party or other parties with a legal status.

On December 19th, 1948, the prisoners who were imprisoned in the same cell as Suprodjo and Sukarmo were ordered to gather together. The prison director told them they must be ready to move. The prisoners were divided into three groups, group A, group B and group C. Those in group C were allowed to go home and those in group B were moved to the Mendut Camp outside the town of Magelang. Those in group A which consisted of members of the Magelang FDR, a total of 41 persons including one woman, were moved to Magelang Prison. The examination of the cases of the persons who were moved to Magelang had not yet been completed.

This group of 41 persons was accompanied on its journey to the prison by two young soldiers who seemed to be quite friendly. Had they wanted to escape it would not have been difficult then. But since they felt that they were not guilty, they did not consider it necessary to do so. If the prisoners spread themselves out a bit on the road, the soldiers accompanying them did not appear to get angry. It even happened that, before arriving at the prison, Suprodjo and one other prisoner asked the soldiers accompanying them for permission to go to their homes to take leave. This request was granted and they went home without being guarded. Then after having taken leave, Suprodjo and his friend followed the others to the prison on their own. It is necessary for me to state this in order to point out that these imprisoned FDR people did not feel in the slightest degree guilty and therefore they did not harbour the slightest suspicions against the government apparatus which had arrested them.

After arriving at the prison, 40 of them excluding the woman who had come with them, were placed in two cells. Heavy guards of armed troops were placed in front of the prison and they kept a machine-gun trained on the cell. At about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, four persons were seen carrying a lot of dynamite and putting it in one of the rooms. At about 6.30 p.m., the "ordinary" prisoners at the prison who consisted of thieves and other criminals, were released from the prison. At about 9 p.m., the 40 prisoners were moved to another cell in the centre of the prison.

On that night of December 19th, 1948, it was pitch dark in and around Magelang Prison. A small unit of soldiers carrying flame torches broke the darkness. They were armed with carabines. At about 9.30 in the evening, the cell door was opened and the prisoners were pulled out one by one. Outside the cell, their hands were bound behind their backs and they were put into another cell. One of them protested while he was being bound: "We haven't been tried yet and you are already going to kill us. That's not justice." Another person asked, as his hands were being bound finger to finger behind his back: "What are you going to do?" The harsh reply to this question was: "Shut up!" and the persons who had asked the questions were pushed into the cell where the other friends had been collected, all with their hands bound. They were forced to sit down cross-legged facing the wall of the cell. The 40 men had been divided into three cells. At this time, some Dutch troops had already entered Magelang (part of the second Dutch aggressive action in December 1948, Tr.).

The commander of the troops was heard to say: "These men are bandits." Then he gave the order: "Ready!" Behind each person at a distance of about 1.5 metres stood a man with a carabine. After the click of the triggers being set was heard, the commander gave the order: "In the name of the state... fire!" Thus it was that people, the examination of whose cases had not yet been completed, were executed simply with the words "in the name of the state". Most of them had their heads broken and their brains spilled

out. After all of them had been shot, the jail was locked from the outside with large padlocks, but in some cases, the firing had not been accurate.

Not long afterwards, paraffin bottles were thrown in through the prison window. An attempt was made from the outside to set the prison on fire and, indeed, flames began to lick the logs which had been placed outside the prison door. But unfortunately for the fire-raisers and murderers, their work was in vain because it began to rain.

In this case, too, I shall borrow the questions put by Mr. Tambunan: Which court tried these 40 men? What was the court decision on the case? What were the charges of the prosecution (Army prosecution) against them and on which articles of the Criminal (Army) Code were these charges based?

All that is known by the people up to the present day is that they were murdered without having first been put on trial. We can say that Salamun, the Resident of Kedu, Sarbini, the commander of the STC, and Sukardjo, the Kedu Chief-of-Police were responsible for this event but we must not forget that they were acting on orders from above. Just as in the case of the events in Ngalijan and elsewhere, the responsibility for the massacre in Magelang Prison rests with the Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir Government. It is the dominating clique in this government whose hands are stained with the blood and brains of men.

After having described the two murders which took place in Ngalijan and Magelang, it is clear that the words "blood-stained" contained in the September 13th, 1953 statement of the Political Bureau of the CPI Central Committee were quite definitely not used with the intention to insult but solely in order to describe what had actually happened. From this, it becomes clear that, in the Madiun Affair, the hands of the Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir clique were stained with blood.

Before concluding my statement about the people whose hands were stained with blood in the Madiun Affair, I must explain that

the foul murders which were perpetrated in Ngalijan, Magelang, Malang, Kediri and many other places were carried out after the speech which President Sukarno delivered in November 1948 in which he declared that death sentences can only be passed by the Central Government and that every sentence must be based on a court decision. I must explain, too, that, according to the decision taken by the Executive Council of the Central Indonesian National Committee (BPKNIP), that is, our provisional parliament at that time, the full powers which had been vested in President Sukarno for a period of three months were only valid up till December 15th, 1948. The murders which I described above occurred after December 15th, 1948, that is, at a time when full powers were no longer vested in the hands of the President. These two points make it even clearer that these murders were purely arbitrarily carried out and were committed on the full responsibility of the Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir Government.

One thing which must not be forgotten, Your Honour, is that these blood-curdling murders were committed on the basis of indefinite reports. This becomes clear from the speech of Prime Minister Moh. Hatta in which he asked the BPKNIP for full powers. He said among other things: "There are reports—whether they are true or not, I don't know—that Musso will become President of that usurped republic and Amir Sjarifuddin will become Prime Minister." Yes, these acts were perpetrated on the basis of reports, the truth of which was in doubt, but there was no doubt about the death of the victims.

Preserve our national unity as the apple of our eye

I have now come to the end of my defence plea.

In my introductory remarks, I already stated that it is neither a pleasant nor a happy thing for me to talk about the Madiun Affair. Before this court, I have been compelled to speak about this tragic

event, about the kidnappings and murders committed by a government which claimed to be acting on the basis of the law. I was forced to make this speech in order to defend my Communist honour, in order to defend the honour of my comrades who were the victims of the Madiun Affair, to defend the honour of the Indonesian people who side with the CPI over its attitude towards the Madiun Affair.

The above explanations clarify what I said in the introduction of my defence plea to the effect that the September 13th, 1953 statement of the Political Bureau of the CPI Central Committee was issued solely in the public interest and for defence purposes. The good name of the CPI and of its leaders had been besmirched by the slanders against the CPI printed in the newspapers "Abadi" and "Pedoman" a few days before this statement was issued. It is now clear that the "incomparable cruelties" were not started by members of the CPI but began with the kidnappings and murders committed by the official government apparatus in Solo. It is now clear that the "incomparable cruelties" were perpetrated not by the CPI but against it.

For a long time already, and for many years before the Masjumi has, we have been observing September 18th every year as a day of mourning. We shall agree if the government decides that each year, September 18th should be commemorated in full solemnity and the national flag hoisted at half-mast as a sign of mourning of the entire nation.

We must mourn on every September 18th in order to recall to mind the victims who were shot dead in Ngalijan, Magelang, Kediri, Malang, Pati, Tjepu and many other places.

We must mourn on every September 18th in memory of Musso, Amir Sjarifuddin, Harjono, Suripno, Wiroreno and many more heroes of the people whose names will live for ever in the hearts and minds of all Indonesian people with genuine patriotic feelings and with the blood of the people flowing in their veins.

We must mourn on every September 18th in memory of our boys and colleagues in the armed forces who became victims

of the civil war policy of the Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir Government.

We must mourn on every September 18th in memory of all those who fell victims of the Madiun Affair.

We must mourn on every September 18th so that we may always remember that we must be vigilant and strong in face of every provocation.

We must mourn on every September 18th so that we may always remember that we do not want to be divided, and that we must guard our national unity as the apple of our eye.

If we are united, the only people who will suffer are our enemies, all the colonialists.

Your Honour,

I have said what I had to say. I have explained my thoughts and feelings. Now, I hope that you will do the same. I express this hope because I am convinced that you, too, have those two great possessions of ours, thoughts and feelings.

LESSONS FROM THE HISTORY OF THE CPI

We are now gathered together to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party of Indonesia, the Party of the working class, the Party of the Indonesian Marxists. On behalf of the Central Committee of the CPI, I thank those of you friends and comrades who are present here tonight, I express thanks for all the letters and telegrams of greetings that we have received from home and abroad, for all the bouquets of flowers, and for all the assistance that has been given in a spirit of complete sympathy, on the occasion of this fortieth anniversary.

On this occasion, I shall not give an extensive period-by-period account of the history of the CPI because I did this on the occasion of the thirtyfifth anniversary of the CPI and too, because, as part of these fortieth anniversary celebrations, the *Institute of the History of the CPI* has written a pamphlet about *Forty Years of the CPI.* I shall on this occasion draw up the basic conclusions of the struggle waged by the CPI to complete the national-democratic revolution as the "gateway" or the "golden bridge" through which we must pass on the way to Socialism.

But before doing so, I should like to say something first about the national character of the CPI. This is an important matter, not only because the imperialists and their agents here in our country are spreading slanders about the CPI not being national, but also because it is important for the Communists themselves who have for long been making genuine efforts to discover the Indonesian way of applying Marxism-Leninism, to translate or indonesianise Marxism-Len-

inism, and to imbue all their work with a combination of the spirit of patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

The CPI is the Party of the working class, the Party of the Indonesian Marxists. But it is a mistake for people to think that the CPI is something that is separated from the general national movement, the movement for independence and democracy. Neither in theory nor in practice is this so. The CPI is the red thread in the Indonesian national movement.

Right from the very start, the Indonesian national movement, although basically united in the struggle against imperialism, has included two trends. One leads to an independent Indonesia that is capitalist, the independent Indonesia of the bourgeoisie, and the other leads to an independent Indonesia that is socialist, that is, the independent Indonesia of the working people. The former is the right wing and the letter is the left wing of the general national movement. The CPI as the Party of the working class that struggles for an independent Indonesia so as to create a Socialist society, is the vanguard of the left wing, or the vanguard of the entire working people in the general national movement. This means that the CPI is the vanguard of the vast majority of the Indonesian people because there can be no doubt that the working people make up the overwhelming majority by comparison with the bourgeoisie, which comprises an insignificant minority. The bourgeoisie is but a small ship sailing in the mighty ocean of the working people. And since the CPI is the vanguard of this overwhelming majority of the working people, it is, theoretically and in accordance with historical necessity, the vanguard of the general national movement. Experience shows that the struggle of the CPI to make this theoretical truth and historical necessity a reality is a protracted, complex and difficult one. This is what the CPI has done since its foundation and what it will continue to do.

In an article entitled *The Awakening of Asia*, written in May, 1913, Lenin said among other things that "*World capitalism and the movement in Russia in 1905 eventually aroused Asia. Hundreds of millons of them,*

who had been subjugated and had lived in darkness, woke from the rut of the middle ages and took the path towards a new life, they awoke to struggle for elementary human rights and democracy". This article also says: "*An important development is the spreading of the democratic revolutionary movement to the Dutch East Indies, to Java and the other Dutch colonies . . .*" and "*that the democratic revolutionary movement in Indonesia is being carried out by the masses of the people*". What Lenin wrote is completely true.

Imperialism brought about a new situation in Indonesia. Sugar factories, rubber mills and the like, as well as the construction of harbours, railways, repair-shops, etc., required a lot of labour power from the inhabitants. A growing government apparatus and the development of private enterprises needed people with skills, capable of handling modern forms of labour.

As imperialist enterprises grew it was impossible to prevent the penetration of capitalist influences within society. And it is a fact that the imperialist enterprises gave birth to a working class, a class which would lead the overthrow of imperialism and capitalism.

Ever since its birth, the Indonesian working class has waged a struggle against capitalist oppression and exploitation, but in the early stages this was done without any organisation. It was only in 1905 that the first trade union, the SS-Bond, the trade union of workers of government-owned railways, was established. In 1908 the railway workers organised themselves in a mass, revolutionary trade union, the VSTP (Vereniging van Spoor en Tramwegpersoneel). In the 1910's, trade unions appeared like mushrooms in the rainy season; there were the trade unions of general workers, of teachers and assistant teachers, of teachers of technical schools, the trade union of employees at the opium department, of customs officials, and so on. It is very interesting to take note of the fact that it was the workers at government departments that first organised themselves, and that this laid the foundation for the revolutionary tradition of the government workers, a tradition which is still theirs.

A trade union is an economic organisation of the workers for demanding better conditions from the employers, that is, it is not an

organisation for the abolition of capitalism. The Indonesian workers would not, with trade unions alone, be able to free themselves from capitalist exploitation which is the aim of the workers. This is why it is easy to understand that the Indonesian workers could not possibly be satisfied and that they could not possibly stop at a point where they had only set up a trade union.

In May, 1914, at the Surabaja Marine Centre, the ISDV (Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereniging, the Dutch East Indies Social-Democratic Union, abbreviated in Indonesian to PSDH) was established, a political organisation of the working class that was set up by progressive Dutchmen and Indonesians. The PSDH was an organisation of Marxists, the aim of which was to spread the ideal of Socialism among the masses of the Indonesian people. The PSDH was not an organisation only for Dutchmen, as can be seen from the fact that not long after its establishment, militant leaders of the Indonesian workers entered this organisation.

With the establishment of the PSDH, preparatory efforts were made to combine Marxism with the actions of the masses of the Indonesian workers. The PSDH was enthusiastically welcomed by the Indonesian workers.

The PSDH worked not only among the workers but also within the movement of the nationalists; for example, it co-operated with the Indische Partij, the party of the nationalists. After the Indische Partij was outlawed, members of the PSDH co-operated with the Insulinde, the continuator of the Indische Partij, an organisation that raised the slogan of Independent Indonesia.

The PSDH also worked within the state apparatus by, among other things, setting up an organisation, the *Council of Sailors and Marines*, in 1917 in Surabaja; it was this organisation that led the celebration of May First, the day of workers' victory in 1918. In 1919, the PSDH leveled accusations against the Dutch East Indies Government in connection with suppresive actions against the non-commissioned officers and men of the Dutch East Indies Army (KNIL), composed mainly of Indonesians. In 1919, there was an uprising of KNIL

soldiers against the Dutch East Indies Government in Surabaja.

The PSDH made strenuous efforts so establish contact with the masses of the peasants. This was done through the medium of those members of the PSDH who were leaders of the Sarikat Islam (SI). The PSDH influence within the Sarikat Islam grew and grew. This began to frighten the reformists in the SI and they therefore sharpened their antagonisms with the PSDH people in the SI. This led to a split in the SI, which was broken up into two parts, the Red-SI, under the leadership of the revolutionary PSDH, and the White-SI, under the leadership of reformists. The Red-SI, or the left-wing of the SI subsequently became the mass basis of the PSDH and then later on the mass basis of the CPI among the peasants. The Red-SI subsequently became the *Sarikat Rakjat* (People's Union).

The 1917 Revolution in Russia had a very great influence upon the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people. The PSDH enthusiastically welcomed it and strove to tell the Indonesian people about it. This Revolution helped to inspire the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people. It was thanks to the PSDH that the Indonesian people quickly came to know the name Lenin, the teacher of the proletarian revolution.

The Netherlands did not take part in the First World War (1914—1918) but its economy suffered very greatly as a result of the war. The Netherlands therefore tried to get more profits from Indonesia by intensifying the oppression and exploitation of the Indonesian people. In addition to giving rise to workers' actions under the leadership of the PSDH, this exceptionally severe oppression and exploitation led to resistance among the peasants. Peasant resistance even took on the form of uprisings such as occurred in the Kelambit War in Djambi (1917), the peasants uprising in Tjimaremeh (1917), the 10,000-strong demonstration, known as "Tjaping kropak" in Semarang (1917), and the Serikat Abang uprising in Palembang (1918). Also in Tapanuli (1918), in Kalimantan (1918) and in Ternate (1919) peasant resistance broke out.

The class struggle became sharpened and the influence of the Russian October Revolution on the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people led to a split in the PSDH between the revolutionaries and the reformists. But the revolutionaries accounted for the overwhelming majority, while the reformists, led by Stokvis and others, made up only an insignificant minority. The reformists eventually exposed themselves further by quitting the PSDH, and establishing the Indische Sociaal Democratisch Partij (ISDP) in September 1917. The ISDP became a branch of the Dutch SDAP, that is, it became a branch of the reformist Second International.

At the Seventh Congress of the PSDH, held on May 23rd, 1920 in Semarang, the Congress decided, on the proposal of the Semarang branch, representing the largest number of members, to discuss as the basic point on the agenda, the change in name of the PSDH (ISDV) to the Communist Party of the East Indies (PKH) or the Partij der Communisten in Indie (PCI). After a long and bitter debate, the Congress decided to change the name PSDH (ISDV) to the Perserikatan Komunis di India (PKI) or the Partij der Komunisten in Indie; at the PKI Congress in 1924, the name was changed to the Partij Komunis Indonesia (PKI, or abbreviated in English to CPI).

This in brief is the history of the period of the preparation for the establishment of the CPI. It shows clearly that this preparatory period, the period when the Indonesian Marxists called themselves social democrats and when they called their organisation the PSDH, was a period full of activity aimed at spreading Marxism or scientific socialism to the working class and the working people of Indonesia. For the first time in Indonesian history, Marxism uprooted superstition, mysticism and idealism in this backward agrarian country.

Even though the PSDH was not organisationally extensive, even though it did not have many members, its work was not in vain because the working people received it with enthusiasm; the seeds of socialist consciousness that were sown by the PSDH fructified,

and the first fruit was the Communist Party of Indonesia. A good beginning of a good endeavour.

Now the CPI is forty years old. The CPI has passed through its period of infancy and is now adult.

What basic conclusions can be drawn from the experiences of the 40 years' struggle of the CPI?

The growth of the CPI can basically be divided into four periods or stages.

The *first* period is the period of the formation of the Party and the struggle against the first white terror (1920—1926).

The *second* period is the period of illegality and the anti-fascist front (1926—1945).

The *third* period is the period of the August 1945 Revolution and the struggle against the second white terror (1945—1951).

The *fourth* period is the period of the national front and the up-building of the Party (1951 up to the present day).

During the *first* period, that is, the period of the formation of the Party and the struggle against the first white terror, the CPI took an active part in awakening the national consciousness of the Indonesian people, in giving political consciousness to the working class and the working people in general, and the CPI even led the first national uprising against Dutch colonial power in 1926—1927. The people had a great sympathy for the CPI because of the activities of the CPI members and their preparedness to make sacrifices in the struggle against colonialism. The lesson that can be drawn from this period is that the great sympathy of the masses for the Party and the Party's rapid growth do not automatically make the Party strong or make it capable of performing its historic tasks. During this period, the Party did indeed rapidly obtain a great following among the masses of the people, the prestige of the Party and the spirit of struggle of the Party cadres were very high, but since Party members and cadres did not master the necessary Marxist-Leninist theory, the Party was not able to make the active elements in the Party the back-bone of the Party, and under critical circumstances, such as at the time of

the provocation and the white terror of the Dutch colonial government in 1926, the Party leadership was not able to lead the entire Party so as to safeguard the Party and the mass movement of the people.

As the leading force during this period, the CPI did not unite those forces that could be united so as to completely isolate the reactionary forces. In addition, the CPI did not strengthen itself in the ideological, political and organisational fields. In brief, the Communists during this first period did not have experiences in the question of the national front and in the question of building the Party. This was in the first place because it was not in possession of a correct theory on the Indonesian revolution, with the result that, of course, it was not able to give correct leadership. This means that so long as it did not possess a correct theory about the Indonesian revolution, the CPI could not lead the Indonesian revolution, it could not fulfill the historic necessity and theoretical truth about the leading role of the working class. High spirits are not enough to lead a revolution. High spirits must be combined with a theory about the revolution to which leadership must be given.

During the *second* period, that is, the period of illegality and the anti-fascist front, the CPI continued to play a most consistent part in resisting Dutch colonialism and, later on, resisting Japanese militarism. Although the CPI was underground, the people were conscious of the activities of the Communists both because of the movements that it launched as well as because of the news which was either spread or not in the press, about there being a "Communist danger", a good sign for the people. During this period, the CPI had not yet drawn the conclusions of its experiences during the first period.

The lesson that can be drawn from this second period is that, although the anti-Dutch and anti-Japanese spirit of the people knew no bounds, although the political prestige of the Party was very high because of its consistent anti-colonial and anti-fascist policy, and although the domestic and international situation was very favourable for a revolution, such as the situation prevailing in Indonesia im-

mediately after the Second World War, the CPI entered the August 1945 Revolution badly prepared because it did not understand the theory of the Indonesian revolution, because it had not drawn the conclusions from its experiences of the national front and the building of the Party, added to which was the fact that it had not yet had any experience of armed struggle.

As regards armed struggle, it was indeed not possible for the CPI to draw conclusions before it had taken part in the August 1945 Revolution. But if it had drawn the lessons from the two questions mentioned above, namely the question of the national front and the question of building the party, the CPI would have been better prepared to enter the Revolution and possibly to give good leadership to the armed struggle.

The second period taught us the importance of drawing conclusions in time, and because this was not done, mistakes committed previously were repeated and use could not be made of favourable opportunities. How bitter it is for us to realise that a good opportunity was lost because we had not learnt from the many experiences for which the people and good comrades sacrified themselves.

The *third* period, the period of the August 1945 Revolution and the struggle against the second white terror, the terror of the reactionary Hatta Government, taught us very many lessons. It was a brief period, but a period of revolution and counter-revolution and, while going through this period, the CPI was beginning to study Marxist-Leninist theory fairly regularly. Experiences of this period began to be drawn up by the Party Conference of August 1948, which gave birth to the resolution "*The New Road for the Republic of Indonesia*", which was made more complete by the Fifth National Congress in 1954. These conclusions amongst others are as follows:

As regards building the national front, this period gave us important experience of the wavering attitude of the national bourgeoisie; it taught us that in certain circumstances this class can participate in and firmly side with the revolution, but under other circumstances it can waver and betray. In establishing unity with the national

bourgeoisie, the Party must not abandon its independence and it must not neglect its most reliable and most numerous ally, the peasants.

As regards building the Party, this period gave us the important experience that, without Marxist-Leninist theory as the guide to action and not as a dogma, it is not possible to lead the revolution; it gave us the experience that Marxist-Leninist theory must be welded together with the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution. Thanks to Marxism-Leninism and thanks to their own genuine endeavours, the CPI leaders began to get acquainted with the conditions of Indonesian society, with the peculiar features and laws of the Indonesian revolution.

In addition, the August Revolution taught the CPI that in a revolution, armed struggle is the most important form of struggle. In addition to depending very much upon the national front, the growth of the Party also depends very much upon armed struggle. The ebb and flow of the armed struggle has a great influence upon the ebb and flow of the united front and the Party.

A very important conclusion has been drawn by the Party and that is that, had the Party at that time seen the solution in a combination of the three forms of struggle—guerilla struggle in the villages (especially involving the peasants), revolutionary actions by the workers (especially the transport workers) in the towns occupied by the enemy, and intensive work within the ranks of the armed forces of the enemy —it would have been possible to spread and consolidate the guerilla war during the August 1945 Revolution, with the result that the August Revolution could have been completed in its entirety. The method of combining these three forms of struggle is extremely important; it is part of the theory of the Indonesian revolution, the theory of winning victory in a guerilla war in a country of islands such as Indonesia.

The experiences of the *fourth* period, the period of the national front and the upbuilding of the Party, were drawn up by the Fifth National Congress (1954). The Fifth National Congress decided that

the CPI today has two urgent tasks, the task of establishing the national front and the task of continuing to build the Party.

Concerning the national front, the Party drew the conclusion that two deviations must be resisted, the right deviation and the "left" deviation. The right deviation lies in giving exaggerated significance to unity with the national bourgeoisie while under-estimating the significance of the leadership of the working class and the significance of the alliance of workers and peasants. This is the danger of abandoning the independent character of the Party, the danger of merging it with the bourgeoisie. The "left" deviation, which must also be opposed, is sectarianism, the attitude of not placing importance on the united front whith the national bourgeoisie and not exerting all efforts to guard this united front.

In a situation where the compradore bourgeoisie relies upon different imperialisms, the Party can sharpen the contradictions within the ranks of the imperialists and their agents by deciding which imperialism is the enemy number one of the people and the Party. It is this enemy number one which must become the main target of the Party and its liquidation demanded.

The establishment of a united front with the national bourgeoisie opens up possibilities for the development and building of the Party and for the most immediate work of the Party, namely, the anti-feudal alliance of the workers and peasants. The building of the Party and the building of the alliance of the workers and peasants is the guarantee for proletarian leadership of the united national front.

In connection with the building of the Party, the Congress decided that, in order for the CPI to become a revolutionary Party of the Lenin type, its members must master Marxist-Leninist theory, it must expand the membership and organisation of the Party, it must wage a merciless struggle against the right and "left" opportunists, it must practise criticism and self-criticism, it must oppose subjectivism and unite closely with the masses by working for their everyday interests.

The Fifth National Congress gave the answer to all the important and basic problems of the Indonesian revolution. All these important and basic problems of the Indonesian revolution were later on explained in the Central Committee decision adopted in July, 1957, prepared in the form of an article entitled *Indonesian Society and the Indonesian Revolution*. This article clearly defines the basic targets and the tasks of the Indonesian revolution, the forces impelling it forward, its character and its perspectives.

Concerning the basic targets of the Indonesian revolution, it states that, since Indonesia is still a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, the targets are imperialism and feudalism. The tasks of the revolution are to carry out a national revolution to get rid of imperialism and to carry out a democratic revolution to put an end to the landlord system. The forces impelling the revolution forward are the workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and other democratic elements who are harmed by imperialism and who consistently oppose imperialism. Whereas the national bourgeoisie may take part in the revolution. The character or the nature of the revolution at the present stage is not proletarian socialist but national-democratic or bourgeois-democratic, whereas the perspective of the Indonesian revolution is Socialism and Communism and not capitalism. The article on *Indonesian Society and the Indonesian Revolution* contains a complete account of the theory of the CPI about the Indonesian revolution.

The Fifth National Congress of the CPI which answered all the important and basic problems of the Indonesian revolution and which formulated the theory of the CPI concerning the Indonesian revolution, is the clearest proof of all that the CPI has attained the period of maturity, a period which commenced with the publication, *The New Road for the Republic of Indonesia*, in August,

The conclusions of the Fifth National Congress were basically strengthened and developed by the Sixth National Congress which was held in September, 1959.

What, then, are our basic conclusions about the entire history and struggle of the CPI during these past forty years?

The first period (1920—1926) and the second period (1926—1945) and part of the third period, that is, up to 1948, were periods in which the Party was still at the stage of infancy. During these periods, the revolutionary activities and the spirit of struggle of the Party were very high, and this is why its standing in the eyes of the people was also very high. But even so, the Party was still at a stage of infancy because it had not had experience in three basic questions, the question of the united front, the question of the building of the Party and the question of armed struggle. The Party did not understand the historic circumstances and the situation of Indonesian society, the peculiarities of the Indonesian revolution and the laws of the Indonesian revolution, it did not yet master Marxist-Leninist theory. Under such circumstances, it was of course impossible for the Party to be able to lead the revolution that broke out in August 1945. The period of infancy came to an end with the *New Road* resolution in which the CPI drew conclusions, though not complete, of its experiences of the national front, of building the Party and of the armed struggle.

During its period of infancy, the CPI was loved by the people because of its courageous struggle, but the Party was not strengthened, persons entering the Party did not get the Marxist-Leninist education they required. No conclusions were drawn about the fairly good experiences gained. There were many active elements in the Party, but they were not made into the backbone of the Party. This was all because there was not yet enough experience, the revolutionary understanding was not deep enough, they did not master Marxism-Leninism so that, naturally, they were not able to combine the general principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution. This, then, was the first and second period, and part of the third period. This, then, was the CPI from 1920 up to the middle of 1948.

In the middle of the second period, that is, in 1948, the CPI began to approach maturity. The 1945—1948 Revolution gave many experiences and lessons to the CPI. The Party began to make some

progress in its understanding of the history and conditions of Indonesian society, the peculiarities of the Indonesian revolution and the laws of the Indonesian revolution. All this was because a beginning had been made to the regular study of Marxist-Leninist theory, and a beginning was made in studying how to weld the general truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution. But this understanding and consciousness came too late, that is to say, it came at a time when the CPI was no longer in the government, at a time when the government was led by the reactionary leader, Hatta, or in brief, at a time when the revolution was on the downturn; this meant that this understanding and consciousness was no longer able to lift the revolution out of a quagmire of bourgeois treachery. This was above all because the Party did not have a strong basis among the peasants after the national bourgeoisie betrayed the revolution with the Madiun Provocation, paving the way for the Dutch colonialists to occupy the Republic with military forces, all of this being a preparation for the treacherous Round Table Conference.

The 1945—1948 Revolution actually opened up great possibilities for the Party to become mature because it provided an opportunity for it to review and draw the conclusions of its experiences during the first and second periods, added to which was the fact that there were already enough theoretical books available by that time. But this did not happen because theoretical work did not get sufficient attention from the Party leadership and because of the complicated internal situation in the Party, there being three Marxist-Leninist parties at the time (the CPI, the Socialist Party and the Indonesian Workers Party), and the illegal CPI still continued to function. Since subjectivist ideology, that is, dogmatism and empiricism, still predominated during this period, the Party committed right and "left" mistakes which greatly harmed the growth of the Party and the revolutionary movement. This erroneous ideology led to the vanguard role of the CPI in the field of organisation being underestimated; the independent character of the Party was lost so that, to put the matter sharply, the Party was in actual fact liquidated at

that time. In the political field, the Party's policy underestimated the strength of the masses and exaggerated the strength of reaction; the working class and other working people did not get the necessary political education from the Party.

The Party Conference in August, 1948, settled account with this subjectivist ideology, with dogmatism and empiricism, with right and "left" opportunism. But, apparently, this was not done completely enough because it became clear that, when the Party was placed in a difficult situation as a result of the blows inflicted on it during the white terror, some members of the CC began to think about making a return to the situation as it had been prior to the *New Road* resolution. It was only at the CC plenum in October 1953 that this matter was finally settled, and the decisions of that meeting were endorsed by the Fifth National Congress of the Party in March, 1954. With that Congress, the Party, which had begun to attain maturity following the *New Road* resolution, became a fully mature Party because it had answered all the important and basic problems of the Indonesian revolution and had a complete understanding of the theory of the Indonesian revolution, a combination of the general truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution.

In connection with opposing dogmatism and empiricism, the Fifth National Congress of the Party stressed that, in order to strengthen the Party's ties with the masses and in order for the Party to be able continuously to develop itself, it was very important to develop a style of work that would distinguish the CPI from the bourgeois parties, that is, a style of work that can briefly be described as: *combining theory with practice, close ties with the masses of the people and carrying out self-criticism.* Only by combining theory with practice is it possible for the Party effectively and creatively to use the general truth of Marxism-Leninism to overcome the deviations of dogmatism and empiricism, and to discover and decide upon the correct way to defeat the enemy. In this connection, the Party raised a slogan of study and work: "*Know Marxism-Leninism and know the situation*".

Only by having close ties with the masses of the people can the Party lead the revolutionary struggle to defeat the enemies of the people. In this connection, the Party established the method of work: "*from the masses, back to the masses*". And only by practising self-criticism can the Party learn from past failures and mistakes, can it develop itself and can it always guard and strengthen its ties with the masses. A Party with such a style of work, with such special features, is the guarantee that the Indonesian people will attain final victory for their revolution.

The lesson that can be drawn from the above experiences and conclusions is the importance of revolutionary theory. Without theory, or with erroneous theory, a situation that is favourable for the growth of the Party and the revolutionary movement can become harmful to the Party and the revolutionary movement. But correct theory can save the Party in difficult circumstances, it can impell the revolutionary movement forward, step by step.

Since its foundation, the CPI has been led by the general principles of Marxism-Leninism. This has kept the Party in a position of superiority in all situations. But our own experiences show that it is not enough to be based upon existing general principles. There must be a combination between the general truth of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution. This bears out the correctness of the statement to the effect that, without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement, and without practice, theory is powerless. In order to win further successes, the Indonesian Communists must always think independently on the basis of the general truth of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution.

The CPI has put forward the theory, the correctness of which has already been proven, that there are at present three forces in Indonesia, namely, the progressive forces, the middle-of-the-road forces and the diehard forces.

The party's line towards these three forces is: to develop the progressive forces, to unite with the middle-of-the-road forces and to isolate

the diehard forces. In uniting with the middle-of-the-road forces, the Party also wages a struggle. The Party unites with the middle-of-the-road forces in the fight against imperialism and feudalism but it also struggles against them if they want to reduce the independence of the Party and of the working people's movement.

Our Party has set forth the theory that in armed struggle as was the case during the 1945—1948 Revolution, the Party should not imitate the theory of armed struggle abroad, but should carry out the method of combining the three forms of struggle. The 1945—1948 Revolution would have taken another course had the Party carried out this method.

Our Party has put forward the theory that, in order to win victory for the Indonesian revolution, Party members and the masses of the working people must be inspired by a combination of patriotism and proletarian internationalism. The Indonesian Communists must wage war against national nihilism and bourgeois chauvinism. The Indonesian revolution is not separated from the world proletarian revolution which was commenced by the Great Socialist October Revolution of 1917. The Indonesian revolution is part of the progressive forces of the world, part of the struggle of the peoples of the world for national independence, democracy and Socialism.

The Party has put forward the theory that, in order to lead political developments, the Party must pursue the general line: *continue to build the national front and continue to build the Party in order to complete the August 1945 Revolution in its entirety.* The Party's general line for building the national front is: *establish the anti-imperialist unity between the workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, based upon the anti-feudal alliance of the workers and peasants and led by the working class.* The Party's general line on the building of the Party is: *one that has a broad mass character and is spread out throughout the entire country, fully consolidated ideologically, politically and organisationally.*

These theories, drawn up by the Party are based on the general truth of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete practice of the Indo-

nesian revolution. We arrived at these basic conclusions as a result of the Party's lengthy experience obtained from the struggle of its heroic members, as a result of sacrifice of lives made by thousands of our comrades, and as a result of our perseverance of Marxism-Leninism. Let us go forward on this correct path of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution.

Under all circumstances, the CPI must be able to translate Marxism-Leninism, it must be able to indonesianise Marxism-Leninism, it must be able to discover the Indonesian style of applying Marxism-Leninism. This is indeed difficult work, it requires perseverance and hard work and we still have much to do in this connection, but it must without fail be done by the Indonesian Communists.

Let us continue to implement our tasks as theoreticians and practicians of the Indonesian revolution.

Having drawn the basic conclusions from the experiences of the CPI's struggle to complete the national-democratic revolution, it does not mean that the CPI's tasks for the revolution have been completed. This is not the case at all. The conclusions that have been drawn and the theories we have evolved about the Indonesian revolution must be practised, they must be developed in the course of implementation. It is in this connection that I shall now proceed to deal in my speech with some burning issues being faced by the Indonesian people today, issues that are related to the basic problems of the Indonesian revolution.

At the present time, the word "socialism" sells like hot cakes in our country. From government officials to national capitalists, from civilians to military persons, from school-children to former colonial officials, from the money-lenders to the landlords, in brief, everyone is talking with great facility about "socialism" or "socialism à la Indonesia". This is a sign of times, that the victory of Socialism throughout the world is not only certain but that it is already very close. If government authorities in non-socialist countries, if former colonial officials, money-lenders and landlords have become bold

enough to express agreement, is this not legalisation of and a moral victory for Socialism, the great aspiration of the workers?

History teaches us that before Socialism had become a reality in the world, there were very few people who were bold enough to state their agreement with it. But after one Socialist country, the Soviet Union, had been established, proof that Socialism could not be held back, many capitalists in western countries began to call themselves "socialists" and to say that they wanted to see "socialism" implemented. They tried to conceal their piles of capital with the cloak of socialism. And today, since the end of the Second World War, now that Socialism has been victorious in many countries, both in Europe and Asia, now that the Socialist system is proving itself day by day to be superior, we need not be surprised if even kings want to be friends with Socialism and if the share-holding politicians have to pay courtesy visits to the Socialist countries so as to win the votes of their backward workers in parliamentary or senate elections. We need not therefore be surprised, then, if in Indonesia the word "socialism" sells like hot cakes, especially now when the Indonesian people have themselves seen that, after fifteen years of our country being independent, the capitalist political and economic system has more and more been exposed as being quite unable to solve the basic problems being faced by the large majority of the Indonesian people.

Do we Communists object if many people talk about "socialism" or "socialism à la Indonesia"? Of course not. If people are bold enough to talk about Socialism this is an advance by comparison with not talking about it at all or abusing it. Should we not be afraid that some of these people are carrying out deceptions? The answer is again no, because today, Socialism is so concrete and so much a living force that deceptions can very easily be spotted. Socialism is no longer an abstract theory, it is something that is living vigorously and for the masses of the Indonesian people, too. Large numbers of the Indonesian people already know what Socialism means for having read about that in the newspapers and from reports of

journeys made abroad. So the people can not be deceived, especially now that there are already sufficiently large numbers of those who can explain Socialism to the people. As a matter of fact, we Communists feel that we should salute those leaders and intellectuals who have genuinely helped to spread the ideals of Socialism. To those who aim to deceive the people with „socialism" so as to divert the attention of the people from current difficulties and win the sympathy of the workers for an anti-workers policy, we must say that you are too late, because the consciousness of the working class and the other working people of Indonesia is today advanced enough to distinguish between Socialism and "socialism".

Today, there are some people who think that the CPI does not agree with "socialism à la Indonesia". They say that the CPI does indeed struggle for Socialism but not for "à la Indonesia". They say that the CPI has become panicky now that "à la Indonesia" has been stuck on to the end of "socialism". Have a taste of that, you CPI fellows, they say. To those gentlemen who want to see the CPI in a panic I should like to say that probably, even before you were born, and certainly before you were bold enough to talk about Socialism, the CPI and even the Marxist organisation that existed before the CPI, the PSDH, was courageously raising the banners of Socialism on Indonesian soil. It is the Communists who first raised the banner of Socialism on Indonesian soil, and it is the Communists who have combined the Indonesian working class movement with Socialism.

Yes, you gentlemen say that the CPI agrees with Socialism but does not agree to the addition "à la Indonesia". Before replying to this, I should first like to ask: what do you mean by "à la Indonesia"? Do you mean "feudalism", "bourgeoisie" or "petty bourgeoisie"? Does "socialism à la Indonesia" mean "feudal socialism", or "bourgeouis socialism" or "petty bourgeouis socialism"? If this is what you mean by "à la Indonesia", then we, who are faithful to the teachings of Marx, not only do not agree but we oppose it, as Marx and Engels opposed it more than one hundred

years ago in the Communist Party Manifesto. And moreover this is in contradiction with Bung Karno's aim "*to establish a society without nobility, without bourgeoisie, without classes and capitalism*" (Ir Sukarno in "*To Achieve an Independent Indonesia*", *1933*).

But if by "socialism à la Indonesia" you mean Socialism, real Socialism, that is, a society free from the exploitation of man by man, established in accordance with the conditions that exist in Indonesia, as is stated in the Political Manifesto of the Republic of Indonesia, 1959, then we not only have no objection but we categorically agree and, in fact, this is what we are fighting for, and for which many Communists have already given their lives. We Indonesian Communists, who are now making strenuous efforts to translate Marxism-Leninism, to indonesianise Marxism-Leninism to discover the Indonesian style in applying Marxism-Leninism on Indonesian soil, do indeed want to see Socialism established in conformity with Indonesian conditions. Were we not to do this, then we would be like the village idiot who cut his toes to make shoes that are too small for him fit.

But you gentlemen should not run away with the idea that we want to practice the theory of "grafting the foreign Marxist-Leninist tree" onto "Indonesian soil". A tree that could only grow in Europe's cold climate, for example, would definitely die if grafted and planted in Indonesia's tropical climate. What we are trying to do now is not to graft Marxism-Leninism but to combine the *universal* truth of Marxism-Leninism with the *concrete practice* of the Indonesian revolution. It is a universal tree, one that can grow everywhere in the world, that we want to combine with the Indonesian climate. So you see, gentlemen, something that is universal and again adjusted to the climate of our country. How could such a tree not grow, flourish, take root and bear fruit in Indonesia?

There may be some people who doubt the universality of Marxism-Leninism. There are no grounds whatsoever for these doubts because it has been proven in all the Socialist countries, where more than one-third of mankind are living, that Marxism-Leninism can be

applied. And so will you gentlemen wait for the whole world to become Socialist before you accept the universality of Marxism-Leninism? If so, once again, you will be too late.

The Communists would never plant something that could not grow in Indonesia. If we liken the CPI to a tree, then this tree that is now already forty years old, has not only grown but it has taken root, flourished and borne fruit. As a matter of fact, during these forty years, not a few trees, said to have been more "native" than the CPI, have died off, or are in a state of not wanting to live yet not wanting to die, or drifting along aimlessly but not yet completely submerged. People can shout "native" a thousand times but if that thing cannot flourish in Indonesian climate, it is as "native" as imitation gold. On the contrary, people may shout "not native" or "not national" a thousand times, but in actual fact, the CPI could flourish as a many-rooted banyan tree, reaching deep down into the earth, with strong and shady branches, a very good place for the people to take shelter. The CPI is more native than many things that claim to be "native" and "national" but yet cannot grow on Indonesian soil. It is not the "jabbering monkeys", the graduates from foreign espionage schools, trained as part of SEATO activities, that have the right to say whether something is native or not, whether it is national or not, but it is the Indonesian people, and in particular the creative working people.

Thus, if by "Socialism à la Indonesia" is meant genuine Socialism, that is, a society free from the exploitation of man by man, then this is what the CPI has been struggling for ever since its foundation forty years ago. The CPI interprets "Socialism à la Indonesia" thus, and this is why the CPI has agreed with it right from the start. Therefore, to those who have the same understanding the Communists make the call: Come, let us fight for these great ideals of mankind together.

There may be some persons who say: Yes, but the CPI wants a Socialist society that is led by the working class. This is not something that we want, gentlemen, it is a historical necessity if we really

want to create a Socialist society. No class struggles more consistently for a Socialist society than the working class because it is the working class that is most directly interested in a Socialist society to rid itself from the exploitation and oppression by capital. Apart from this, there is as yet no Socialist society in theory, or what's more in practice, that is led by the bourgeoisie or the feudal class. If so, then the CPI rejects President Sukarno's leadership of the Indonesian people at the present time, they accuse. In the first place, we reject this. In the second place, we speak not of the leadership of an individual but of class leadership. The individual that leads a Socialist society may originate from a class other than the working class but may accept the ideology of the working class and consistently recognize the leadership of the working class in creating a society in which exploitation of man by man no longer exists. Karl Marx did not originate from the working class, the more so Friedrich Engels, but they are the creators of the theory that Socialist society must be under the leadership of the working class and for this reason, they are the most outstanding leaders of the working class. Once again, we are talking not of the individual leadership but of class leadership, the working class.

But, gentlemen, we should like to take you to more practical things. Since "Socialism à la Indonesia" is a social system free from the exploitation of man by man, we think that it is not consistent for its followers not to direct all their attention in the first place to getting rid of the domination of the big foreign capitalists and the domination of the landlords that still hold sway in the villages. And it is even worse if there is a desire to strengthen the position of the big foreign capitalists and preserve the landlord system within the framework of implementing "Socialism à la Indonesia". If this is what is done, then this is demagogy, deception, because while pronouncing Socialism it is capitalism and feudalism that is being practiced. Since we Communists oppose demagogy and deception, we have to say calmly but firmly: Socialism is indeed what we want, but real Socialism cannot be united with the power of big

foreign capitalists and the power of the landlords, still holding sway in the villages of our country.

This is why, precisely in order to attain Socialism at some time in the future, we must spearhead our struggle today against the most immediate and the most criminal enemies; *firstly*, against imperialism, of which the big foreign capitalists are the concrete realisation, and *secondly*, against feudalism, of which the landlords who are exploiting millions of our peasants are the concrete realisation. In other words, we must thoroughly complete the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, complete the national and democratic revolution, as the "gateway" to enter into a Socialist society.

If we know that there is a gateway leading into Socialist society, we must open that gateway. If we already know that we must go through the gateway, it is a mistake for persons who want to achieve a Socialist society to break down the walls, to break through the roofs or to get in through the windows. This is the same mistake as is being made by those who take up a position of hostility toward the workers because the workers fight for better conditions, who take up a position of hostility toward the peasants because, so they say, the peasants "seize other people's lands", who take strong measures against the small and middle merchants and industrialists while at the same time leaving the Unilever, the BPM, Caltex, Stanvac and the other big capitalist enterprises in full power, and keeping the peasants at the same time in a state of mediaeval backwardness, oppressed and exploited by the landlords. The workers, the peasants, the small and middle merchants and industrialists are revolutionary forces that have to be united to oppose the enemies of the revolution, the big foreign capitalists and landlords, and to open up the gateway to Socialism.

In short, we must complete our revolution, a revolution that is national and democratic in character. Only by doing this can we mobilise the national forces as many and as large as possible, and can we bring the enemies of the revolution to their knees and open up the gateway and straighten out the road leading to

Socialism in our country. But on the other hand, if this is not done, don't be angry if the people call it deception. And what other conclusion can they be expected to come to? People shout and scream about Socialism but the real intention is only to divert the attention of the people from the current difficulties, difficulties that are brought about by the big foreign capitalists and the landlords together with their agents who spread disorder in the field of economic affairs, who poison the morals of the people, who carry out counter-revolutionary rebellions and subversive activities. Having big foreign capitalist enterprises in our country means that the country of origin of this capital intervenes in our internal affairs. In order to facilitate exploitation, it is in their interest to increase the reactionary forces in our country. There is no need to debate all this; anyone who can think clearly will understand.

To talk about Socialism is a joke and deception of the people if action is not taken to completely eliminate the influences of imperialism and feudalism in economic, political, social and cultural affairs. To talk about Socialism is a joke and deception of the people if bitter resistance is not put up against the leader of world imperialism, the US imperialists, who are today the most dangerous enemy of the people throughout the world, including the Indonesian people. To talk about Socialism is a joke and deception of the people if the insolence of the Dutch colonialists, who are now continuously strengthening themselves in West Irian, is not bitterly resisted. To talk about Socialism is a joke and deception of the people if resistance is not put up against the "Democratic League", which is constantly attacking President Sukarno's policy, a policy that is advantageous to the people, which is disseminating a policy of splitting the national potentials, which is creating conflicts and provocations. The "Democratic League", the league of the Masjumi and the PSI who have been kicked out of Parliament, is only two months old, but the people can already see quite clearly that their policy is quite the same as the policy of the American and Dutch imperialists.

This is why all patriotic forces, and in particular those forces that agree with Socialism, must work harmoniously together and wage a militant struggle to defeat the Dutch and the policy of the Americans, to defeat their agents who are spreading disorder in our country, and must, further, destroy everything that provides the basis for these reactionary political forces, that is, the big foreign capitalists and the landlord system. This is the only correct way to Socialism, in conformity with conditions in Indonesia.

The forty years of the CPI are the clearest evidence of the correctness of the party system for the Indonesian people. This is further borne out by the fact the nationalist parties and parties based on religion have been in existence for tens of years. Were the party system not an objective need of the people, were it not supported by the people, parties would not live for such a long time.

According to the present-day structure of Indonesian society, the Indonesian people are divided up into classes and groups, such as the working class, the peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. And, too, there are some Indonesian inhabitants who cannot generally be properly referred to as people, namely, the compradores and the landlord class. In addition, the Indonesian people are divided up into various religions and political convictions.

In addition to economic organisations, each class and group also requires a political organisation, a party to struggle for its interests.

As long as the structure of society remains as it is today, that is, as long as it is still divided into classes and groups, it will be essential to have political parties for each class or group. Collaboration and conflicts between the parties reflect the collaboration and conflicts between the various classes and groups in society. This is the conclusion we arrive at if we think according to history and science.

The Indonesian working class has established the fact, in accordance with theory and in accordance with fact, that its economic

organisation is the trade unions and that its political organisation is the CPI. The CPI has been guided and defended by the working class and the other working people during the last forty years. The other classes and groups have formed their own economic and political organisations. The compradores and the landlords also have their own economic organisation and political organisation. As long as a thorough-going people's power has not yet been established, the compradore and landlord parties will continue to exist. This means that the compradore and landlord parties, such as the Masjumi and the PSI, will continue to exist so long as the compradore class and the landlord class continue to exist and are regarded as legal.

The Indonesian people's struggle during the last fifty years or so shows that the political parties are a very effective weapon. Through these parties and through the collaboration between the parties, the people of various classes and groups have united themselves and strengthened their political position. Scared of the people's unity and the growing strength of their political position, all reactionary forces, from the Dutch colonialists and the Japanese militarists to the Indonesian fascist elements, have desired above all else to dissolve the parties, to disarm the people.

It would not have been possible for Indonesia to achieve independence in 1945 if, during the Dutch colonial times, there had been no political parties and if, during the Japanese occupation, party activities had not continued, though underground. Only shameless individuals, the ignoramuses and diehards, refuse to recognise the extremely positive role of the parties during the colonial era. Only those individuals who do not understand the essence of the struggle of the Indonesian people believe that party activities ceased with the ban of the Dutch colonial government and the ban of the Japanese militarists. Those individuals who refuse to recognise the extremely positive role played by the parties in former colonial times are the very same persons as those who do not want to recognise the sacrifices made by party members and followers who were

murdered on the gallows, who were shot, exiled to Digul, to Flores, who were forced to go abroad, imprisoned, and who suffered poverty and hardship because they were being hunted down by the colonialists. No less a person than President Sukarno himself, when describing the sufferings of the people, frequently reminds the people and in particular the youth of Indonesia of the sacrifices made and the sufferings borne by people of the various parties that struggled for national independence and for a just and prosperous society.

There are some persons who would like to cut history off and say: Yes, indeed, formerly, the parties had a positive role to play, but today this is not the case. Today, the parties are centres of corruption, of "position-seekers", they say. Were the persons who say such things not themselves corrupt and not themselves "position-seekers", there might be some point in considering this opinion. But those who say so are generally just the very persons who are corrupt and who are "position-seekers". The people who are not corrupt and do not seek position never say such things. The individuals try to create the impression that "non-party" persons are not corrupt, that they are not "position-seekers". It is just as if, prior to the time that the present-day parties existed, there was no corruption, no position-seeking. In actual fact, it is precisely the "non-party" individuals who began with corruption and "position-seeking" long before the history of the parties began.

It is not correct to say that, since Indonesia became independent, the parties have had no positive role to play. The parties reflecting the people's interests are centres of activity to raise the political consciousness of the people against imperialism, to give democratic education to the people, to raise the national consciousness of the people, to increase their consciousness of the unity of the nation and of the Republic of Indonesia. Were it not for the parties that have long standing traditions with central leaderships that are respected by their members who are spread throughout the length and breadth of the country, parties that defend the unified Republic, who knows how many republics our Indonesia would now be divided

into, at the time criminal attacks were launched a few years ago by the "private councils" separatist movement which subsequently became the RGRI Permesta. Hundreds of party members and followers have been tortured, murdered and burned alive by the counter-revolutionary rebels. Is this what is meant by having no positive role to play? I should only like to ask: what, gentlemen, has become of your brains and feelings if you ever had any in the first place? No-one can deny that the parties which have followers throughout the country and that defend the unified Republic are the cement of the unitarian Republic of Indonesia.

Of course, there will be some persons who say: yes, but the Masjumi and the PSI were the forces behind the "RGRI-Permesta". This is quite true. But it is also true that they became daring enough to carry out a rebellion because there were such "non-party" individuals as Ahmad Husein, M. Simbolon, V. Sumual and others Had there not been such persons, in control of armed forces, they would never have dared to rebel; they could not possibly have done such a thing with their bare fists. It is therefore incorrect to blame the party system for this.

Does this mean that the CPI is defending the Masjumi and the PSI? We have no interest in defending these two parties: what we are defending is the party system. If the Government is courageous enough to withdraw the rights of these parties to exist, we would not only not obstruct such a measure; we would agree to it and support it. There are strong grounds for doing so because these parties support the anti-Republic rebellion, and in those regions where they are in power, not only are republicans prohibited from having parties, but not a few of them are even murdered.

But besides banning these parties that support the counter-revolutionary rebellion, what is even more important is to destroy the source of these parties, to destroy their social basis, namely the imperialists the concrete form of which is the large foreign capitalists operating in Indonesia, and the landlords. As long as these sources, imperialism and feudalism, have not disappeared, the Masjumi

and PSI will continue to exist, perhaps with different names or perhaps the compradores and landlords or their agents will join legal parties and make them the centre of their activities which would mean in essence these parties becoming the new Masjumi and PSI. Therefore, the most important thing is to destroy the sources of these parties, imperialism and feudalism. Once this has been done, there will no longer be any basis for the existence of reactionary parties. And this explains, too, why the reactionary parties oppose the struggle against imperialism and feudalism. The success of this struggle will mean that they will have lost their basis, that they will have lost their right to live.

Political developments in our country during the recent period, especially since the Tampaksiring negotiations in March last, have been marked by two forms of bankruptcy:

Firstly, the further bankruptcy of the diehards who are now more isolated because of their consistent support for the counter-revolutionaries. The establishment of the completely undemocratic "Democratic League" is not something that will save them from bankruptcy and this is because their activities are not directed towards strengthening the unity of the people in the struggle against imperialism. The "Democratic League" is a "private council" in new clothing. As was the case with the "Banteng council", the "Garuda council", the "Permesta", and so on, the "Democratic League" wants above all to wipe out the Communists, to wipe out the forces that consistently oppose imperialism. The practices of the "Democratic League" which consist of never-ending attacks upon the policies being pursued by President Sukarno, in particular, the Gotong Royong Parliament and the National Front, testify to the fact that they can no longer control themselves.

The "Democratic League" has only needed two months to expose itself completely as the continuator of the "private councils", in preparation for a second wave of counter-revolutionary "RGRI—Permesta" activity. They say that the danger comes not from Paris

(the failure of the summit meeting) nor from West Irian, but from Kramat (the office of the Central Committee of the CPI). This is a cunning trick of theirs, the aim being to make the Indonesian people relax their watch, to make them cease to be vigilant of the American imperialists who were the cause of the failure of the Summit Conference and of the Dutch imperialists who are today strengthening their positions in West Irian. They have torn off their mask, and their fangs are now visible for all to see, even though these fangs are not strong as those of a wild boar. It is not the "Democratic League" that is democratic but the struggle against the "Democratic League". To resist the "Democratic League" is to resist the imperialist forces and their compradores who wear the mask of anti-Communism; and this is the foremost form of the struggle for democracy in our country.

The diehards want to repeat what happened in 1948—that is, smashing the Communists by means of a provocation—so as to open the door for the Dutch army to attack the Republic; the Dutch are indeed ready with larger forces than normal in West Irian, the idea of course being to end the matter with another Round Table Conference. In all seriousness, I must warn the Indonesian people not to stop heightening their vigilance for a single moment. If the diehards want to go bankrupt, let them; but the Republic of Indonesia must not be allowed to go bankrupt because of what they do.

Secondly, the bankruptcy of the outlook of those who oppose the party system. The Tampaksiring negotiations strengthened the party system, a thing which the Indonesian people did indeed need. But I should also like to warn the Indonesian people in all seriousness that the ideas about eliminating the party system are still by no means dead. Some anti-democratic and anti-people's political adventurers are still thinking first and foremost about utilising the National Front now in preparation to "put an end to the parties and groups". It is the responsibility of the entire Indonesian people to support and strengthen the National Front, but it is also their responsibility to make sure that the National Front continues to

be a meetingplace, a place for collaboration between the various classes and groups, between the various parties, organisations and individuals that are anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, and that are for a fully independent and democratic Indonesia as the gateway to a Socialist society, in harmony with the conditions existing in Indonesia.

The National Front is not a political party, it is not a class organisation; it is a co-operation body of various classes, various groups and various revolutionary and democratic political trends. Every lover of national unity must become a resolute fighter for the broadening of democratic rights because it is only possible to unite the people if they are given the broadest possible rights to organise and assemble and to carry out various kinds of manifestations. To talk about people's unity and yet to prohibit the people from organising and assembling and from carrying out manifestations is the same thing as telling a small child to grow up but not giving it anything to eat.

The idea of "puting an end to the parties and groups" by means of the National Front is a deviation from the real purpose of the National Front and, because of this, if an attempt is made to force this through, it will definitely meet with the opposition of the people just in the same way as the people oppose everything the adventurers do. The people will not allow this to happen, because if the adventurers were to succeed, then the aims of the "non-party" person to make a party by means of trampling upon and in essence putting an end to the National Front, would be achieved. The fascists and adventurers may indeed succeed in putting an end to the National Front, but modern Indonesian history has proved that it is not possible to put an end to the parties so long as Indonesian society is still class society.

The bankruptcy of the diehards and the bankruptcy of their idea to oppose the party system is not something to be bemoaned. Only those individuals whose way of thinking is bankrupt will bemoan the bankruptcy of something that should indeed be bankrupt.

However difficult is the road which the Indonesian people have to take, it is a road that leads to victory. This is proven by the fact that the reactionaries are resorting more and more to intrigues and intimidation, unable as they are to prevent the growth of the progressive forces, unable as they are to prevent the growing unity of the progressive forces with the middle-of-the-road forces, and unable as they are to prevent the growing isolation of the diehard forces. The process of growth of the progressive forces, their growing unity with the middle-of-the-road forces, and the deteriorating position of the diehard forces continues. This is a process that is favourable to the Indonesian people. And therefore it is the responsibility of the CPI to speed up this process by means of more faithfully and more actively implementing the general line of the Party, namely: *continuously to build the national front and to continue to build the Party so as to complete the demands of the August 1945 Revolution in their entirety.*

There can no longer be any doubt that political developments and the path of modern Indonesian history will be determined to a great extent by this brilliant general line.

Long live the general line of the Party, the line leading to the victory of the Indonesian people over imperialism and feudalism!

Long live the national unity of the Indonesian people, the guarantee of victory over the anti-unity and anti-democratic diehards!

Long live the CPI, the tireless fighter against the enemies of the people, in defence of the Republic of Indonesia, for complete national independence, democracy, peace and Socialism!

Long live Marxism-Leninism, the invincible banners of truth that go on winning one victory after another!

LENIN AND INDONESIA

We are meeting together this evening to celebrate the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birthday. The birthday of this great leader is celebrated by progressive mankind throughout the world in a spirit of deep respect and gratitude, in a spirit of determination to learn more from him, from his writings and from his outstanding characteristics as a man and as a leader.

I think it would be no mistake to say that there still are ignoramuses in our country who will say: "Just look at the Communists, celebrating the birthday of a foreign leader." Yes, we can be certain that some people will say that if we take into account that, as part of the cold war, the imperialists have, within limits, succeeded in spreading chauvinism and racialism among certain sections of our people.

But does the fact that these ignoramuses say such things, that they spread such insinuations, does the fact that there has been an increase in chauvinism and racialism among certain sections of our people, mean that we progressives must retreat, that we must stand by and allow this spirit to grow into fascist banditism? No, not at all! We must resist it, and we must be conscious of the fact that the awakening of a spirit of chauvinism and racialism is a sign of the further bankruptcy of the reactionaries. They are no longer capable of concealing their bankruptcy with sweet words, such as "broad nationalism" and "humanitarian nationalism".

The racialism now running riot in the Union of South Africa is not proof of the strength of the reactionaries in that country. The hounding down and massacre of coloured people in that country is a demonstration of the shaky position in which the reactionaries

there are placed in view of the upsurge of the revolutionary democratic movement in South Africa. Chauvinism and racialism are the weapons of a reactionary political clique that is desperate, that is beside itself with rage and thrown into complete confusion by the advances achieved by the revolutionary masses of the people.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, just like the Prophet Mohammed, Jesus Christ, Confucius and Buddha Gautama, was not an Indonesian. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was not a prophet; he was a Marxist who resolutely and militantly took forward the work of Marx in his own era. Like Marx, Lenin not only tried to understand the world and society, but he also tried to change it. In one-sixth of the world's surface, the Soviet Union as we know it today, Lenin succeeded in changing a ruinous feudal and capitalist society into a Socialist society. By so doing, Lenin succeeded at the same time in proving that it was possible to change a capitalist society into a Socialist society. This strengthened the belief in the possibility of changing the Eastern world, where the people still live in mediaeval conditions, into an East that is free of a cruel and vicious Europe, that is marching towards a new, happy life.

Vladimir Ilyich was born on April 22nd, 1870 in the town of Simbirsk, now called Ulyanovsk. His father, Ilya Nikolayevich Ulyanov, was a school-master and later became director of a public school. After completing his studies at high school, Lenin continued his studies at the Faculty of Law, and in 1891 he obtained his law degree with honours. From the time of his student days, Lenin was active in political affairs. In view of his profound knowledge of Marxism, he was recognised by the Russian Marxists as their leader and he won great sympathy from the politically advanced workers.

Lenin was the great organiser and leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the founder of the Soviet Socialist State, a state of a new type which came into existence as the result of the success of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917. But this does not mean that the ideological heritage of Lenin, his writings, are only useful for the people of the Soviet Union. No, Leninism

is not something special for Russia or for the Soviet Union; it is as universal as Marxism.

Leninism is simply Marxism in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular.

Marx and Engels carried out their activitites at a time before imperialism had developed, at a time before the proletarian revolution had become an immediate, practical necessity. But Lenin, the pupil of Marx and Engels, carried out his activities at a time when imperialism had already developed, in the period of the proletarian revolution, when the proletarian revolution was victorious in one country, when it smashed bourgeois democracy, and entered the era of proletarian democracy. Lenin is the Marx of this period. Leninism is the Marxism of this period.

This clearly reveals the falseness and deception of those who speak about "outmoded Marxism". Because of his creativeness, Lenin succeeded in keeping Marxism fresh even though Marx himself did not live in a period in which imperialism had already developed and in which the proletarian revolution had become a pressing need and a reality. History has already proved, and continues to prove, that it is not Marxism that is outmoded; what is outmoded is the idea that Marxism is outmoded.

Today, we Communists, and the other progressive people now have the broadest opportunity to know Lenin from his writings, which are now easily available in the book-shops and libraries. We Communists are not persons who think that, in defining policies, it is enough for us to read the progressive, middle-of-the-road and right-wing press. We have a sense of great responsibility compelling us to arm ourselves with revolutionary theories and with a profound knowledge of the situation which we are facing, as the indispensable condition if we want to work out correct policies which are beneficial to the people, to our motherland and to mankind. The writings of Lenin are the most important source enabling us to draw upon revolutionary

theories which we can use creatively to win victory for the Indonesian revolution, so as to serve our people and to serve mankind better.

Let us become acquainted with some of Lenin's writings.

In his book, "*Who Are the Friends of the People*", and "*How They Oppose the Social-Democrats*", written in 1894, he clearly exposed who are the enemies of the people. In this work Lenin also set forth his idea on the revolutionary alliance of the working class and the peasants as the basic weapon to overthrow the power of the tsar, the landlords and the bourgeoisie.

In his book, "*What Is To Be Done*" written in 1902, Lenin drew up a concrete organisational plan for building a Marxist Party of the working class. In this book, Lenin ruthlessly exposed the 'economism' theory and the ideology of opportunism, tailism and spontaneity. He stresses the paramount importance of theory, of consciousness and of the Party as the leading force of the working class. The Marxist Party, Lenin wrote, is the unification of the working class and Socialism. In this book, Lenin clearly explains the ideological foundations of the Marxist Party.

In the book, "*One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*", which was written in 1904, Lenin for the first time in the history of Marxism, developed teachings about the Party as the leading organisation of the proletariat, as the most important weapon of the proletariat without which victory cannot be achieved. In this book, Lenin set forth the organisational foundations of the Marxist Party.

In "*Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*", written in 1905, Lenin presented a new line on the question of the relationship between the bourgeois democratic revolution and the Socialist revolution, he set forth a new theory on mobilising forces around the proletariat, on concluding the bourgeois revolution and passing over directly to the Socialist revolution, the theory of the bourgeois democratic revolution *passing over* to the Socialist revolution. This book already contains the fundamental elements of Lenin's theory on the possibility of Socialist victory in one country, with capitalism in power in all other countries. This book enriches Marx-

ism with a new theory about the revolution and lays the foundation for the revolutionary tactics of the Bolshevik Party which, with the assistance of the Russian proletariat, achieved victory over capitalism in 1917.

In "*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*", written in 1916, Lenin made a Marxist analysis, backed up by facts on imperialism, and showed that imperialism is the last stage of capitalism, that imperialism is capitalism advancing towards its destruction, moribund capitalism, that imperialism is the eve of the Socialist revolution. In this book, Lenin developed and completed his theory on the possibility of the victory of Socialism in one single country. This puts an end for ever to the theory that Socialism can only be victorious if revolutions take place simultaneously in all countries.

In the "*April Theses*", which were written in 1917, Lenin draws up a brilliant programme of struggle of the Bolshevik Party for passing over from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the Socialist revolution. With this programme of struggle, the Russian working class, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and Lenin, succeeded in winning victory for the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917.

In his book, "*State and Revolution*", written in 1917, Lenin laid bare the bourgeois core of the standpoints taken by the opportunists and anarchists on the question of the state and revolution. Lenin revived and further developed Marxist theory concerning the state, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and concerning Socialism and Communism.

In his book, "*Urgent Tasks of the Soviet Government*", written in 1918, Lenin dealt with the basic problems of socialist construction, calculation and control in the national economy, the new socialist relations of production, strengthening work discipline, developing socialist competition, the consolidation and development of proletarian power, the alliance of the working class and the peasants, and the development of proletarian democracy.

In his book, "'*Left-wing*' *Communism: An Infantile Disorder*", written in 1920, Lenin clearly established the international significance of the Russian Revolution, he dealt with the questions of powerful

centralisation and extremely strict discipline of the proletariat as one of the most basic of all conditions for victory over the bourgeoisie, of the importance of learning from revolutionary experiences, of the importance of opposing revolutionarism of the petty-bourgeoisie. In this book, Lenin concentrated his attack upon the 'left wing' in the world Communist movement. In popular style, he described the strategy and tactics of the Marxists. In my opinion, this book stands out as one that has helped the most in turning many Communist Parties into genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties.

This brief review has helped us to become acquainted with some of the works of Lenin written prior to and immediately after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917. From the books I have mentioned just now, we can study Lenin's theory about the revolutionary alliance of the working class and the peasants, we can know what the ideological and organisational foundations of the Marxist Party are, the theory about the direct transition from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the Socialist revolution, about the possibility of victory of Socialism in one country, about the state, about the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, about the construction of Socialism, the consolidation and development of the proletariat as well as the development of proletarian democracy.

But we should also be aware of the fact that Lenin's works have not only greatly enriched the treasury of the social sciences, philosophy, political economy, sociology and others. Lenin has also made many contributions to the development of the natural sciences.

In his book "*Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*", written in 1908, as a criticism of reactionary philosophy, Lenin gave a philosophical interpretation of the natural sciences and outlined all aspects of its future. He wrote this book after the failure of the 1905—7 Revolution in Russia, in a situation when the reactionaries were launching violent attacks upon the working class and were at the same time carrying out ideological attacks against Marxism, saying that Marxism was "out of date". Some intellectuals in the Party were influ-

enced by the ideological propaganda of the reactionaries. "*Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*" was written by Lenin to oppose those persons both inside and outside the Party who said that Marxism was "out of date".

Lenin showed that the theory of these persons who declared Marxism to be "out of date" was in fact copied from *George Berkeley* (1684—1753), the Irish philosopher, who taught that material things did not in fact exist and that nothing existed except the sensations in our minds; it was copied from the German philosopher, *Immanuel Kant* (1724—1804) who taught that we could not have any knowledge of "things in themselves", unknown and mysterious things; and it was copied from the Austrian scholar and philosopher, *Ernst Mach* (1838—1916), who taught that bodies were nothing but "combinations of sensations". Lenin maintained that only a materialist philosopher was capable of taking science rapidly forward. The truth of this conclusion of Lenin's has been, is being and will continue to be corroborated by events.

The secret of advances achieved by science in the Soviet Union lies first and foremost in the fact that Soviet scholars are inspired by the ideas of Lenin. The sputniks, the multi-stage rockets, the photos taken of the invisible side of the moon, and other advances achieved by the Soviet Union in the field of science and technology, have been inspired by Lenin. Lenin has played an extremely important part not only in transforming the old society into a new society but also transforming nature into being useful, into being more and more useful to mankind.

This in brief is something about Lenin, the transformer of society and the transformer of nature.

N. Gorbunev, a close acquaintance of Lenin's wrote that "*the most striking thing about Lenin's all-round mind was his ability to follow closely, even without leaving his office, the living heartbeats not only in Russia but throughout the whole world. He had the ability, to grasp things that other people did not see, and correctly and quickly to know about the minutest changes in the balance of class forces*". Lenin could do all this not because he was a "fortune-teller" but because he always maintained relations

with many organisations and individuals, because he had a correct world outlook and a strong will.

There must surely be persons among the audience who will ask: what, then, did Lenin know about Indonesia, about us. Yes, this is what I would like to talk about for the remainder of my speech.

Lenin was well-informed about Indonesia. Many people do not realise this. In order to know somehing about the practices of colonialism in Indonesia, he read among other things Multatuli's "*Max Havelaar*", a book which does indeed very sharply and in great detail expose the barbarism of colonial life in Indonesia. When he was preparing his book "*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*", which was written in 1916, Lenin re-read Multatuli's book. But do not run away with the idea that Lenin first got to know about Indonesia in 1916. In 1916, Lenin not only knew Indonesia but he also sharply condemned the Dutch social-democrats for not agreeing to the principle of the self-determination of nations, and he demanded that Indonesia be freed from the Dutch.

Lenin was well-acquainted with Indonesia in 1913, at a time when many of us living now had not yet been born, or if we had already been born, we did not yet understand about what we now call the "struggle for national independence", something which Lenin understood very well already at that time.

A short article by Lenin published in the "*Pravda*" of May 7 th 1913 entitled "*The Awakening of Asia*" has revealed a very important thing, the close relations existing between this great leader and Indonesia and Asia. In this article, only two pages of a book, Lenin explained that after the 1905 movement in Russia, the democratic movement had spread to the whole of Asia.

"A significant development", Lenin wrote, "is the spread of the revolutionary democratic movement to the Dutch Indies, to Java and the other Dutch colonies with their population of some 40 million."

The revolutionary democratic movement in Indonesia, according to Lenin, was carried forward *firstly* by the popular masses among whom had arisen an Islamic nationalist movement; *secondly*, by an

intelligentsia brought into being by the development of capitalism, and *thirdly*, by the fairly large Chinese population in Java and the other islands, which had brought over the revolutionary movement from China.

What Lenin wrote is absolutely correct. Indeed, at the beginning of the 20th century the Indonesian people began to organise themselves in trade unions, among which was the *VSTP* (Union of Railway and Tram Employees, founded in 1908), and in a political organisation, the *Serikat Islam* (Islamic Union, founded in 1912) which was joined by broad revolutionary masses down to the villages. The VSTP and the Serikat Islam, in their further development, became the foremost centres of activity of the Marxists who were affiliated to the *ISDV* (Indies Social Democratic Union, founded in 1914). The VSTP and the left wing of the Serikat Islam subsequently grew into an organised mass that stood solidly behind the Marxists, behind the ISDV which in 1920 changed its name in the *Indies Communist Union* and which later on became the *Communist Party of Indonesia*. Hence, Lenin was absolutely correct when he wrote in 1913 that in Indonesia the popular masses had begun to take an active part in the revolutionary democratic movement.

The development of imperialist capitalism in Indonesia, especially towards the end of the century, necessitated the existence of a number of intellectuals from among the Indonesians to work in the offices of the colonial government, and in commercial foreign plantation offices at wages lower than the wages that had to be paid to the personnel imported from Europe. A part of this intelligentsia studied the struggle for independence of other nations. They began to be conscious of the lot of their people which was not on par with the other peoples, humiliated and downtrodden by the colonialists. These conscious intellectuals were represented, amongst others, by national figures such as Dr. Wahidin Sudirohusodo, Dr. Abdul Rivai, Raden Adjeng Kartini, Dr. Tjipto Mangunkusumo, Dr. G.S.S. I. Ratulangi, Ki Hadjar Dewantoro, Douwes Dekker. Because of this awareness and the desire to live on an equal footing with other

nations, they organised themselves, at first into organisations with vague political goals like the *Budi Utomo* (founded in 1908), and later on in organisations with increasingly clear aims for an independent Indonesia, such as the *Indische Party* (Indies Party) which was founded in 1913 under the leadership of Ki Hadjar Dewantoro, Tjipto Mangunkusumo and Douwes Dekker. Most progressives from among the Indonesian intelligentsia joined the ISDV, the first organisation of Marxists in Indonesia in which Dutch and Indonesian Marxist intellectuals were organised. Thus Lenin was absolutely correct when he wrote in his article of 1913 that the intelligentsia in Indonesia, too, took part in the struggle of the revolutionary democratic movement.

It is an undeniable fact that the Chinese democratic revolution, under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat Sen in 1911, influenced a section of the Chinese living in Indonesia and changed their attitude from one of passivity to one of active concern for political problems, and had convinced them of the correctness of the Indonesian liberation movement. It is not by accident that a not inconsiderable number of Chinese helped the nationalist movement and progressive movement, some secretly, others openly. It is not by accident that many leaders of the liberation movement, including the late Dr. Tjipto Mangunkusumo, had many faithful friends among the Chinese. It is not accidental that at the time the Japanese militarists were making preparations to occupy Indonesia, the "*Indonesian Chinese Party*" closely linked hands with the *Gerindo* party (Movement of the Indonesian people) and other democratic parties in carrying out a campaign against Japanese militarism and in defence of democracy. It is only the chauvinists and those who do not seriously study the history of the struggle of the Indonesian people who have the audacity to say that the Chinese in Indonesia never played a positive role in the independence struggle of the Indonesian people. Hence, what Lenin wrote about the role of the Chinese in the revolutionary democratic movement in Indonesia is absolutely correct.

One of the typical developments of the pre-revolutionary period

in Indonesia, Lenin wrote, was the amazing speed with which political parties and unions were being founded. Indeed the beginning of the 20th century in Indonesia is marked by the rapid emergence of parties and mass organisations, and the Indonesian people became familiar with mass rallies where they heard speeches opposing colonialism. This fact exerted great influence on subsequent developments. Carrying out party and organisational life along revolutionary lines has long standing traditions in Indonesia and this fact helped to frustrate the efforts of the Japanese militarists to suppress the activities of parties and popular organisations during their occupation of Indonesia in the Second World War; this fact also made it impossible for any reactionary force to destroy the democratic movement in Indonesia.

Lenin arrived at the conclusion that "*World capitalism and the 1905 movement in Russia have finally awakened Asia. Hundreds of millions of the downtrodden and benighted have awakened from mediaeval stagnation to a new life and are rising to fight for elementary human rights and democracy*". Indonesia not only constituted one of the proofs of the truth of Lenin's conclusion, but also contributed material which led Lenin to arrive at this conclusion.

Lenin also said that the powerful growth of the liberation movement was followed with interest and inspiration by the workers of the advanced countries. And the bourgeoisie of Europe, fearing the might of the labour movement, looked for assistance from the forces of reaction, militarism, clericalism and obscurantism. "*But*", Lenin said, "*the proletariat of the European countries and the young democracy of Asia, fully confident of its strength and with abiding faith in the masses, are advancing to take the place of this decadent and moribund bourgeoisie*".

It was extremely correct and very inspiring that Lenin concluded his article with the sentence: "*The awakening of Asia and the beginning of the struggle for power by the advanced proletariat of Europe are a symbol of the new phase in world history that began early this century.*"

Eleven days later, on May 18 th, 1913, another article by Lenin appeared in the "Pravda" entitled "*Backward Europe and Advanced*

Asia". In this article Lenin wrote, amongst other things, that "*Advanced Europe is commanded by a bourgeoisie which supports everything that is backward*" and "*In advanced Europe, the sole advanced class is the proletariat. The living bourgeoisie, on the other hand, is prepared to go to any length of savagery, brutality and crime in order to preserve perishing capitalist slavery*". Concluding this article, Lenin stated the conviction that the hundreds of millions of toilers in Asia have a reliable ally in the proletariat of all the civilized countries. "*No force on earth can prevent its victory, which will liberate both the peoples of Europe and the peoples of Asia.*"

If Lenin in 1913 wrote some articles about Indonesia and Asia then this is not something accidental but is a result of a thorough study on imperialism and the national question. In the years 1913—1914 Lenin finished a Marxist programme on the national question which he expounded in his writings "*Critical Remarks on the National Question*" (1913) and "*On the right of nations to self-determination*" (1914).

Lenin is the champion of the liberation of colonial countries and all peoples treated unequally. To Lenin, the liberation of colonial countries is the action of nations to self-determination. Lenin is a strong adversary of the social-democrats who oppose the right of self-determination. In one of his articles written in 1916 Lenin clearly states: "*We agree to the Indies becoming free from Holland and the Dutch Social-Democrats should do so as well.*"

Lenin had a clear conception of and a consistent view about what is called "the right to self-determination". On this subject he wrote among other things: "*If we want to grasp the meaning of self-determination of nations not by juggling with legal definitions, or 'inventing' abstract definitions, but by examining the historical and economic conditions of the national movements, we shall be bound to conclude that self-determination of nations means their political separation from alien national bodies, the formation of independent national states.*" (Lenin: "*The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*"). Lenin furthermore said that "*Full equality of rights for all nations, the right of nations to self-determination; the union of all nation; this is the national experience taught by Marxism, the experience of the whole world* . . . (Lenin: "*The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*")

The above brief analysis reveals how deep was Lenin's understanding of the development of the revolutionary movement in Asia, Indonesia included. All Lenin's prophecies at the beginning of the 20th century have now become reality. More than one-third of mankind, spread over Europe and Asia have liberated themselves from the conservative, savage, brutal and criminal European bourgeoisie. The Soviet Union which was non-existent in 1913, now stands in the front ranks of the young and mighty camp of Socialism.

The liberation of Indonesia from the Netherlands, which was also demanded by Lenin, became a reality since 1945.

Now Asia has not only awakened but has also awakened others. Approximately half of the people of Asia live in Socialist countries i.e. the People's Republic of China, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of Mongolia. To these should be added the peoples that live in the Asian Republics of the Soviet Union. The revolutions in Asia are having a profound influence on the national independence struggles in Africa and Latin America. Today, not only do the Asian peoples and other Eastern peoples have a trusted ally in the proletariat of the European countries, but the proletariat of the European countries has a no less trusted ally in the working people in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and both these forces have their most reliable ally in the Socialist camp of which the Soviet Union is the vanguard. The alliance of these three progressive forces is invincible. That is why the bastion of the bourgeoisie which stubbornly defends everything obsolete and which still clings to savagery, brutality and crime is not powerful. It will definitely crumple down at the general attack of all progressive forces from all corners of the world that is now taking place.

From the beginning of the 20th century, Lenin has devoted attention to and displayed a deep understanding of the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people. Now the question arises whether the Indonesian revolutionaries, the Communists in the first place, have a sufficient interest in and understanding of the teachings of Lenin.

Before the 1945 August Revolution the Indonesian Communists were practically unacquainted with Lenin's works. There were perhaps some people who, during the time Indonesia was still colonised by the Dutch colonialists had some writings of Lenin in Dutch or in German. These writings, however, were not translated and they were hidden away so that they were of practically no use to the revolutionary movement.

In the library of the Djakarta museum it is registered that Lenin's book "*State and Revolution*" (in German) was entered into this library in 1919, whereas "*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*" (in French) in 1925, and "'*Left Wing*' *Communism, an Infantile Disorder*" (in German) in 1926. Borrowing these books was of course followed with particular attention from the Dutch secret police.

After the failure of the 1926-1927 revolt, that is after the CPI was considered an illegal Party and the more so during the Japanese occupation in the Second World War, the entry of books of Lenin's from abroad to Indonesia became even more difficult or impossible altogether.

It was only after the foundation of the Republic of Indonesia in August 1945 that some Comrades, former Dutch political prisoners, returning home from Australia, brought writings of Lenin's in English with them to Indonesia. Comrades who had studied in Holland, too, brought home Lenin's writings in the Dutch language. During the Revolution of 1945-1948 Lenin's writings such as "*The State*", "*State and Revolution*", "'*Left Wing*' *Communism, an Infantile Disorder*", "*What Is To Be Done?*" etc. were only read by those Party leaders who understood English or Dutch. Thus in general, only the intellectuals among the Comrades could read these works whereas those Comrades coming from the working people in general did not understand these two languages or understood them only badly.

The Party leadership of that time did not pay attention to the problem of translating Lenin's writings. Those Comrades who did have books by Lenin in a foreign language did not study them deeply, many of them were too lazy to do so, or said they had once "read them and understood them". On the other hand, cadres

coming from among the working people who studied diligently and who earnestly needed "Lenin", did not master the language of the book so that they could not grasp its contents. In short, it was a "revolution without Lenin", notwithstanding the fact that his books were there. It is therefore not surprising that the 1945-1948 revolution met with failure and ended in the counter-revolution of the Hatta Government at the end of 1948.

Hatta did not succeed in smashing the CPI. The CPI regained its legality thanks to the fact that, as a result of its fight against the Dutch colonial army, its prestige had greatly risen, while that of Hatta's had fallen in the eyes of the people since he concluded the treacherous Round Table Conference agreement with the Dutch. In spite of the fact that the CPI had lost many of its leaders as a result of the white terror it succeeded in a short time, i.e. during 1950 and the beginning of 1951, in re-organising itself and its Central Committee.

Afraid of the new development of the CPI the reactionary Sukiman Government launched a razzia against the CPI and revolutionary mass organisations in August 1951. Thousands of Communists and democrats were thrown into prison on the accusation of plotting to overthrow the legal government by force. The core of the leadership, however, was not caught, and in this extremely difficult situation the leaders of the CPI who escaped arrest fortified their determination to study Lenin with the slogan: only with the help of Lenin's teachings can anti-Communist razzias be defeated, and only with the help of Lenin's teachings can the Party direct developments better. The writings of Lenin, though still in a foreign language, were studied carefully, the accent of the study was laid on those writings of Lenin which in a popular way expounded Marxist strategy and tactics, namely "'*Left Wing*' *Communism, an Infantile Disorder*" and Lenin's writings on the Communist Party and on the alliance of workers and peasants. It proved subsequently that "study Lenin" when in hiding not only greatly contributed in forcing the reactionary Sukiman Government to resign, but also in deter-

mining the attitude towards the successor of the Sukiman Government, the Wilopo Government.

The CPI supported the Wilopo Government and it may be said that, since the time of this Government, developments in Indonesia have been in the main to the left. The idea of supporting a nationalist government without Communists participating, had never occurred to the CPI leadership before. Comrades who were imprisoned by the Sukiman Government were gradually released by the Wilopo Government and not a single one was brought up for trial for lack of evidence. The work of rebuilding the Party and the Party's work among the peasants scored important progress. It was deeply felt that "with Lenin" things went better.

From 1951 onward, a beginning was made in earnestly translating Lenin's works into Indonesian, beginning with "'*Left Wing*' *Communism, An Infantile Disorder*", followed by "*State*", "*Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*", "*What's To Be Done?*", "*From Where to Begin?*", "*The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*", "*To the Village Poor*", "*Socialism and War*", "*April Theses*", "*Marxism and Revisionism*" and others.

During his lifetime, i.e. since the beginning of the 20th century, Lenin already showed a deep interest in and understanding of the revolutionary movement in Indonesia. There are intimate relations between Lenin and Indonesia. Lenin is here no more and naturally he cannot further strengthen the existing relations. The only ones who can do so are the Indonesian Communists by studying his theory and his lofty characteristics as a leader of the international working class, as a scholar, as a statesman and as a man. In order to do so, many of Lenin's writings have to be translated into Indonesian, campaigns to study certain writings of Lenin have to be organised. The Indonesian Communists have done work in this direction, but much more still remains to be done. "With Lenin" all difficulties can be overcome, the situation will develop better, while "without Lenin" easy things will become difficult, a good situation will become bad.

INDONESIAN COMMUNISTS AND THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

The CPI Fraternal Delegation to the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been away from the country for about one and a half months. Some members of the delegation are still in the Soviet Union on a tour seeing centres of industrial, agricultural, cultural and scientific interest. One member of the delegation, Comrade Anwar Sanusi, had to enter hospital in Moscow, and he has had one operation and will have to have another one. I myself did not go on tour but came home through Peking, Canton and Hongkong.

On the way to Moscow, the CPI delegation stayed in Prague for two days and three days in Warsaw and held fraternal discussions with leaders of the Polish Workers' Party.

Apart from attending the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, I held talks with Communist Parties from the five continents about West Irian. All Communist Parties with which I spoke side with the Indonesian people in the struggle for West Irian and in the struggle against imperialism in general. And with the Communist Party of the Netherlands (CPN) which was represented by its General Secretary, Comrade Paul de Groot, discussions were held and a joint statement by the CPI and the CPN was signed. This Joint Statement clearly declares that the CPN and the progressive Dutch people will side with the Indonesian people should a war break out over West Irian between Indonesia and the Netherlands. The CPN would consider such a war as a war of independence for the Indonesian people, that is to say, a just war, and a colonial

war for the Netherlands, that is to say an unjust war. In the same spirit, too, discussions were held and a Press Communique issued by the CPI and the Communist Party of Australia which was represented by its General Secretary, L. Sharkey.

While in Moscow, I also had friendly and cordial talks with the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade N. S. Khrushchov. And while in Peking I had talks with the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), Comrade Mao Tse-tung and other leaders of the CPC. These talks were extremely important in arriving at an understanding of what is now happening in the World Communist Movement and in the construction of Communism in the Soviet Union and the construction of Socialism in China. During these meetings I stated my opinion frankly and expressed the hope that all sides would take part in strengthening the unity of the World Communist Movement and the world progressive movement so that all forces can be mobilised to strike the mortal blow against imperialism, the main enemy of the people throughout the world. And we, the Indonesian Communist are not excluded, we too must strive with all our power in this direction. Differences of opinion among Communists must not be allowed to result in a weakening of the struggle against the joint enemy, world imperialism, headed by the United States of America. For Communists first and foremost should be faithful to implementing the classical but ever fresh slogan which Karl Marx raised more than one hundred years ago: "*Workers of all countries, unite!*"

The Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU was a historic congress because it adopted the Programme for the Construction of Communism, the construction of the most just society in the world. The Programme for the Construction of Communism is a new issue for the World Communist Movement. This is why it should be studied and its implementation followed by Communists and other progressives throughout the world. The targets contained in the Pro-

gramme are razor-sharp bamboo knives which pierce the hearts of the imperialists. All people who oppose imperialism are benefited by the existence and implementation of this Programme.

During and after the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, the imperialists, the revisionists, the trotskyites and all reactionaries were gleeful over the attacks made against Albania, the renewed attacks made against the late Stalin and against the anti-Party group, etc. As regards Albania, they tried to create the impression as if it was a question of "and now who else is going to quit the Socialist camp". They were just like brothel keepers: from every man leaving they would reap profit. Whereas in fact the question is a totally different one. It is quite a different question from military pacts like SEATO, NATO, CENTO and others which exist by virtue of treaties. The Socialist camp consists of Socialist countries without being bound by any treaty or agreement. As long as a country genuinely has a political, economic and social system that is socialist, that country is inside the Socialist camp even though there is no treaty and even though questions may raise which lead to conflicts between that country and the other Socialist countries. Grouping a country into the Socialist camp is not determined by subjective evaluations but by the objective fact that a country is genuinely building Socialism, a society free from the exploitation of man by man. Albania is a country that is building such a society, a Socialist society. Comrade Khrushchov himself does not deny this.

Thus, if there is any talk of "getting out of" or "entering" the Socialist camp at the present time, the question is not which country is going to get out of the Socialist camp but of which other countries are going to enter the Socialist camp and of which other countries are going to build Socialism. This is the question which our world now faces because the idea of Socialism is spreading ever farther and the social forces which support the idea of Socialism are continuously growing in countries which are not yet socialist.

Following the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, the imperialists have repeatedly been jabbering about "the imminent

collapse of the Communist movement and the Socialist camp" in the same way as they did during and immediately after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU which condemned Stalin for the cult of the individual. But the facts show that, following the Twentieth Congress, the Communist movement has not become weaker, and far from collapsing it has on the contrary become much stronger. *The Communist movement will never collapse just as the skies have never and will never collapse.* Thus it is not the same question as with imperialism which is already old and becoming more and more rotten. Just like an old house, imperialism becomes more and more dilapidated and it will finally collapse. The Communist movement which was started more than a hundred years ago by Marx and Engels in one spot in the world has now spread throughout the whole world and there are about 90 Parties organised with 40 million members.

In the midst of the fog which has deliberately been spread by the imperialists and their agents about Albania, Stalin, the anti-Party group, etc, in connection with the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, many honest people, including Communists, have been led astray and have lost sight of the fact that the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU adopted the Programme for the Construction of Communism. According to this Programme, within twenty years, Soviet *industrial* production will increase by no less than six times, *agricultural* production will increase by *three and a half times*, the *national income* of the Soviet State will increase by *five times*. These are blows for the imperialists and that is why they deliberately divert people's attention from the real problem of the Twenty-Second Congress. They are very much afraid that the working people of the world will know, with concrete and convincing figures, that there will be a society in the Soviet Union in 20 years, time in which the people will be able to get many of their basic necessities such as care of children, and old people unable to work, education, doctor's treatment, housing, transport, rest-homes, lunches, etc. free of charge. Naturally, the Soviet people must work for all this but they will not have to work as hard as people have to work in

imperialist plantations for wages next to nothing and not enough to buy decent food and clothing.

Regarding *Albania*, the CPI was one of the Communist Parties which did not criticise Albania in its statement at the Twenty-Second Congress. I must explain this and give account to the Communists and working people of Indonesia. The reasons are as follows:

Firstly, the CPI Fraternal Delegation to the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU went to the Congress with a message which had been drawn up by the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPI. When that message was drawn up, the basis for it was the Draft Programme of the CPSU and nothing whatever was known about any criticism being made against Albania at the Congress.

Secondly, I myself, as the leader of the Delegation, was not convinced that criticising one Communist Party at the Congress of another Communist Party would make it any easier to settle any differences of opinion and contradictions existing between them. In this settlement of differences I stand by the principle of "consultation and the reaching of accord", not only between Communists, but also between Parties, groups and forces which oppose the basic enemy, imperialism.

Thirdly, had I taken part in criticising Albania, the CPI members who have been educated in the spirit of the *Declaration* (1957) and the *Communist Statement* (1960) would not have understood what I was doing. The Declaration and the Statement say among other things that if any Party wants to clarify questions relating to the activities of other fraternal Parties, its leadership must place the matter before the leadership of that other Party, and if necessary a meeting and consultations should be held. From the time the Statement of 81 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties was signed in November 1960 up to the time I delivered my speech at the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, that is, on October 21st, 1961, no meeting and consultation had, to my knowledge, been held between the CPSU and the Albanian Workers' Party.

I hope that, since this matter has now become public, the members of the CPI will carefully study the material of the CPSU, the Albanian Workers' Party and other Communist Parties regarding the matters at present concerning the World Communist Movement.

I must declare once again that, as long as the question is one between Communists and as long as the Communist Parties stand by the *Communist Declaration* (1957) and the *Communist Statement* (1960), all differences of opinion, however great they may be, shall be resolved.

The CPI, as I have stated repeatedly,—and this is in accord with the contents and spirit of the 1960 Communist Statement—is an independent Marxist-Leninist Party which has equal rights with other Communist Parties, which is not led by any other Party. Guided by Marxism-Leninism the CPI determines its policies itself. The CPI is responsible to the working class and working people of Indonesia. But together with this, the CPI is also responsible to the world working class movement. This is why the Indonesian Communists must not be passive in face of the fact that there are differences among Communist and Workers' Parties of the world.

Regarding *Stalin:* On the one hand, Stalin is one of the foremost late leaders of the CPSU. It is the right of the Soviet Communists to do what they like with their former leader, Stalin (condemn him, put his body into the mausoleum and then take it out again, change the name of the town of Stalingrad to Volgograd, and so on). From this point of view, everything the CPSU has done against Stalin can be regarded as the internal affair of the CPSU and other Communist Parties have no right to and may not interfere. Other Communist Parties cannot possibly know the innermost internal life of the CPSU just as the CPSU cannot possibly know the innermost internal life of other Communist Parties.

On the other hand, Stalin is a former international leader who led the continuation of Lenin's effort to build Socialism in the Soviet Union and who played an important part in the defeat of fascism.

Stalin not only has moral ties with the Communists of the world but also with anti-fascist fighters who are not Communists. Every Communist and democrat can talk about Stalin as an international leader.

The Indonesian Communists support the CPSU in its criticism of Stalin in connection with the cult of the individual. Together with this, the Indonesian Communists continue to appreciate Stalin since much of his speeches and articles—such as those about the revolutions in the countries of the East, including the Indonesian revolution—is still useful today.

I've not been caught in the trap of the imperialists trying to make people believe that the Soviet Communists at their Twenty-Second Congress have "thrown out" Stalin. This is not in accordance with the facts. The Soviet Communists have not "thrown out" Stalin. What has happened is that Stalin is not placed on the same level as Lenin but he is placed together with foremost leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet Union such as Kalinin, Sverdlov, Ordjonikidze, Dzherzhinsky, Zdhanov, Frunze and others.

And too, the way of opposing the anti-Party group in the CPSU is the internal affair of the CPSU. Other Parties have no right to interfere, because they cannot possibly understand thoroughly the situation and the problem. I only draw the conclusion that the method of solving contradictions within a Party depends very much upon the history, traditions, situation and the leadership of the Party in question. This means that each Party can have its own style in solving internal contradictions. Indonesian Communists do not interfere in the internal affairs of other Parties just as the CPI does not want others to interfere in its internal affairs. This does not mean that Indonesian Communists do not like to hear anything from other Parties about its internal affairs but the adoption of decisions about internal affairs is the absolute right of the Communist Party in question. Only in this way can the friendship between the CPI and other Communist Parties and the friendship between Communist Parties in general be guarded and made closer. The interference of one Party in the internal affairs of another Party

will only lead to splits and unnecessary difficulties in the Party concerned.

Regarding *the Communist movement:* Ever since the Communist movement was first created by Marx and Engels, since the First International (1864-1876), there have been differences of opinion within this movement. In fact, the Second International (1889-1914) which was established by Engels (Marx had died in 1885) was distorted by Bernstein, Kautsky and others with the result that it became an opportunist and reformist movement. At that time, many people thought that the Communist movement, the Marxist movement, had collapsed. But the facts were otherwise. There was Lenin who not only held high the banner of Marxism but who also won victory for the first Socialist Revolution and established the revolutionary Third International (1919-1943). Marxism won victory in one-sixth of the world, in the Soviet Union, and Communist Parties have spread throughout the whole world.

In Indonesia, many people thought that the CPI would break up when its political and organisational mistakes were sharply criticised in the Resolution "A New Road for the Republic of Indonesia", and even more so after the CPI has been struck by the white terror in the second half of 1948. But the facts are otherwise. The CPI did not become weaker. On the contrary.

In brief, the Communist movement, the revolutionary movement and progressive movement in general will not collapse, just as the skies will never collapse. Of course there is a reason for this! The reason is that the working class, the working people and the colonised peoples want to free themselves from exploitation, want the revolution. This desire to carry out the revolution will never be extinguished and this is why the Communist movement, the revolutionary movement and the progressive movement will never stop whatever may happen.

Differences of opinion among Communists have never stopped because Communists are carrying out revolutionary practice. But there is no difference of opinion which cannot be resolved as long

as these are questions among Communists, as long as the banners of Marxism-Leninism are held high among the people and Parties. The *Communist Declaration* of 1957 and the *Communist Statement* of 1960 are brilliant results of resolving differences of opinion among Communists. In the course of resolving differences of opinion among Communists in one Party, and between Communist Parties, the thinking of Communists becomes sharper and their ability and power to struggle become greater.

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION, PATRIOTISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

We are celebrating this evening three important historic events. *Firstly*, the 45th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution (November 7, 1917); *secondly*, the 17th anniversary of Heroes' Day (November 10, 1945); and *thirdly*, the 36th anniversary of the first national Uprising (November 12, 1926).

I feel very happy indeed that we can celebrate these three events simultaneously now, since breathing these three historic events at one and the same time means that we absorb as deeply as possible and rejuvenate our patriotic feelings and feelings of internationalism. As revolutionary fighters we are in equal need of both, just as we need our hands and feet. Is it not so that we can be then only complete patriots if we are at the same time internationalists, and is it not so that we will be only then true internationalists if we are also patriots? Patriotism without internationalism can deteriorate into stale chauvinism and therefore be condemnable, whereas internationalism without patriotism can deteriorate into cosmopolitanism or national nihilism which is no less stale and condemnable.

Strangely enough, there are some people who think that they are born onto this world only as an inhabitant of one particular country and not as an inhabitant of the world. And reversely, there are also some who think that they were born as world inhabitants without becoming an inhabitant of one of the world's countries. We Communists and other progressive people, however, are realists, we were born with two qualities at one and the same time, as inhabitants of a particular country and as inhabitants of the world,

because our country is after all situated on our globe. As grown-up people we have a responsibility toward the people and the world in which we live. We are patriots and internationalists at one and the same time. We are not cosmopolitans or national nihilists who have no fatherland, and we are neither chauvinists whom Bung Karno calls "narrow-minded" people.

True, there are two types of patriots and two types of internationalists. There are patriots who love their homeland but who do not like and do not fight for the interests of the majority of the people, nay even oppress them and who help the imperialists and other exploiters. These are bourgeois patriots. We Communists and other progressives, we love our homeland and above all we love our people and defend their interests against the exploiters. This is proletarian patriotism, Socialist patriotism, or progressive patriotism.

Communists can support the nationalism of the peoples of colonial countries and dependent countries since the nationalism of each nation still oppressed contains a general democratic contents aimed at fighting against exploitation. This attitude is not in the least contradictory to the principle of proletarian internationalism. On the contrary, Communists cannot possibly have sympathy for nationalism utilised for reactionary purposes, as an instrument of national egoism and to subjugate other people, to fan racialism or to oppose the just demands of the masses.

As I said before, there are also two types of internationalism. The capitalists have their own type of internationalism, they have a kind of "solidarity" among the capitalists of the world, with their network of international organisations aimed at dominating and grabbing the entire natural wealth of the world and at enslaving the working people of all countries. This is the internationalism of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat, too, has its own internationalism, its own solidarity and its own international co-operation organisations. The internationalism of the Communists is proletarian internationalism or socialist internationalism, i.e. internationalism

that has "*abolition of exploitation of man by man in all countries*" inscribed in its banners. Thus to weaken the struggle against international capitalism, the imperialists and other reactionaries are doing their best to break the spirit of the proletarian internationalism of the working class, among other things by resorting to the poison of chauvinism, modern revisionism and cosmopolitanism.

Proletarian internationalism supports and is taking an active part in strengthening progressive internationalism which has unfolded banners in which "*independence and peace*" are inscribed, in the form of Asian-African-Latin American solidarity, in the form of movements for the defense of world peace, etc.

With the aim of weakening the anti-imperialist struggle, the imperialists try to fan up chauvinism, or narrow nationalism. The imperialists and other reactionaries have tried and are still trying to do so in Indonesia. That is why the Indonesian working class must not cease struggling against the policy of the imperialists fanning up chauvinism which often takes on the form of racialism.

The imperialists have to a certain extent now succeeded in stirring up chauvinism in India. We deplore it very much that part of the Indian working class has been affected by this imperialist poison. This will mean a set-back of tens of years for the Indian working class movement and will have a damaging influence on the development of the revolutionary movement in Asia, if we bear in mind that India is a big country with hundreds of millions of inhabitants. It pains the Communists and working class of Indonesia and they feel sad to see this, while at the same time they vehemently condemn the actions of the Indian reactionaries who are insolently suppressing the progressive movement in India, attack and burn the office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India and arrest Indian Communists.

The Indonesian Communists and working class should draw lessons from these events now being faced by the Indian working class, i.e. that chauvinism is an extremely great danger for the working class and may paralyse the working class movement, making

it loose its prestige and guide. We have become more convinced that dialectics should be valid in the national front with the bourgeoisie, i.e. the necessity of carrying out the policy of uniting and struggling with them. To unite only without struggling in the united front means weakening our own ranks, making the working class into an appendix of the bourgeoisie, making the working class a captive of the bourgeoisie, and even being turned into a bait to angle for credits and imperialist weapons and as a shield in the war against Socialism.

I have received expressions of Indonesian Communists stating their concern and fear over the present state of affairs of the Indian working class. I have replied to these expressions. Concern, indeed, is proper, but too much fear, which becomes down-heartedness is not necessary. The Indian working class is an experienced working class, with revolutionary traditions and militant, it will certainly succeed in ridding itself of being captives of Mr. Nehru and his accomplices.

The Indonesian Communists have come to deeper realise the necessity of unfurling two banners at the same time, the banner of patriotism and internationalism. Indonesian Communists should be more patriotic than all patriots, and simultaneously be not less consistent and enthusiastic in upholding and defending proletarian internationalism. To this end education of Marxist-Leninist and proletarian internationalism must be carried out intensively within the ranks of the Indonesian Communists. Modesty and courage must be given pride of place by every Indonesian Communist.

In commemorating three historic events this evening simultaneously we renew our resolve to always better and more harmoniously weld our patriotism with our internationalism. November 10, 1945 and November 12, 1926 are two peaks of the many patriotic outbursts in the history of our independence struggle, whereas upholding the banners of the Great October Socialist Revolution is the most representative, loftiest and most beautiful manifestation of our internationalism. At this occasion I will put the accent of

my speech on the October Revolution because Comrade Anwar Sanusi and Comrade Nursuhud have dealt with November 10 and November 12, respectively.

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There are some people who doubt the patriotism of Communists because Communists are very fond of the October Revolution and very fond of the Soviet Union. The Indonesian Communists have never hidden and will never hide their liking of the October Revolution and the Soviet Union. This not only does not lessen the patriotism of Indonesian Communists, but moreover reinforce it, since the October Revolution and the Soviet Union teach them that by taking guidance of Marxism-Leninism, the strongest despotism can be overthrown, that Socialism is no longer something to read about in books but has become a living reality, that with the outbreak of the October Revolution and the founding of the Soviet Union the death knoll for capitalism had been sounded, that the Soviet Union since its very foundation up till the present day has faithfully and consistently helped the independence struggle of the peoples and the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries, that the Soviet Union is fighting for world peace, etc., etc.

The October Socialist Revolution has unparalled consequences on the fate of mankind. The October Revolution has driven capitalism to its grave, has taken mankind to a new era without capitalism, has given clear proof of the truth of Marxism-Leninism which teaches that capitalism is the last system of exploitation in the history of human society. With the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union, which was followed by other Socialist countries, it was proven with facts that it is possible to realise a society without exploitation of man by man.

The October Revolution has changed the course of development of human history, not as "a deviator of history" as the "wise" men of the bourgeoisie are want of saying, but as something that "has straightened" the course of history.

Mr. Winston Churchill once led the interventionist armies of 14 imperialist states to crush the Soviet power born out of the October Revolution. Churchill failed. The Soviet Union not only could survive but has even now left Great Britain far behind in all spheres of progress. Mr. Churchill once stated that the Bolsheviks should abandon their Communism, if not, he said, total destruction of all forms of life in Russia would ensue. The facts are quite the contrary, it is not Russia that fell into total ruin, but it is British imperialism that is decaying and falling to pieces like the body of one heavily afflicted by leprosy. Whereas the Soviet Union, of which Russia is the most important component, is experiencing an unparallelled development in the fields of economy, culture and science.

It is no longer a strange thing for the entire world that the ideas of Marx and Lenin not only have brought victory to the October Revolution, but that also thanks to the victory of this great Revolution and the existence of the Soviet Union admirable successes have been scored in outer space exploration by the Soviet sputniks, space rockets and its cosmonauts.

The October Revolution constitutes a telling blow against imperialism. This event was the commencement of the first stage of the world Socialist revolution. Another telling blow, which made us enter the second phase of the world Socialist revolution, was the establishment of Socialist states in Europe and Asia, and in the first place the establishment of the People's Republic of China. With this Socialism became a world system.

Now more than one third of the world population lives in the camp of Socialism, it produces one third of world industry and almost half of the world production of grain. The economy of the Socialist countries develops at a pace 4 or 5 times quicker than the economy of the capitalist countries. The Socialist world system has become the decisive factor in the development of world society. The construction of Communism in the Soviet Union has further strengthened the position of the Socialist camp and is of great international significance.

In brief, too much can be mentioned as to why Indonesian Communists like the October Revolution and the Soviet Union. Also the economic assistance and assistance of military equipment essential in the framework of industrialising our country and to return West Irian to the sovereign territory of the Republic of Indonesia we could only receive thanks to the existence of the Soviet Union which was created by the October Revolution. This only adds to why the Indonesian Communists like the October Revolution and the Soviet Union.

It would be a great error, however, to think that only Indonesian Communists like the October Revolution and the Soviet Union. One need not necessarily be a Communist and it is not necessary to loose a hairbreadth of patriotism to like and to attach great importance to the October Revolution and the Soviet Union. It is enough to be a progressive, honest man and to use one's brain a little in order to be able to adopt such a correct attitude.

It was none other than Bung Karno himself who in his article "*The October Revolution and the Awakening of the Asian Peoples*" quite clearly stated: "*In the October Revolution the Russian people showed the Asian peoples fighting against colonialism that the working class was able to overthrow such a strong power as the feudal autocracy of the Czar and to build the new society they had been dreaming of. Notwithstanding the fact that this big and historic event happened outside Asia it greatly inspired the Asian peoples struggling for their national independence. And the victory of the October Revolution caused them to struggle even harder for national independence.*" ("*The October Revolution and the Awakening of the Asian Peoples*", Jajasan "Pembaruan", 1957, pages 9-10).

Bung Karno further said:

"*The experiences gained by the Soviet Union in destroying a feudal agrarian society and constructing a new society with up-to-date technical instruments is of invaluable significance. Much of these Soviet experiences can be taken as an example. After having been analysed and adapted to the conditions of our respective countries, these experiences of the Soviet Union in construction can be useful for construction work in Asia.*" (Page 11.)

What Bung Karno has stated is fully correct. The October Revolution not only did force open the door to enter the epoch of proletarian revolutions, but it also created a crisis in the colonial system of imperialism, opened up a new era in the history of the national independence of oppressed nations in the East.

Bung Karno did not only speak about the October Revolution in terms of "*a great and historic event*" and about the experience of the Soviet Union as "*worthy of taking as example*", but he also spoke with warmth about the concrete aid of the Soviet Union and its vanguard role in the anti-imperialist struggle. Listen to what he said in his speech in Moscow on June 10, 1961:

"*The imperialists say to us: Why are you friends with the Soviet Union?*"

"*I answered them: why should not we be friends with the Soviet Union? Is it not the Soviet Union that helps us, is it not the Soviet Union that struggles against imperialism and is the vanguard of this struggle? And is it not the Soviet Union that helps us in the UNO and is it not the Soviet Union that helps us in building our industry, our armed forces? This is the reason why we are friends of the Soviet Union!*" ("Pravda", June 11, 1961).

This warmth of Bung Karno's friendship towards the Soviet Union, this progressive internationalism of Bung Karno's, does not only not lessen one carate of his patriotism, but even fortifies it since via this friendship with the Soviet Union Bung Karno is able to better serve his homeland and his people.

Also *Sékou Touré*, President of the Guinea Republic, has stated that the October Revolution "*in the space of some decades has brought about radical changes in the standard of living of the Soviet people*", and that "*the Soviet people have always fought for the independence of the colonised nations, have supported our national aspirations, our demands. The Soviet Union has always stood on our side, has defended our legal rights*". Sékou Touré further said also that the Soviet people "*have realised in practice their desire to earnestly and fully co-operate with the young states in the form of giving selfless help which enables these countries to strengthen their independence, normalise material conditions and their economic development, improve social conditions and adorn their culture*". ("Pravda", June 14, 1961.)

One of the prominent personalities of the Arab countries, President Nasser of the United Arab Republic stated: „*In our relations with the Soviet Union we always greatly appreciate the help given to us by the Soviet Union in all our battles against imperialism. We also greatly appreciate the help of the Soviet Union and its people in developing our economy and industrialisation. We also greatly appreciate the attitude of the Soviet Union who stood by us in the period of economic boycot and economic war launched against us*". (M. Lavrinchenko in "Ekonomicheskoye Sotrudnichestvo", 1961.)

We should not look too far, for recently in his message greeting the 45th Anniversary of the October Revolution, Deputy First Minister and Chairman of the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly, *Chaerul Saleh*, said among other things: "*It cannot be denied that the Great October Revolution has principal repercussions on the growth and development of world society in general and the awakening and development of the Indonesian people as can be also seen from the course of Indonesia's national revolution.*" He also said that "*the Indonesian people who are still in the midst of their national revolution look with admiration at the achievements scored by the Soviet people in implementing their revolution. Looking back to the period before 1917 and taking account of the progress they have obtained up till now, then we, the Indonesian people, cannot do otherwise but pay our highest respect to the Soviet people who under the leadership of their government have succeeded in pulling down and changing the entire social structure and their country to such an extent as to command the respect of the world*". (Antara, November 6, 1962.)

Also the Islam personality, Minister and General Secretary of the National Front, Sudibjo, in his message greeting the 45th Anniversary of the October Revolution stated clearly: "*The victory of the October Revolution echoed into all corners of the world. Its salvos found everywhere response, especially in the colonised countries where the people were still languishing under the boots of the colonialists. The victory of the revolutions in European and Asian countries after World War II, the emergence of people's democratic powers as a result of these revolutions, show that the salvos of the October Revolution really inspired and gave spirit to the move-*

ments and upsurge of the people in the colonial countries both in the West and in the East."

All the people whose words in praise of the Soviet Union I quoted before are not Communists, but I think that these words of praise are genuine. All this is additional proof and therefore further deepens the conviction of the Indonesian Communists that the attitude they have always had towards the October Revolution and the Soviet Union is correct, i.e. that the October Revolution is a lighthouse for the colonised peoples and for the working people of all countries in their struggle for independence and freedom, that the Soviet Union is the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle, the trusted friend in the struggle for true national independence, in the struggle for real social progress, and that the only correct attitude is: to be in genuine friendship with the Soviet Union. The Indonesian Communists will always and everywhere defend this attitude.

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Of course there will be some people inflicted with communist-phobia who will interject: but you are a Communist, your attitude of friendship with the Soviet Union is that of an "agent", that is why you must have a different attitude than that of non-communists who are friends with the Soviet Union. Good gracious, where are their common sense and their feelings? Proletarians may not be friends with proletarians, Communists may not be friends with Communists? It is precisely these incomprehensible and arbitrary acts of the reactionaries that become a stimulant for the Indonesian Communists to further deepen their friendship feelings for the Soviet Union, because they are convinced that such a friendship will increase their service to the Indonesian fatherland and people. What the reactionaries dislike, is, as a rule, good for the people and for the revolution.

The communist-phobs, however, do not want to stop at this and say: yes, but Marxist-Leninist ideology is not "native", but is "imported", and that is why your patriotism is doubtful. Ah, this is

the way if importers and exporters talk about ideology, for them ideology is something like raw material and small wares.

However, let us talk in a more serious way about ideology, not in the fashion of importers and exporters of raw material and small wares, and not in an atmosphere of general elections, an atmosphere of feverish haste of obtaining the greatest possible amount of votes.

Since the beginning of this present century there have grown in the political life here in Indonesia three main ideologies and three main political trends: Nationalism, Religion and Communism. Bung Karno has analysed these three ideologies and three political trends in his article "*Nationalism, Islamism and Marxism*" and since the birth of this article, in 1926, the concept of Nasakom was in fact born, the concept of the co-operation among the Nationalists, Religious people and the Communists. Co-operation and not merging. This was clearly explained by Bung Karno as follows: "*We do not expect that the Nationalist would change his outlook and become Islamic or Marxist, it is not our aim to order a Marxist and Moslem to become a Nationalist, it is, however, our dream to have harmony, unity among these three groups.*" ("*Under the Banners of the Revolution*", page 5.) One cannot possibly understand the Pantja Sila (which came into being on June 1, 1945), the 1945 Constitution, the President Concept (February 20, 1957) and the Political Manifesto (1959) if one fails to grasp the real contents of Bung Karno's article about "*Nationalism, Islamism and Marxism*".

Which of these three ideologies and political trends is "native", is really inherited from our ancestors, is the heritage of our forefathers?

In my opinion, Indonesian nationalism is much more influenced by Ernest Renan, Karl Kautsky, Karl Radek, Otto Bauer, Sun Yat Sen, Tilak, Kemal Ataturk, and others, than by the thoughts of our ancestors, who began to set foot in our archipelago 3,000 or 4,000 years ago and who at that time still lived in a society of primitive communism. To speak specifically of Marhaenism, that is Nationalism according to Bung Karno's ideas, the progressiveness

of which is beyond doubt, I am convinced that it is influenced also by Marxism. All this makes sense, since Nationalism is not something abstract, but concrete, it grew in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. At the time of our ancestors some 3,000 or 4,000 years ago such a struggle was not known.

But what is wrong in Indonesian Nationalism taking many ideas of champions of social science and independence fighters from abroad? Why should it be looked upon as taboo to take up the universal ideas of anti-imperialist Nationalism? I think it equally correct if Indonesia takes weapons from the Soviet Union and other countries to expel Dutch colonialism or for Indonesia to import penicillin to combat various diseases. That is why it is not a question of rejecting universal progressive ideas, but of integrating these ideas into the struggle of the Indonesian people, with the Indonesian revolution, as was done so well by Bung Karno when he created his progressive system of Nationalism, Marhaenism.

I think I need not say much about religion, since of all religions living and having a great influence in Indonesia there is not one "native". That is the reason why one can say that religious people do not attack Marxism-Leninism from the angle of "not being native". I think that, also as far as religion is concerned, it is also not a question of "native" or "not native", but till what extent these religions, or rather their followers, participate in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, in the struggle to realise the Political Manifesto and the guides for its implementation.

Would it be really necessary to raise the problem of "being native", then the Indonesian Communists think that scientifically speaking it is Communism that is most "native", since our ancestors lived formerly in a communist society, that is the same society the Communists are at present striving for. Of course with this difference that it formerly was primitive and what we are now striving for is modern Communism. The situation was indeed so, 3,000 or 4,000 years ago our ancestors lived in a society in which the instruments of production were common property, where exploitation of man by

man was non existent and where all inhabitants had a right on the natural riches, they elected their heads and did not know of heads appointed from above and did not know state power. Indeed, it is such a society in which these principles are in force that the Communists at present are striving for. *One should not forget, however, that Marxism-Leninism is a weapon to put an end to capitalist society, to build Socialism and Communism with science and modern technique, something utterly unknown to our ancestors thousands of years ago.*

Now then, how do Indonesian Communists stand in the question of "native" and "not native", in the question of "import-export" of ideology? Communists should approach this problem as they approach all social phenomena, from the angle of concrete history, from the angle of the interests of social progress, and not from abstract formulations, and in the very first place from the angle whether the political trend which bases itself on Nationalism and Religion promotes progress or not. Without involving ourselves in the problem "native" or "not native" or "import-export" of ideology, the Indonesian Communists should co-operate with the Nationalist and Religious political trends within the framework of implementing Nasakom co-operation so as to promote the development of Indonesian society.

What counts for the Indonesian Communists is not to defend the truth that the Communist society they are fighting for is in harmony with the principles valid in the society of our ancestors some 3,000 or 4,000 years ago, but to struggle hard to indonesianise Marxism-Leninism, to fight for the realisation of a "*total integration of the general truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution, so as in this way to make Marxism-Leninism truly the property of the Indonesian working people, to make it the most effective fuel for the progress of Indonesian society*".

In some circles of progressive Indonesian scientists the question was once raised why there were people who raised the problem of Marxism-Leninism being "import", but who did not raise the question of Islamism, Catholicism, Protestantism, Buddhism etc., etc., being not

native. They drew this correct conclusion that the problem was not raised by virtue of Marxism-Leninism being "not native" or "imported", but because it desires the abolition of the exploitation of man by man through the class struggle and revolution. This is what made them raise the question of Marxism-Leninism, whereas they keep quiet about the other ideologies, because those who raise the question are exploiters and not working people. The exploiters do not raise the problem of "nativeness" of articles of import that do not touch the exploitation of man by man such as the foreign capital investments.

In unfolding the banners of proletarian internationalism as high as possible, the Indonesian Communists are resolved to constantly educate and form themselves as Socialist patriots, patriots who are more patriotic than any other patriot. Anything that may strengthen the unity of the nation and reinforce the anti-imperialist struggle is sure to meet the agreement and response of the Communists. It is in the framework of implementing their resolve that the Indonesian Communists accept the Pantja Sila as an instrument unifying the forces of the nation, an instrument of "getting together" all national potentials. People who are suffering from communist-phobia say, or rather whisper, that the CPI accepts the Pantja Sila "because they are compelled to do so". I think it appropriate to answer here that Indonesian Communists have never felt themselves as being compelled to accept the Pantja Sila as long as they are correctly interpreted and practiced, that is as an instrument to unify all the revolutionary potentials of the Indonesian people. Since its very foundation, the CPI has taken upon itself the responsibility to unite the Indonesian people to make revolution.

But, says the communist-phob, the Pantja Sila contain the sila (principle) of One Divine Omnipotence, how can Communists who have a materialist philosophy accept this sila?

Messrs. communist-phobs, it seems that you have forgotten that next to the sila of One Divine Omnipotence there are also other silas, and we reject the idea of playing around with "the most

principle sila", as Mr. Hamka is doing by saying that One Divine Omnipotence is the most basic of the five silas (Pantja Sila). Because, if you recognise this way of thinking then the Nationalists may also say that the sila Nationalism is the most basic of all, and the Communists may say that the sila of Social Justice is the most basic of the Pantja Sila. If it comes that far, where then is the significance of Pantja Sila being an instrument of unity? Therefore the Communists oppose the taking to pieces of the Pantja Sila. If one accepts the Pantja Sila, one should accept them as one unit, and if one does so, then the Pantja Sila cannot be another thing than an instrument of unity or the Sole Principle of Gotong Royong.

Messrs. communist-phobs are talking about Communists professing a materialist philosophy. In the first place I would like to ask, do you communist-phobs know what materialist philosophy is? It may be not, because what is important for the communist-phobs is not to try to understand the meaning of the words they utter, but what effect their words have in their attempts to attack the Communists. Therefore let me read out some sentences of the text-book for lower CPI cadres:

"The most basic problem of all problems of philosophy is that of the *relation between being and thought.* The relation between being and thought is in the first place a question of which is *primary*, which was first and which decides between being and thought."

"Concerning the most basic problem in philosophy, two basic outlooks are current, *idealism* and *materialism.*"

"The outlook or the basic idea and method of explaining or understanding everything that takes thought or the idea as the starting point is called *idealism.* Idealism holds that the idea is *primary* and decisive, and that matter is *secondary* or determined."

"On the other hand, the outlook or basic idea and method of explaining or understanding everything that takes the concrete situation, matter as its starting point is called *materialism.* Materialism is the world outlook that starts from objective facts." (Introduction to Marxist Philosophy, Depagitprop CC CPI, 1962, pp. 9—10).

I repeat, materialism is the world outlook that starts from objective facts, it does not set out from thought or subjective ideas. So how is it then with the five principles of the Pantja Sila? Are these five silas objective facts which the Communists take as their starting point to carry out all their activities, next to there being other objective facts? I can say for certain that the five principles of the Pantja Sila are objective realities.

It is undeniable that if viewed from the situation obtaining in Indonesia and the process of development of Indonesian history, the influence of religion is great in Indonesia, and it is an objective fact that, viewed from the angle of religion, the majority of those professing a religion in Indonesia adhere to the belief of there being One Divine Omnipotence or monotheism (believing in one God) and not polytheism (believing in more than one God).

How then is it with the other silas, the sila of *humanitarianism* or internationalism, the sila of *nationalism*, *patriotism*, the sila of the *people* or democracy and the sila of *social justice* or Socialism? The existence of these silas is an objective reality obtaining in the body of the Indonesian nation. It cannot be otherwise. Being a nation, colonised and oppressed, treated without humanitarianism, without justice and in a colonial autocratic and feudal way, it is objective that in this nation emerges a struggle to achieve a new society in which humanitarian norms are valid, in which the right of being a nation is respected, in which democracy and social justice do exist.

Hence, the five silas of the Pantja Sila are objective facts which Communists and any other persons who want to be successful in their work in Indonesia have to accept and respect. That is the reason why the Communists not only do not oppose the Pantja Sila, but moreover, precisely because they are materialists who set out from objective facts, Indonesian Communists can accept the Pantja Sila and fight for their realisation as an instrument to unify all revolutionary national potentials.

It is not the Pantja Sila the Communists oppose, but acts of those persons who want to take the Pantja Sila to pieces and want to

turn them into an instrument to split national unity. The Communists recognise that accepting the Pantja Sila, one of the silas of which is One Divine Omnipotence, includes the understanding of not being allowed to make anti-religious propaganda in Indonesia. This we do accept because we Communists have indeed no interest to carry out such a propaganda. But on the other hand, the Communists do also demand that because of the other silas, religion may not be imposed on people, since this is not in line with humanitarian feelings, nationalist feelings, not in harmony with democracy and justice.

At the time the Indonesian people did not yet have a common programme in the form of the Political Manifesto, many people were fond of talking about the Pantja Sila as being a "basin". The contents of this basin cannot be something else than the Political Manifesto, it cannot be otherwise than a progressive and revolutionary contents. This is in line with what Bung Karno stated in his speech "The Year of Triumph" that one of the nine teachings is the "Pantja Sila and progressiveness". It becomes clear from this explanation that the Pantja Sila, next to constituting an instrument of uniting all national potentials, must also be progressive.

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The 1917 Great Socialist October Revolution was a turning point in the history of mankind. Forty-five years after this Revolution the world has been divided into two great forces which Bung Karno calls *the new emerging forces* and the *old established forces*. The former are really growing and are daily becoming greater whereas the latter are withering and are becoming increasingly narrower and weaker.

Included in the new emerging forces are the Socialist camp, the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial newly independent countries and the other progressive forces the world over. Included in the old established forces are all imperialist states, all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism and all the reactionary forces of the world. Where Indonesia stands is clear, in the ranks of the new emerging forces. This has been repeatedly stated by Bung Karno and the last

time he did so was but two days ago in Tokyo when he delivered a speech commemorating Heroes' Day on November 10.

I think that Bung Karno's formulation to the effect that there are only two great forces in this world is extremely important. This outlook makes it easier for the people to grasp the essence of the international events now taking place in the world and it promotes the growth of the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist international front towards a new and peaceful world.

Once Bung Karno divided the world into three groups and contested the opinion of the British philosopher Bertrand Russell saying that mankind at present is divided into two groups. In his speech before the General Assembly of the UNO on September 30, 1960, Bung Karno said amongst other things:

"It was the famous British philosopher Bertrand Russell who once stated that mankind at present is divided into two groups. The first being those who adhere to the teachings of the Declaration of American Independence of Thomas Jefferson, the second group adheres to the teachings of the Communist Manifesto.

"I ask excuse, Mr. Bertrand Russell, but I think that you have forgotten something. I think that you overlooked the existence of more than one thousand million people, the peoples of Asia and Africa, and possibly also the people of Latin America who neither adhere to the teachings of the Communist Manifesto nor to the Declaration of Independence. Mind you, we admire both teachings, and we have learned much of both and we have been inspired by both."

Bung Karno later on corrected this opinion as he did in his speech on Scholars' Day, September 29, 1962, as follows:

"You might recall that I divided the world in 'the old established forces' and the 'new emerging forces'. Previously, when I had not yet come out with this formulation, I alluded to the opinion of Bertrand Russell, the very great philosopher, as incorrect.

"Bertrand Russell said that the world was divided into two blocs, two groups of people, one group of people adhering to Thomas Jefferson's philosophy as contained in the 'Declaration of Inde-

pendence' which has as its basis the philosophy that man has the right to 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'. This is one, the group of people who follow the philosophy of Thomas Jefferson, say, the bloc of America and its followers.

"Another group of people are those who follow the philosophy of the Communist Manifesto. Say in a popular way that this is the Soviet Union and its followers, say that these are the two groups of people at present in the world.

"In my speech on August 17, four years ago, I tried to correct this statement of Bertrand Russell's saying, you are wrong Mr. Bertrand Russell, the world is not merely divided into two blocs, but there is a third bloc, the bloc of the nations of Asia and Africa who want to free themselves, the bloc of the countries who pursue an independent an active policy.

"Lately, my friends, in the Conference of Non Committed Nations in Belgrade, I came out with a new formulation, the formulation that people, that mankind at present is divided into two groups, the group of 'the new emerging forces', and the group of 'the old established forces'. And the 'new emerging forces', friends, are the states, the people of Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Socialist states, in brief the group of people that comprises 3/4 of mankind who want justice, who want independence, who want a decent life. And now I think that my formulation or my analysis is the most correct, meaning more correct than my former analysis that the world was divided into three groups, two groups of Bertrand Russell, and the one group I slipped in between the two.

"I thought over it a while before the Belgrade Conference, that it was better I had made two groups, the 'old established forces' and 'new emerging forces'."

In view of Bung Karno's own correction of his former view, which said that there are three groups of forces in the world, by putting forward his new opinion, that is the existence of two groups of forces, the new emerging forces and the old established forces, there are some people who think that Bung Karno's opinion is getting closer

to that of Lord Bertrand Russell. They reason that both Bung Karno and Bertrand Russell are of the same opinion that there are only two groups of forces in this world.

I do not share their opinion. Bung Karno's last opinion saying that there are only two groups of forces in this world is indeed more correct than his original opinion saying that there are three groups. Because this last opinion is more correct, it of course leaves Russell's opinion far behind.

Bertrand Russell makes the problem too easy and views the problem too shallow. Russell's basic mistake is that he does not view things in their development. He does not see that the United States which was revolutionary in the 18th century, which on July 4th, 1776 announced the really democratic and really revolutionary Declaration of Independence, is now, in the 20th century, no longer the same United States. The United States of the 20th century is playing the role Britain played against its colonies in America in the 18th century, a truly anti-democratic and truly reactionary role.

What did the Declaration of Independence say? Amongst other things as follows:

"When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government, laying its foundation on such principles

and organising its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

The political theory of the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America as put down by Thomas Jefferson and proclaimed on July 4, 1776 is indeed democratic and revolutionary. If Copernicus has done great service by revolutionising astronomy then Thomas Jefferson has done great service in revolutionising political science.

But how do matters stand today? The more thoroughly we study the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, the more convinced we become that the USA has now thrown the Declaration far away. US interference in the internal affairs of other countries so as to retard the movement of genuine independence as in the Congo, Laos, Cambodja, South Vietnam, South Korea, and others, the US war bases which litter all corners of the world, their wanton acts against Cuba today, the arbitrary treatment by the US Government of the progressives and Communists in the USA, the ever frenzied racialism in the USA, and many more things, not only do not resemble the Declaration of Independence but are linea recta in contravention with it.

The people of Cuba through the intermediary of their leader Fidel Castro have laid five demands before the USA:

1. To cease the economic blockade and all acts of economic and trade pressure perpetrated against Cuba by the USA in all parts of the world.

2. The cessation of all subversive activities, droppings and landings of weapons and explosives from the air and sea, the organising of mercenary attacks, infiltration of spies and saboteurs—all actions launched from the territory of the USA and certain of its follower states.

3. Cessation of pirate actions launched from bases in the USA and in Puerto Rico.

4. Cessation of all intrusions by USA military planes and ships of the airspace and waters of Cuba.

5. Withdrawal of the naval base in Guantanamo and to return this Cuban territory occupied by the USA.

The fact that these minimum conditions for the independence of a nation must be demanded from the USA, is clearest proof that the USA does not at all any longer respect the contents of the Declaration of Independence which among other things includes the rights to "*Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness*" for all men and the Right of the People to establish a Government "*laying its foundations on such principles and organising its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness*".

The demands put forward by Castro which are in accord with the contents of the Declaration of Independence receive the support of all the new emerging forces, and are, on the other hand, rejected by the USA, the country that gave birth to the Declaration of Independence.

Thus, I think, the error in Lord Bertrand Russell's view becomes increasingly clear on the Declaration of Independence in its relation with the USA's present position. Both the banners of the Communist Manifesto and the Declaration of Independence, both, are unfurled by the new emerging forces, whereas the old established forces, which are now being championed by the USA, have no revolutionary and democratic banners any longer. The old forces have no longer banners with which to attract the masses of the people and they try to substitute the vacuum with dollars, but even dollars are accepted by many people with fear and suspicion.

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Many pessimistic and ignorant people are alarmed at seeing the present world developments. They see only dark clouds without seeing the hope-bringing rays, they live in fear. Recently they were thrown into confusion when they saw the crisis created round Cuba and the border dispute between India and the People's Republic of China.

For the revolutionaries the situation is different. We know how our world looked like before the October Revolution 45 years ago,

we know the extremely good influence this Revolution has brought about, we know that Socialism has become a world system now, we know that the position of the imperialists is becoming increasingly difficult and that, on the other hand, the position of the revolutionary movement and that of the revolutionaries is becoming better and better. For us, revolutionaries, the radiantly brilliant rays of the sun are piercing the dark clouds which cover the skies, our world is clear and is getting clearer and clearer, there is nothing that can scare us.

Indeed, the crisis around Cuba we must overcome by complying with the 5-point demand of Castro, and the border problem between India and the People's Republic of China has still to be settled by having the two sides sit together at the negotiation table in accordance with the proposals made by Prime Minister Chou En-lai to the Government of India, proposals fully in accord with the sentiments and thoughts of all peoples belonging to the new emerging forces. It is possible that the crisis around Cuba, the Indian-Chinese border question, and other problems, will create many problems and difficulties. We know, however, that these difficulties are created by the old forces, especially by the USA which is scared to death seeing the revolutionary progress in Cuba and other countries. Had there not been a successful revolution in Cuba, no crisis around Cuba would have been created as we are experiencing now. For us it is better to have the Cuban crisis as we have it now than to have had no revolution in Cuba. Mr. Nehru and the Indian reactionaries are sharpening their swords because they are afraid of the progress of the Chinese revolution, especially the revolution in the district bordering on India, the revolution in Tibet. For us, revolutionaries, it is better to see Mr. Nehru and the Indian reactionaries sharpening their swords and creating disturbances at the Indian-Chinese border than there having not occurred a revolution in Tibet.

Internationally and nationally, the peoples are increasingly clearly seeing the reactionaries as their enemy, and they get to know their features and behaviour better and better. The peoples in all countries

are becoming increasingly aware that the reactionaries are infinitely fouler than the excrements of a dog. The Indonesian people are becoming increasingly aware of this. The consciousness of the Indonesian people is rising at a very rapid speed and they hate the reactionaries more and more. This is very good and should be warmly acclaimed. I once again express the hope that the Indonesian people earnestly realise that the reactionaries are really fouler than the excrements of a dog. Sneer at them and spit at them! They have been sneering and spitting at the people much too long, they have acted wantonly against the people, they have made the people live in destitution whereas they themselves live in luxury because they rob the wealth of the state.

Let us continue the struggle with the courage and enthusiasm as shown by the Great October Socialist Revolution, by Heroes' Day and by the 1926 Uprising.

Let us continue to march forward with a burning spirit of patriotism implementing our Tri-Tasks, *consolidation of the victories that have been achieved* in the field of security, the struggle to liberate West Irian, etc, *overcoming the economic problems* by uprooting mismanagement in all fields, and the *fight against neo-colonialism* in the form of foreign capital investments, imperialist infiltration in the political, military, cultural and other fields.

Let us go forward in the spirit of strengthening our national unity with Nasakom as its nucleus!

Let us continue to march forward more courageously, with the spirit of "vivere pericoloso" as has been repeatedly suggested by Bung Karno! I want to add to this, let us fight on in the spirit of the French revolutionaries: de l'audace, de l'audace, encore de l'audace, courage, courage, once more courage! Truth in standpoint and policy alone is not enough! In order to defeat the imperialists and their agents, in order to destroy the reactionaries, the bureaucrat capitalists, the corruptors, and the landlords, more than truth of standpoint or policy alone is demanded from us. They have to be fought against with truth, unity and courage!

Let us continue to march forward with the spirit of the revolutionaries of the Great October Revolution, strengthen the ranks of the Communists of the world based on the sacred and famous Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties. We know that history moves in the direction aimed at by the Communists of the world, we are convinced of our final victory, but the monolithic unity of the Communists of the world bases on Marxism-Leninism and the Statement of the 81 Parties will accelerate the already rapid steps of history!

Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution!
Long live the Heroes' Day of the Indonesian People!
Long live the 1926 Uprising!
Long live Socialist Patriotism!
Long live Socialist Internationalism!

II

The Road to People's Victory

THE ROAD TO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY FOR INDONESIA

First of all, I express thanks to our Party which has given me the honour of presenting this general report to the Vth National Party Congress, this historic Congress.

Many things have happened since the IVth National Party Congress which was held seven years ago in Solo. Concerning these, I have reported the basic points in the opening speech of the Congress. It is not necessary for me to repeat them.

The material for the Vth National Congress has been published in full in official Party publications, in a special number of the *CPI Bulletin* as well as in the journal "*Bintang Merah*" ("Red Star", the name of the monthly organ of the Central Committee of the Party, Tr.) some months ago. This material has also been published in the form of a pamphlet, in Indonesian as well as in regional languages. You have had sufficient time to study it. Not only that, our entire Party has already discussed it and efforts have also been made to put it before the masses of the people. In this way, you have come to this Congress bringing not only the opinions of Party members and candidate-members but also thoughts and criticisms which have come directly from the masses of the people. This is important because in this way, the confidence of the members, candidate-members and masses of the people in our Party has increased. I think that it is appropriate if I, on behalf of our Congress, express the thanks of the Party to all groups and people who have stated their opinions and criticisms of the material of our Congress, above all, the Draft Party Programme.

From this session, we can imagine how great will be the joy with which the members, candidate-members and sympathisers of the Party and all progressive people will greet every one of the decisions which will subsequently be taken by this Congress.

The Central Committee submits the material to this Congress in the conviction that it will clarify all the basic and important problems of the Indonesian revolution and all the basic and important problems concerning the building of our Party. With this material, it is hoped that the Congress will be able to arm the members and functionaries of the Party with a correct understanding of the Programme, tactics and organisational line of the Party. This will mean opening up a wide road for the development of the independence movement of the Indonesian people and for the development of the Communist Party of Indonesia.

The Central Committee is of the opinion that it is necessary to give an introduction to clarify the *Draft Programme* which is now being submitted as the most important material of this Congress. That is why this general report which I am just about to submit has two functions: *firstly*, as a general report concerning the political and organisational situation; and *secondly*, as a clarification of the basic points contained in the CPI Draft Programme. In this way, the function of the general report to which the Central Committee has given the name "The Road to People's Democracy for Indonesia" becomes clear. Separate clarification will be given concerning other material of the Congress.

I. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

1. The International Situation Following the Second World War

The Second World War ended in a victory for democracy over fascism. The international situation after the war has developed in a way favourable to the people's liberation movement and the struggle for world peace.

In the middle of 1945, world imperialism was in a much weaker position than before the war because of the total defeat of three major imperialist states, Germany, Italy and Japan, because of the economic bankruptcy of imperialist states in Europe such as Britain and France, because of the greatly increased international prestige of the Soviet Union, because some countries in East Europe and Asia broke away from the capitalist world and set up People's Democratic states and because of the growing intensity of the peoples' independence struggles in the colonial and semi-colonial countries to throw out the foreign powers and set up their own national states which are independent and sovereign.

The liberation of several East European and Asian countries from the capitalist world and the growing intensity of the independence struggles of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples narrowed the capitalist world market. As a result, the capitalist powers have lost considerable sources of raw material, the chances of sales in the world market have deteriorated and their industries have been compelled to operate below capacity. This situation has further deepened the general crisis of world capitalism.

The Indonesian people also played an important part in the great ferment in the colonial and semi-colonial lands after the war by proclaiming an independent Republic of Indonesia which was followed up by a bitter war against the Japanese, British and Dutch armies which received full support from American imperialism.

While the world war was in progress, American imperialism was able to draw maximum profits from the blood and lives of the tens of millions of people who fell during the war. That is why America came out of that terrible war as the wealthiest imperialist country, which subsequently resulted in other imperialist powers being forced to bow down to the domination and leadership of American imperialism.

The Soviet Union, the vanguard of the camp of peace and Socialism, although she sacrificed large numbers of her best sons and daughters and suffered extensive material damage, came out of the hell of the Second World War with a strength of extraordinary proportions as

a country which had won glorious victories. The strength of the Soviet army and people was not only able to rout and clean up the fascists from its own country, but it also courageously liberated the countries of East Europe and several Asian countries and gave them the freedom to develop in accordance with the wishes of their own people.

Thus, it is clear that after the war, the world was divided as follows: on the one hand, that part of the world consisting of countries dominated by the imperialists with America at the head. On the other hand, that part of the world consisting of the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic states, where it is laid down by law and expressed in daily life that the source of all power lies with the people, and where the imperialists and landlords no longer have any legal basis whatsoever. This is the Socialist part of the world and the world of People's Democracy.

The developments taking place in the capitalist countries which are headed by the United States of America are completely different in character from those taking place in the country of Socialism and the People's Democracies. The capitalist world, consisting of the imperialist countries together with all their colonies and spheres of influence, which is dominated and led by American imperialism, is a society full of contradictions and antagonisms, antagonisms between the ruling capitalists and the exploited and oppressed workers, antagonisms between the imperialist countries and their colonies, as well as antagonisms between the capitalists themselves. In this capitalist world, these antagonisms are in full swing. Thus, the capitalist world is not a solid and compact force because of the existence of contradictions within imperialism itself, contradictions between the ruling imperialist powers and the democratic workers' movement which unites together with the compact forces of the democratic world within the world camp of anti-imperialism and anti-war.

The contradictions and antagonisms between the imperialist states themselves even further weaken the camp of imperialism and war.

One of the forms of these contradictions and antagonisms between the imperialist states is imperialist war which brings poverty, hardship and death to millions of people.

In his book, "*Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*", J. V. Stalin refutes the idea that the basic economic law of modern capitalism is the average rate of profit. "That is not true", says Stalin. ". . . It is not the average profit, but the maximum profit that modern monopoly capitalism demands, which it needs for more or less regular extended reproduction." Monopoly capitalism will advance more speedily towards its own collapse if there is no guarantee of obtaining maximum profits. That is why the struggle to obtain maximum profits is a life and death struggle for imperialism. According to Stalin, the main features and requirements of the basic economic law of modern capitalism might be formulated roughly in this way: "*The securing of the maximum capitalist profits through the exploitation, ruin and impoverishment of the majority of the population of the given country, through the enslavement and systematic robbery of the peoples of other countries, especially backward countries, and lastly, through wars and militarisation of the national economy, which are utilised for the obtaining of the highest profits.*"

In contrast to this, the democratic world does not need war nor does it contain within it the seeds of war; it is advancing steadily forward on the basis of a peace-loving policy. The Soviet Union and the entire democratic world neither needs war nor wants it, neither strives for war nor agrees with it, as the Chairman of the Council of Ministers declared at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet in August, 1953. He said among other things: "*We firmly maintain that at the moment, there is no disputable or outstanding question which could not be settled by peaceful ways on the basis of mutual agreement between the countries concerned.*" He went on to say: "*This refers also to those questions under dispute which exist between the United States of America and the Soviet Union. We stood and stand for the peaceful co-existence of the two systems. We consider that there are no objective grounds for a collision between the United States and the Soviet Union. The interest of the security of both countries, as well as international security, the interest*

of the development of trade between the USA and the USSR can be safeguarded on the basis of normal relations between both countries."

In the book mentioned above, J. V. Stalin says that the essential features and requirements of the basic law of Socialism might be formulated roughly in this way: "*The securing of the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole society through the continuous expansion and perfection of Socialist production on the basis of higher techniques.*" This formulation clearly shows that maximum profits for a small group of people is unknown to Socialism, that it knows nothing of crises, of technical development being interrupted by the occurrence of periodic crises, of the productive forces of society being destroyed by crises. Socialism only knows the maximum satisfaction of material and cultural requirements, only knows the unbroken expansion of production and the uninterrupted process of perfecting production on the basis of higher techniques.

The international situation as described above clearly points to the existence of a sharp struggle between the forces of reaction which defend capitalist exploitation and war, and the forces of the peoples of the world who are struggling for full national independence for all nations, for democracy, peace and Socialism.

The false propaganda of the imperialists and their hirelings always reverses the facts and depicts the present world situation as merely revolving around "an irreconcilable conflict between America and Russia", as if it were only these two major states which are interested and involved in this struggle and as if the Soviet Union were pursuing an imperialist policy just like the American Government. This is the propaganda which the right-wing socialists and other reactionaries are spreading in all parts of the world and this is also what is being spread by the Indonesian right-wing socialist, the Masjumi (reactionary Moslem party, Tr.) leaders and other reactionaries.

The facts are quite different from what the reactionaries propagate at home and abroad. Outwardly, it does indeed seem as if the relations between the USA and other capitalist countries dominated by it were proceeding well and smoothly. But we would be

very much mistaken if we looked at things outwardly only, if we did not see the contradictory forces within. What Stalin says is very correct, that even though the countries of West Europe, Japan and other capitalist countries have already fallen into the clutches of the USA, it is a mistake to think that these countries will tolerate continued domination and oppression by the United States, to think that they will not endeavour to tear themselves away from American bondage and take their own path of independent development. This is already proven in the day-to-day developments of the relations between the United States and the countries dominated by it, these relations showing increasing evidence of "rebellions" of the countries dominated by the USA against the USA itself. This proves the fallacy of the statement that war cannot break out between the capitalist countries themselves. Theoretically, of course, the contradictions between capitalism and Socialism are sharper than the contradictions between the capitalist countries. This is correct, both before as well as after the Second World War. But history proves to us that the Second World War did not begin as a war with the Soviet Union but it began as a war between the capitalist states.

There is no peaceful life in the capitalist world because the class contradictions and antagonisms do not guarantee a peaceful and tranquil life for human beings. Exploitation, oppression, antagonism, destruction and war are the specific realities of society in the capitalist world. On the other hand, the uninterrupted advance of the national economy and of the material and cultural life of the people are the specific realities of the world of Socialism and People's Democracy. Genuine mutual assistance and equal rights between nations, and unshakable unity between the governments and their people make the world of Socialism and People's Democracy a mighty, indestructible fortress.

The division of the world into two camps, the capitalist camp on the one hand, and the camp of Socialism and People's Democracy on the other, also means the existence of two economic units and

two world markets. On the one hand, there is the capitalist world market which consists of the imperialist countries together with their spheres of influence and the colonial and semi-colonial countries dominated by them, and on the other hand, there is the democratic world market which consists of the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the other People's Democratic states.

These two markets have each their own characteristics and development.

The capitalist world market is increasingly being brought under the domination of American imperialism which is the wealthiest and therefore the most powerful force within it. By means of exerting pressure on, or completely annihilating, the other imperialist countries and by intensifying the exploitation and oppression of the workers and people in other imperialist countries, the American imperialists are striving to further enrich themselves. The so-called "aid" which America gives to other economically weak countries does not lead to good co-operation between the USA and "aided" countries but quite the contrary, it gives rise to resistance and "rebellion". Such an anti-communist as Clement Attlee, leader of the British Labour Party, opposes American "aid" policy with his slogan "Trade, not aid". Attlee's slogan was prompted not because of his agreement with Communist policy which opposes American "aid", but solely because of the economic interests of British imperialism itself which is being subjected to such strong pressure from America's "aid" policy that it is unable to develop independently.

So-called American "aid" is aimed not at the restoration of peace economies, at satisfying the living requirements of the people of the countries which receive this "aid", but is being used for the expansion of war economies and the production of weapons of mass destruction. And that is not all. By means of this "aid", America is gaining complete control of the "aided" countries not only in the economic and political spheres but also in the military sphere. Unemployment, rising prices, rising taxes, a fall in real wages, etc; all these are normal occurrences prevalent throughout the imperialist world.

In contrast to what is happening in the capitalist camp, in the camp of Socialism and People's Democracy genuine and voluntary co-operation between all nations in the sphere of culture and trade, in the sphere of construction of the national economies in the respective countries, is growing ever closer, as a result of which there is a greater consolidation of the spiritual and material unity between the countries of this camp.

American imperialism with its policy of embargo and blockade, prohibits the countries in the capitalist world from having economic and trade relations with the world of Socialism and People's Democracy. On the other hand, the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies are taking concrete measures to restore and extend normal international trade relations with all countries, including the United States. America is afraid of peaceful competition and because of this, is constantly using force against the countries it dominates and is continually trying to provoke the outbreak of a new world war.

These are the developments which have taken place in the world since the Second World War, developments which are clearly unfavourable to the monopoly capitalists and all reactionaries, but on the contrary, are very favourable to the people's independence movement, to the movement of democracy and peace.

2. Some Major Victories of the Peaceful Yearnings of Mankind over the Aggressors

The present international situation is sharply characterised by the major victories won by the Soviet Union, People's China and the entire camp of peace and democracy in the struggle to ease the tense international situation, in the struggle for peace and for the prevention of a new world war.

People throughout the world joyfully acclaim the armistice in Korea which resulted from more than three years of striving for peace. This was a major victory of the world peace movement, a

victory of the peaceful yearnings of millions and millions of people which had become so strong that it was able to compel the aggressors to put a stop to their inhuman acts. With this, the American imperialists' desire to force the heroic Korean people to their knees was turned into an empty dream. The struggle waged by the Korean people against the interventionists and their hirelings of the Syngman Rhee clique has revealed that the fidelity of a country to the cause of national independence and peace gave birth to a mighty force, gave birth to courage and heroism which involved the very broad masses of the people. The Korean people have drawn the whole of mankind to their side. Very moving and unforgettable for the history of mankind is the valour and heroism of the Chinese People's Volunteers who valiantly fought a life and death struggle for the freedom of the homeland of their neighbour and for world peace.

Together with the people of the entire world, the Indonesian people welcomed the armistice in Korea with feelings of joy, deep gratitude and tribute for the Korean people, the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers. The speeches made by Professor Prijono and some other leading personalities at a meeting specially held in August, 1953, to greet the Korean armistice, were manifestations of the joy, gratitude and tribute of the Indonesian people for the Korean people. Just as in other countries, so in Indonesia, too, it was only the most criminal of the reactionaries who did not share in the feelings of joy over the achievement of the armistice in Korea.

With the brilliant victory achieved by the world peace-loving forces in Korea, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR stated, among other things, at the session of the Supreme Soviet in August, 1953: "We, Soviet people, ardently wish that the glorious Korean people may live and flourish in peace. The Soviet Union will help the Korean people to heal the drastic wounds caused by the war. The Government has decided to assign 1,000 million rubles for the rehabilitation of Korea's devastated economy." As we know, this proposal of the Soviet Government was adopted unanimously by the Supreme Soviet.

The events in Korea are occurrences in the eastern part of the world.

In the western part of the world, the yearnings for peace also scored a great victory with the frustration of the provocative adventures of American imperialism in Berlin in June, 1953. The organisers of these provocations in Germany aimed at smashing the forces of democracy in Germany and destroying the bulwark of the peace-loving forces of the German people, the German Democratic Republic. They want to revert Germany to the Germany of Hitler's times, to convert it into a military state and to re-create a hotbed of war in the heart of Europe. This cannot be allowed to take place and that is why the provocations had to be crushed, and ultimately were indeed crushed. If this had not been done swiftly, then the events in Berlin would have had violent international repercussions and would have brought catastrophe not only to the German people but also to the whole world. The events in Berlin in June, 1953 were but one of the ways in which American imperialism is trying to provoke a new war.

The more progress is made by the movement for democracy and peace to ease international tension, the more hard-pressed the warmongers become, and this makes them the more panic-stricken. With all their might, they are trying to foil the efforts to ease international tension. This is the reason why the armistice in Korea was constantly postponed, why spring-boards for a new world war have been erected in Germany and Japan, why coups d'etat or attempts at coups d'etat have been carried out in several countries, why provocations have been engineered in countries in the democratic camp and why an atom bomb blackmail policy has been pursued.

The aggressors stubbornly oppose every effort to ease international tension. They are afraid of international easement because, if this happens, they will be compelled to reduce their armaments trade which brings in super-profits for their munitions kings. They are afraid of losing their huge profits.

In order to obstruct any lessening of international tension, America is not only not withdrawing her armies from territories which she occupies such as Germany, Austria, Japan, South Korea and so on, but is even strengthening her occupation of these countries and placing her troops in countries such as Britain, France and other West European countries. America is acting in contravention of the provisions of the United Nations Charter, the Potsdam Agreement and other international agreements aimed at strengthening peace. Even more than this, America is openly violating all peace agreements by establishing aggressive blocs such as the Atlantic Pact (NATO) which is aimed at preparing a new act of aggression against the Soviet Union, such as the so-called "European Defence Community" and its "European Army" which are aimed at reviving the German fascist army for the needs of American aggression in Europe, and such as ANZUS and a Pacific Pact which are aimed at being a sort of NATO for Asia. All these blocs are presented to the world as blocs with defensive purposes but in actual fact they are a big betrayal of peace. American activities in Viet Nam take the form of sales of arms to French imperialism to murder the peace-loving Viet-Namese people. American activities in Iran gave rise to violent internal tension in that country and finally led to a coup d'etat by that agent of American imperialism, the adherent of fascism, Fazlollah Zahedi. This event took place just at the time when discussions were in progress between the Soviet Government and the Mossadegh Government. In his speech before the session of the Supreme Soviet in August 1953, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR said, among other things, on this: "We hope that these negotiations will be successfully concluded. Recently, on mutually advantageous terms, an agreement was reached on increasing the trade turnover between the two countries. It depends on the Teheran Government whether Soviet-Iranian relations will develop along the path of good-neighbourly relations, along the path of expanding economic and cultural relations." Frightened at the prospect of voluntary relations being established between these two

peoples, the American Government made preparations for, and finally issued orders for, state power to be seized.

It now becomes clear that, apart from the progress already made by the forces of world peace, another force is at work to increase international tension in the interests of a handful of munitions kings and international political adventurers. They see a relaxation in international tension as a catastrophe for themselves. They have chosen the path of adventure and are continuing to pursue their aggressive policy. International provocations, the so-called "cold war strategy", and many other such things all serve this policy.

In his speech before the Supreme Soviet in August, 1953, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR said, among other things, in reference to the present activities of the aggressive forces: "The history of international relations has never before known such widespread subversive activities, such crude interference in the internal affairs of states and such systematic provocations as are being carried out today by the forces of aggression."

Such in short is the international situation during the recent period. Developments in the international situation in this recent period are very favourable for the advance of democracy and peace, but at the same time, the forces of reaction are striving continuously and with all their power to obstruct these healthy developments. Such a situation obliges us to be even more vigilant. We must bear it in mind that the enemies of the people and of humanity will never voluntarily capitulate; on the contrary, they will continue with their sadistic and criminal work against the people and against peace. They will not hesitate to undertake acts of terror and provocation and go on repeating them again and again as happened in the case of the fascist provocations in Berlin in June, 1953, and as done numerous times by them to disrupt the economy and peaceful life of the people of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. Recently, the top agent of world imperialism, the traitor Beria, has been exposed together with his hirelings who were scattered all over the place. These criminal activities of imperialist agents have

been liquidated wherever they may be. The successes achieved in liquidating the acts of these traitors are a heavy blow to the imperialists and mean that the imperialists are deprived of their most important agents. All this must be a reminder for the people's movement, both nationally and internationally.

The reactionaries who are everywhere in a hard-pressed position cannot take any other path than that of intimidation, provocation, sabotage, blackmail, terror and finally coup d'etat. We can see this both abroad and in Indonesia itself. That is why all these matters are no longer theoretical for the Indonesian people but have already become practical questions.

3. The Struggle of the Indonesian People for Peace

The international situation as described above places heavy responsibilities on the shoulders of all democracy- and peace-loving peoples and thus also on the shoulders of the people of Indonesia.

The Indonesian people should not be "neutral" on the question of peace and war. A "neutral" attitude benefits the war-mongers and weakens the struggle for peace because, by adopting a "neutral" attitude, we cannot possibly mobilise the masses to oppose war and defend peace to the end.

There are, in Indonesia, two types of "neutral" or "independent" attitudes towards the forces of peace headed by the Soviet Union, and towards the forces which want to bring about a new world war headed by American imperialism.

The first type of "neutral" or "independent" attitude is that consciously put forward to deceive the people by the agents of imperialism such as the right-wing socialist leaders and the leaders of the Masjumi Party. They know that they would meet with very strong opposition from the people if they openly agreed to war and sided with America. That is why they put on the mask of "neutrality" or "independence". The Masjumi leaders, Sukiman, Subardjo and Wibisono, who carried out the August (1951, Tr.) mass arrests

on the orders of American imperialism, spoke in their government programme of an "independent" foreign policy. In the same way, too, the right-wing socialists also speak empty phrases about a "neutral" policy, an "independent" policy or a "third force" policy in order to conceal their faithful servitude to imperialism. It is becoming increasingly clear to the Indonesian people what the meaning of this "neutral" or "independent" foreign policy of the PSI (right-wing socialist party, led by Sutan Sjahrir, Tr.), the Masjumi and other reactionaries is. We must expose and explain the real meaning of this "neutral" or "independent" policy in order to prevent it from poisoning the minds of the people.

The second type of "neutral" or "independent" attitude is that adopted by people who, because of insufficient understanding, because of naivity, think that there is some mystical force which can take its stand between peace and war. This group comprises a very large section of our people including large numbers of the common people. The Communists must be patient in convincing this group of people whose understanding is insufficient or who are naive. We must convince them that their wavering attitude harms the cause of peace, it harms Indonesia. With a wavering attitude, the mighty forces of the people cannot possibly be roused to defend world peace and defend a peaceful atmosphere in Indonesia. Every consequence of their hesitation which is proved to be harmful to the cause of world peace and to a peaceful atmosphere in Indonesia must be immediately exposed and their attitude which has been proved to be mistaken criticised.

A peace policy, as the First Secretary of the CPSU said, is in no sense a question of "tactics" or a "political manoeuvre"; it is the general line of our policy in the field of foreign affairs, that is, the only correct line for our Party at the present time and in the future.

What is the aim of the peace movement? In his book, "*Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*", J. V. Stalin explained that "the object of the present-day peace movement is to rouse the masses of the people to fight for the preservation of peace and for the prevention of another world war" and that "the aim of this movement is

not to overthrow capitalism and establish Socialism—it confines itself to the democratic aim of preserving peace". Thus, the peace movement must be a movement which is as broad as possible, it must include the broadest sections of all trends and convictions.

In relation with the defence of world peace, we must be conscious of the fact that the danger of war threatens Indonesia more than it does the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies because American imperialism, as it prepares its forces for war, is first interested in dominating countries which are weak. The peace movement is therefore, in the first place, in our own interests, in the interests of Indonesia and the Indonesian people.

Above all, the Indonesian people must exert all their energies to preventing the outbreak of a new world war. We must prevent Indonesia from being drawn into war. We must resolutely uphold the principle that there is no international issue or dispute which cannot be solved peacefully by negotiations between the countries concerned.

In relation with the defence of world peace, we must expand and consolidate the peace which has been achieved in Korea by demanding that all foreign armies be withdrawn from Korean territory and that the entire territory of Korea be peacefully unified into one state under the leadership of one democratic, national, Korean government. We must fight to achieve the same results in Viet Nam as have already been achieved in Korea so that the entire peace-loving Viet-Namese people can live a free and prosperous life.

In relation with the defence of world peace, we must oppose and prevent the restoration of Japanese and German militarism which American imperialism is now reviving. As we oppose the revival of militarism in Japan, we must declare ourselves at one with the Japanese people who are resisting the American army's occupation of their fatherland, who are struggling to free themselves from the political and economic clutches of American imperialism, to establish normal diplomatic and trade relations with all countries, particularly with the Soviet Union and People's China which is very important to Japan's economy, and to achieve complete independence for

Japan. In order to prevent the revival of militarism in Germany, the entire territory and people of Germany must be united peacefully into one democratic German state with one national government of the German people themselves and without interference from any foreign state whatsoever. A peace treaty, which has been constantly postponed for eight years by American imperialism's policy in Germany, must immediately be concluded with this democratic German state. In this way, the German people will take their proper place in the family of democratic and peace-loving nations.

In relation with the defence of world peace, Indonesia must strive to bring about the establishment of normal and free international trade relations between the West and the East, between all countries of the world on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. In order to strengthen friendly relations in an atmosphere of peace among all nations, the exchange of people's delegations between states must be increased.

In relation with the defence of world peace, the Indonesian people must support every people's struggle for the achievement of complete independence such as is being waged by the people in Malaya, the Philippines, Burma, Siam, India, Morocco, Tunisia, Kenya, Iran and other countries, because the national independence of every nation is of importance to world peace and to Indonesia itself.

In relation with the defence of world peace, we must firmly oppose Holland's shameless policy towards West Irian (West New Guinea, Tr.) which is a legal part of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. The Annual Report of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Statement made by Queen Juliana at the opening of the Dutch Parliament on September 15th, 1953, declared that the Dutch Government sees no point in resuming negotiations with Indonesia on the status of West Irian. In other words, the Dutch Government no longer regards West Irian as a territory of dispute between Holland and Indonesia. This is the clearest proof that Dutch imperialism is, at will, violating the agreement that it made with Indonesia, that

Dutch imperialism, with the full support of American imperialism, wants to continue to maintain the old form of colonialism in West Irian. For Indonesia, continued Dutch domination of West Irian is just the same as continuously holding the Republic of Indonesia up at pistol point.

The realisation of all measures aimed at peace will be easier if the international body, the United Nations Organisation, can speedily be restored to its proper function as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations. This international body must be able once again to become the instrument and place for the peaceful settlement of all international issues and disputes. The practice up till now, where UNO has, in practice, become the appendage of the American State Department must brought to an end as quickly as possible. A Labour Party member of the British Parliament, D. Jay, realising that UNO is being monopolised by the USA, stated to an AFP correspondent, in relation to the armistice in Korea and New China's entry into UNO, that "the British people have, on the whole, decided not to take part in an all-out war against the Chinese People's Republic. They want UNO to become a platform for the settlement of disputes and to uphold the law, but not to be turned into an anti-Communist club", (AFP report, September 17th, 1953). This statement of a Labour Party member should not be considered by us as being an expression of agreement with Communism but simply as being prompted by the economic situation in Britain which is approaching ever closer to bankruptcy because of the continuous pressure being exerted on her by America. If UNO is to be restored to its proper function in accordance with the United Nations Charter then an important condition is that a rightful place be given to the Chinese People's Republic as a member of UNO, representing as it does a population of more than 600 millions, and that the Kuomintang clique which up till now is still illegally occupying a place in this international body, be expelled.

A decisive factor for the realisation of all the ideals of mankind is the reaching of agreement on all international questions between

the great powers, the United States of America, the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, Britain and France. That is why the struggle for the signing of a Peace Pact between the Big Five is an important struggle of decisive significance.

The Indonesian people would greatly benefit if the Indonesian government which today, within certain limits, has the support of the people, were consistently to pursue a peace policy, were consistently to pursue the good-neighbour policy which is already practised with the Philippines, Burma, India, etc, by extending it to our great neighbour, the Chinese People's Republic, and to our heroic neighbours, the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the Viet Nam Democratic Republic. The implementation of this foreign policy will only be advantageous to the Indonesian people and will give the Republic of Indonesia its respected place in international intercourse and relations.

The Present tasks of Our Party in the Sphere of Foreign Affairs are:

1. To continue the struggle for peace, for the prevention of a new world war and to struggle for the peaceful settlement of all international disputes by negotiation; to struggle for co-operation between Indonesia and all peace-loving countries with the object of preserving peace and preventing war.

2. To struggle for economic and cultural co-operation between Indonesia and all countries on the basis of mutual advantage and complete equality; to support all people's struggles for complete national independence.

3. To help consolidate the peace victory in Korea and to struggle for an armistice on the Viet Nam front like that already achieved in Korea; to oppose the revival of militarism in Japan and Germany and resist all provocations aimed at the outbreak of a new war in Germany.

4. To struggle so that the position of the United Nations complies with the United Nations Charter as an instrument of mankind for peace; to struggle for the Chinese People's Republic's acceptance as a member of UNO and for the conclusion of a Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers, (the USA, the USSR, the Chinese People's Republic, Britain and France).

5. To struggle for the abrogation of all treaties and agreements now in force between Indonesia and other countries which jeopardise Indonesia's independence and disturb the peaceful atmosphere in Indonesia.

II. THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN INDONESIA

1. Indonesia's Semi-Colonial Status Results in Perpetual Economic Crisis. The Way Out is by Liquidating the Semi Colonial Status and Replacing it by a System of People's Democracy

For the past three and a half years, the CPI has unceasingly and tirelessly explained to the people that the Round Table Conference agreement drawn up by Hatta and Sultan Abdul Hamid with the Dutch government is a colonial agreement, an agreement which was not made on the basis of equality between the Republic of Indonesia and the Dutch Kingdom.

In the beginning, there were many people who believed Hatta when he said that the RTC agreement means "the liquidation of colonial power over Indonesia". But gradually this deception of the imperialists and the domestic reactionaries has been exposed, thanks to explanations made by the Communists and other democratic groups and because of the bitter experiences the people themselves have suffered as a consequence of the RTC agreement. Now, the entire people understand that the "transfer of sovereignty" which was

given on the basis of this RTC agreement by the Dutch Kingdom to Indonesia, is purely illusory, the biggest farce ever to have been put on in the entire history of the Indonesian people.

Through the RTC agreement, Dutch imperialism has succeeded in preserving its control over Indonesia, Indonesia has become a member of the so-called Indonesian-Dutch Union. Indonesia's foreign and foreign trade policies are controlled by the Dutch Government. West-Irian, a legal part of the Republic of Indonesia, is still completely under Dutch domination. Vital economic resources still remain in the hands of imperialist countries. Dutch civil and military officials still remain in control of the Indonesian state machinery and the army.

The RTC agreement has turned independent and sovereign Indonesia into a semi-colonial country, that is, a country which seemingly possesses the "right of self-government", but in actual fact, the real power, especially in the economic sphere, remains in the hands of the imperialists, especially the Dutch imperialists.

Various kinds of demagogy, such as talk of reconstruction, industrialisation and the prosperity of the country, have been carried out by reactionaries to deceive the people. All this is demagogy; big words without any basis in fact, so long as Indonesia's economy is still controlled by the foreign monopoly capitalists. This demagogy does not bring Indonesia any nearer to reconstruction, industrialisation and prosperity, but takes her farther away. Quite the contrary, Indonesia is now in the grip of a perpetual economic crisis and is on the verge of ruin.

The fact that Indonesia is in the grip of an economic crisis is proven by figures of the Government itself as well as by facts evident in society. The Ali Sastroamidjojo Government, which bears the consequences of the economic and financial policies of the Hatta, Natsir and Sukiman Governments and most recently, of Sumitro's policy (right-wing socialist Finance Minister, Tr.) during the Wilopo Cabinet, declared in its government reply to Parliament on Septem-

ber 2nd, 1953, that the budget deficit for the first seven months of 1953 had already reached 1,600 million rupiahs (11.40 rupiah = U.S. $ 1.0 Tr.) According to estimates made by the Ali Sastroamidjojo Government, the budget deficit for 1953 will be approximately 2.500 million rupiahs. This figure is almost as big as the amount which must be paid abroad as "invisibles" and which exceeded 2,300 million rupiahs during 1953. A large part of this sum is repayment for foreign capital invested in the past, the Ali Sastroamidjojo Government has admitted. The payment abroad of large amounts as invisibles at present is, according to the Ali Sastroamidjojo Government itself, a result of Indonesia's present economic structure and of the foreign investment policy carried out during the colonial period which is still in force to-day. Side by side with the Indonesian Republic's huge budget deficit, foreign monopoly capital is, by devious means, extracting extra-ordinarily large profits abroad.

In reference to exports, the Ali Sastroamidjojo Government has declared that the serious setbacks in 1953 were caused not by the volume of exports but by their prices. Thus, exports are still large but it is their prices which have fallen. This has been caused by American imperialism's price-pressure policy through the medium of the single-buyer system and through the blockade and embargo policies. The total volume of Indonesian exports and, self-evidently at the same time, the prices of the exported goods, could be very greatly increased if Indonesia were free to fix her own trade relations with foreign countries, if she were not tied by America's blockade and embargo policy. As an example, it is very striking how the American price dictatorship, through the Rubber Study Group, shamelessly determined that improved rubber-prices can only be expected in 1957. And yet, outside the market of the American bloc, there are countries prepared to buy Indonesian rubber and the rubber of other countries at reasonable prices.

Indonesia's import policy, too, seriously harms the national economy due to American imperialism's policy which forces Indonesia

to buy goods, the type and price of which are both fixed by the USA, due to the fact that foreign importers still dominate, due to the devaluation of the rupiah and to Sumitro's foreign exchange regulations. Based on the RTC agreement, Indonesia must pay a commission to Holland for all its exports as well as its imports.

In order to divert people's attention from the large-scale exploitation and from the phenomenal profits that are being extracted from Indonesia by the foreign monopoly capitalists, the reactionaries talk in demagogic phrases about cooperatives. In a radio-speech on July 12th, 1953, in connection with the third anniversary of *Cooperative Day*, Mohammad Hatta (Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia, ultra-reactionary leader of the Indonesian compradore cliques, Tr.) proudly declared that, if a comparison were made between 1951 and 1952 figures, it would be seen that the number of cooperatives had increased by 2,000 (to a total of 7,700), the number of members had increased by 179,000 (to a total of 1,180,000) while cooperative savings had risen to beyond 56 million rupiahs. In his speech Hatta very greatly over-exaggerated the significance of these cooperatives of middleclass people. In fact, these thousands of small-scale cooperatives with their total capital of 56 million rupiahs have no significance if compared with the huge amounts of untouched capital of the foreign monopolists in Indonesia. The fate of these cooperatives will not differ from that of "a small fish placed in a small pond together with a big fish". In a twinkle of an eye, the big fish can, if he wants to, put an end to the very existence of the small one. In a country which is under the constant threat of economic crisis, cooperatives do not have a good future; in due course, they will be destroyed by foreign monopoly capital, the more so if these cooperatives dare to intrude into the sphere of operations of foreign monopoly capital. But intrusion into the sphere of operations of foreign monopoly capital is an illusion for cooperatives a la Hatta. Thus, the Hatta mode of cooperative is not an efficacious remedy for economic crisis; it

is only an attempt to distract attention so that the people's struggle is not aimed at liquidating foreign monopoly capital in Indonesia.

In an Indonesia which is in the grip of economic crisis, it is self-evident that the living standards of the people have fallen very much and will fall even more as time goes by. The Indonesian worker's wage is extremely low while real wages are constantly falling due to the continuous rise in prices. Unemployment is continually on the increase. The Indonesian peasants who comprise 70% of the population, are still in a position of slavery, living a poverty-stricken and backward life under the oppression of the landlords and usurers. The Indonesian intelligentsia, too have no bright prospects in an Indonesia which is constantly in the grip of economic crisis because a poverty-stricken Indonesia does not make the development of science and culture possible. The deterioration in the living standards of the people is fertile soil for the enemies of the Republic to spread their movement of terror in the form of the Darul Islam, TII (imperialist-led terrorist gangs, cloaked under the guise of religious organisations striving for the establishment of an imperialist-inspired, anti-democratic Islam State, Tr.) and other gangs.

All these above-mentioned facts are more and more profoundly convincing the majority of the Indonesian people, namely the workers, peasants, intelligentsia, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, that the colonial economic system must be abolished and replaced by a national economic system. The abolition of the colonial economy and its replacement by a national economy is only possible by annulling the entire RTC agreement because precisely its basic contents are concerned with economic power. In this way, the majority of the Indonesian people are becoming convinced that the only path to reconstruction, industrialisation and prosperity is the path of complete national independence and democratic changes, that is, the establishment of a system of People's Democracy.

2. *Development of the United National Front*

Under the present circumstances, when the RTC agreement must be revoked, when intervention from America and other countries must be resisted, when Japanese militarism which is being revived by American imperialism must once more be opposed, when Indonesia must be freed from the Indonesian-Dutch Union, when West Irian must be defended as Indonesian Republican territory and when the DI, TII and other terrorist gangs must be smashed, it is a very urgent task for the working class to further strengthen its unity. The unity of the Indonesian workers is getting stronger with every passing day. The resolution adopted by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPI in March 1952 on the *Tasks of the United Workers Front* acted as an important stimulus to the Indonesian worker's struggle for their direct economic and political demands, in uniting them and consolidating their organisation.

As it strengthens its unity, the working class gives the lead to the formation of a united national front which is growing *just as it should be*, throughout the entire country. All Indonesians, men and women, who agree to complete national independence for the Indonesian fatherland and who agree to peace, without any distinction of political belief, religious creed and social position, back the united national front.

Under the leadership of the Party, propaganda has been started to explain that the struggle of the masses is not only able to secure the fulfilment of a certain economic demand, is not only able to secure the realisation of a certain direct political objective, but can also guarantee much greater victories. The struggle of the masses cannot only result in a change of government which may have no significance whatsoever because the new government continues to pursue the old government's policy (Hatta's government was replaced by Natsir's and Natsir's government was replaced by Sukiman's) but, and this is most important, the struggle of the

masses can also bring about a *change in policy*. The formation of the Ali Sastroamidjojo Government is proof of this truth, and this event has given the incentive to the masses to achieve greater political changes.

The interests of the Indonesian workers and peasants, the interests of the entire Indonesian people, men and women, demand that everything possible be done to foil the criminal actions of the Masjumi and the PSI leaders and other reactionaries who, on the orders of a foreign state, carry out anti-people, anti-democratic, anti-national and anti-Indonesian activities. We must foil every one of their manoeuvres every where, inside as well as outside Parliament, legal as well as illegal. Foiling their manoeuvres means foiling the operations of Dutch, American and British imperialism in the economic, political, military and cultural spheres in our country.

It cannot be denied that, at present, there are still many Indonesian men and women who cannot yet accept some parts of our Party's Programme although we Communists regard our Party's programme as the only one which completely suits the requirements of our country at present and in the future. But even so, there is much evidence to show that a large majority of Indonesian men and women can now agree to certain parts of the Communist Party programme and, based on these sections of the programme, it is possible to establish a strong and powerful united national front which will determine economic and political objectives in accordance with the demands of the present time and struggle for their realisation.

The united national front which is being built up by our Party is one which unites Indonesian men and women of all political beliefs, religious convictions and social positions and is self-evidently based on a common desire to overcome the economic crisis which constantly strangulates Indonesia, to prevent Indonesia from being dragged into an aggressive pact by American imperialism, to defend West Irian as a part of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, to oppose the rearming of Japan, to hold high the banners of demo-

cracy and struggle for complete national independence for Indonesia.

Based on common desires, the united national front can also pursue an economic, financial and social policy within the framework of a peaceful economy which can guarantee the development of industry and agriculture in Indonesia, which can meet the direct needs of the workers, which can give land to the landless peasants or the peasants with inadequate land, which can develop trade on the basis of mutual benefit with all countries and which can build a large number of houses so badly needed by the population.

Based on the full support of the entire Indonesian people, men and women, the united national front must also defend democratic liberties from all attacks launched by reaction and fascism. The struggle of the Indonesian people during the past few years proves that national unity, even though not yet very strong, was able to defeat the fascist August mass arrests of the Sukiman-Subardjo-Wibisono Government in 1951, it was able to frustrate the coup d'etat which the right-wing socialists and militarists tried to carry out on October 17th, 1952, and was also able to press for the formation of the Ali Sastroamidjojo Government whose programme is fairly democratic and which does not include compradore and landlord elements from the Masjumi and compradore elements from the PSI. In the same way, too, with this as yet not very powerful national unity, the movement to smash the Darul Islam, TII and other terrorist gangs is expanding and growing stronger. Thus, a united national front which has its roots in every section of our people and which mobilises the people into the struggle, will make it easier to give more convincing proof as to the falsity of the statements of Masjumi, PSI and other reactionary leaders about the necessity for Indonesia to become part of the Dutch Kingdom or part of the United States, about the "sacredness" of the objectives of the fight being waged by the Darul Islam and the TII and about the "services" of foreign monopoly capital to the construction of Indonesia. This is why the Masjumi, PSI and other reactionary

leaders are deadly afraid of the united national front, because they know that it is the forces of the people unified in a united national front that will expose their foul actions and that will foil every one of their anti-democratic and anti-Indonesian deeds.

Only a united national front, which unites the Communists with all other patriots, can fix a policy which conforms with the interests of the Indonesian fatherland and nation and can ensure the formation of a government which is prepared to implement this policy. And it is indeed a fact that a change in policy is only possible with the help of the struggle waged by the Communists for the broadest possible united action within the framework of a powerful united national front, capable of pressing for such changes. Defenders of anti-Communism such as Sukiman, Jusuf Wibisono, Sjahrir, Hatta, Natsir and others will be considered by all national-minded people as ridiculous political clowns.

The united national front is the most democratic front both in its composition and methods of work. The united national front draws together the great majority of the people. All Indonesian men and women who do not favour the foreign colonisation of Indonesia must unite within this front or give it their backing. Only when it has been possible to unite the majority of the Indonesian people shall we be able to speak of a real, broad and strong united national front. It is because of this that we cannot possibly speak of a real, broad and strong united national front until the peasants have been drawn into it because, in our country, the peasants comprise more than 70% of the population. The non-participation of the peasants means the non-participation of the majority of the Indonesian people and this is a very great weakness in our united national front. As yet, only about 7% of the peasants are organised. This is a very small amount.

Because of this, the primary task of the Communists is to draw the peasants into the united national front. This means that in order that the peasants can be drawn in, the most immediate task of Indonesian Communists is to eliminate the survivals of feudalism,

to develop the anti-feudal agrarian revolution, to confiscate the land of the landlords and give it free of charge to the peasants, in particular to the landless and poor peasants, as their own private property. The first step to be taken in our work among the peasants is to assist them in the struggle for their everyday needs, for the achievement of their partial demands. In this way, it will mean organising and educating the peasants to a higher level of struggle. This is the foundation on which to create the alliance of workers and peasants as the basis of a powerful, united national front.

The agrarian revolution is the essence of the People's Democratic revolution in Indonesia. The agrarian revolution is the condition for construction, industrialisation and economic prosperity in Indonesia. If the peasants are impoverished, landless or possessing inadequate land, it is not possible to bring about construction, industrialisation and economic prosperity in the country. Hence, the primary and indispensible condition for the construction of Indonesia, for its industrialisation and for the country's economic prosperity is the realisation of the slogan: "land to the peasants."

Laying the centre of gravity of work on drawing the peasants in does not in any way mean that work among the workers, intelligentsia, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie in the towns may be neglected. Neither does it mean that the establishment of blocs of co-operation with other parties and organisations may be neglected. The experiences of the Indonesian people teach that the creation of blocs of co-operation both inside as well as outside Parliament, with other parties and organisations, can reap benefits of not inconsiderable significance, for example, in defeating the Sukiman August mass arrests in 1951, in frustrating the attempted coup of the right-wing socialists and militarists on October 17th, 1952, in forming the Wilopo Cabinet in 1952 and in forming the Ali Sastroamidjojo Cabinet in 1953 which, under the pressure of the people, has promised to pursue a democratic programme in accordance with the demands raised at the public rallies and demonstrations of the people.

There are some Party members who, after having briefly studied the experiences of the Chinese revolution, are of the opinion that since the most important thing is to rouse the peasants to participate in the struggle, all Communists must therefore leave the towns and work among the peasants. This opinion is, of course, incorrect. It is first of all necessary to point out that the Chinese Communists never under-estimated the significance of work among the workers. Just the opposite, they attached great significance to work in the towns, particularly at the time guerilla warfare was being waged outside the towns. Secondly, we must pay attention to the fact that there are certain differences between Indonesia and China geographically and in the question of political developments.

The CPI must continue to carry out its work among the workers, the intellectuals, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie in the towns. The spirit of the intelligentsia and studying youth, and their determination to serve the working people is of great significance to the revolutionary movement. This has already been proven by the experiences of the struggle of the Indonesian people themselves.

From the above statement, it is clear that the only correct political line of the CPI is to form an alliance of workers and peasants and on this basis, to build a united national front. Based on the concrete situation in our country, based on the possibilities and capabilities of our Party, it is the task of our Party to establish both these at the same time, that is, to build the alliance of workers and peasants on the basis of a revolutionary agrarian programme, and simultaneously, to improve and strengthen the united national front in the form of blocs of co-operation with other parties and organisations.

The main enemy of the Indonesian people, from the viewpoint of the extent of its domination in various spheres, particularly in the economic sphere, is Dutch imperialism. Therefore, the united national front must be directed, in the first place, at liquidating Dutch imperialism and not at liquidating all foreign imperialisms

in Indonesia at one and the same time. In the first place, the aim of this front must be the expulsion of the Dutch imperialists and their armed forces from Indonesia, the confiscation and nationalisation of the property of the Dutch imperialists, the withdrawal of Indonesia from the Indonesian-Dutch Union and the proclamation of complete independence for Indonesia. But, in the event of American and other imperialisms giving armed support to the Dutch colonisers and their Indonesian hirelings, then the struggle must be directed against all imperialisms in Indonesia; their property must be confiscated and nationalised.

3. The Ali Sastroamidjojo Cabinet was Formed as a Result of the Contradictions between the Domestic Ruling Circles and under the Pressure of the People's Unity

As a result of the contradictions between the domestic ruling cliques and under the pressure of the people's unity, the ultra-reactionary Sukiman Government fell and was replaced by the Wilopo Government which promised to take democratic measures. It was, indeed, subsequently proven that the Wilopo Government did, in the first months after its formation, carry out some democratic measures.

The CPI and all the democratic forces quickly withdrew their support from the Wilopo Government after it became clear that this Government was introducing anti-democratic and anti-national measures, owing to the weakness of the democratic elements within it and because of the policies of the reactionary Masjumi and PSI ministers. The Wilopo Government later fell as a result of the contradictions between the domestic ruling cliques and under the pressure of the democratic forces.

As a result of the contradictions between the ruling forces within the country and under the pressure of the people's unity, there was formed on July 30th, 1953, after almost two months of government crisis, the Ali Sastroamidjojo Government which has a more

democratic and clear-cut programme than that of the Wilopo Government. In the same way as with the Wilopo Government before it began to take anti-democratic and anti-national measures, the CPI has given its support to the Ali Sastroamidjojo Government.

The CPI's attitude towards the Wilopo Government and towards the Ali Sastroamidjojo Government is a correct one. The CPI will give any government the opportunity to work on condition that it gives the chance to the people's movement to develop. The CPI bases its policy on a Marxist analysis of the concrete situation and the balance of forces. It would be adventurism if the CPI, because it hoped for the formation of a better cabinet, were to withhold its support from the present Ali Sastroamidjojo Government which could result in the government falling into the power of the ultra-reactionary Masjumi and PSI parties which would certainly fiercely suppress the people's movement. But the CPI does not regard the present Ali Sastroamidjojo Government as a united national front government or as a truly progressive government.

The present unstable situation in Indonesia can develop as follows:

Firstly: Under pressure from the masses, the Ali Sastroamidjojo Government can give certain concessions to the people, the people's movement might forge ahead somewhat and the Ali Sastroamidjojo Government thus retain its position.

Secondly: The Ali Sastroamidjojo Government, if it takes anti-democratic and anti-national measures owing to the weakness of the democratic elements within it, might have the same experience as the Wilopo Government, i.e. it will be forced to resign by the democratic forces under whose pressure a government will be formed which better fulfils the conditions to act democratically and resolutely.

Thirdly: The reactionaries and imperialists, taking advantage of the government's policy aimed at restricting the people's movement which results in its not getting the support of the people, might overthrow the Ali Sastroamidjojo Government and install a reactionary government in its stead.

Fourthly: The Ali Sastroamidjojo Government, availing itself of the support of the people to strengthen its own position and, thereby get Holland to make certain concessions, might at the same time, because of its fear of the popular movement spreading, change its present halfway policy and, together with the imperialists and reactionaries, launch an attack on the people.

The Communist Party of Indonesia and the Indonesian people must be vigilant; they must be ready to face all possible eventualities. The CPI and the Indonesian people must push the Ali Sastroamidjojo Government forward so that it is willing to make concessions to the people thus enabling the people's movement to make certain advances. But if the Ali Sastroamidjojo Government goes to the right, then the CPI and the Indonesian people must also be ready to face this.

The formation of the Ali Sastroamidjojo Government is an important lesson for the Indonesian people. It teaches that a mass struggle is not only capable of realising direct economic demands and political objectives, but also that with a mass struggle, changes can be brought about in policy, that with a mass struggle, a rather progressive government can be formed. The Ali Sastroamidjojo Government has solved the land question in Tandjung Morawa (East Sumatera, Tr.) in a way different from the reactionary policies which the Masjumi and PSI tried to force on the people through the Wilopo Government. The Ali Sastroamidjojo Government's decision on the land question in Tandjung Morawa has been enthusiastically welcomed by the peasants. The Indonesian people must constantly press for the consistent implementation of all those democratic sections of the Ali Sastroamidjojo Government's programme in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the Indonesian people. This is the guarantee that the Ali Sastroamidjojo Government can keep with the Indonesian people for a long period of time. And this is also the guarantee that the anti-democratic, anti-national and anti-Indonesian policies of the Masjumi, the PSI and other reactionary leaders will meet with failure every time.

The political defeat of the Masjumi, PSI and other reactionary leaders has made them increasingly panic-stricken. The political links between them and the Dutch and American imperialists, with the DI and TII terrorist gangs, with the militarist who were involved in the attempted coup on October 17th, 1952, and influenced also by the temporary successes achieved by the American-organised coup under the leadership of the fascist Zahedi in Iran, represent concrete dangers for Indonesia. This situation places heavier responsibilities on the shoulders of every Communist and every Indonesian patriot.

The Tasks of the Party in the Sphere of Internal Affairs are as follows:

1. To prevent the collapse of Indonesia, being brought about by the uninterrupted economic crisis, by struggling for the annulment of the RTC agreement, for complete national independence and for democratic changes; to free Indonesia from the Indonesian-Dutch Union and defend W. Irian as territory of the Republic of Indonesia.

2. To carry out day-to-day work among the workers, peasants and other masses of the people; to build the alliance of workers and peasants and to improve and strengthen the united national front.

3. To hold high the banners of parliamentary democracy which the Masjumi and PSI leaders would like to destroy and mobilise the masses to crush the DI-TII, as well as other terrorist gangs.

4. To support the Ali Sastroamidjojo Government and press it to give democratic liberties to the people in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

5. To raise the level of the political activities of the people, to strengthen patriotism and cultivate political vigilance against provocations, intimidation, terrorism and coups by the imperialists and domestic reactionaries.

III. THE PARTY

1. The Relation between the Correctness of the Party's Political Line and the Building of the Party

The Plenum of the Central Committee held in January, 1951, during which criticism and self-criticism was carried out among the members of the Central Committee in connection with ideological and political deviations among some members of the Central Committee, and which ended in a victory of proletarian ideology and policy over non-proletarian ideology and policy, has had a good effect on the development of our Party. In the same way, too, the birth of a draft *Party Constitution* at the Plenum of the Central Committee in April, 1951, became a great incentive for the development of the Party throughout Indonesia, for raising the political level of the Party, for the development of inner-Party democracy, for the practice of criticism and self-criticism within the Party, for strengthening Party discipline and for ideological unity and unity of strength of the Party.

Many events have taken place since that historic Plenum of the Central Committee. These events have given training to the members, cadres and leaders of our Party. Our Party has been trained to utilise to the maximum every existing opportunity to extend the Party's influence and intensify the building of the Party. In the midst of continuous blows from the reactionaries, our Party was confronted with basic and most urgent problems to solve: *firstly*, the problem of building a united national front based on the alliance of workers and peasants, and *secondly*, the problem of building a bolshevised Communist Party of Indonesia which is nationwide in scale and has a broad mass character, which is fully consolidated in the ideological, political and organisational spheres.

The mass arrests carried out by Sukiman in August, 1951, were a severe test for our Party because they occurred when the Political Bureau, elected at the January, 1951 Plenum, had only been working

for six months to consolidate the Party, and in a situation when the Party's links with the masses, especially with the peasant masses, were not yet close. The difficulties the Party had in overcoming the Sukiman August mass arrests were also caused by incorrect methods of work of candidate members, members and cadres of the Party due to the fact that there were still many sectarian elements, that there were still capitulationist and adventurist elements within the Party.

The correct tactics laid down by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee at that time, namely, the tactics of separating the national bourgeoisie from the ultra-reactionary compradore bourgeoisie headed by Sukiman—Subardjo—Wibisono, were of a decisive character in defeating the Sukiman August mass arrests. After an intensive campaign of explanation, these tactics were unanimously supported by the entire Party and by the masses who were under the leadership of the Party. Articles in the "Bintang Merah" served as important directives to Party cadres and members to overcome the danger of fascism at that time. The Party's tactics were successful; the ultra-reactionary government headed by Sukiman—Subardjo—Wibisono became increasingly isolated and was finally forced to resign. The national bourgeoisie itself began to lean a little to the left and gradually took up its proper place, that is, together with the workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie in the struggle to resist the compradores and Dutch imperialism.

The correctness of the Party's political line had a very great influence on the work of building the Party and on the development of the Party. The masses grew increasingly confident in the Party's leadership and policy. Some members who at the beginning of the August mass arrests had become rather panicky because they remembered the cruelties of the reactionaries at the time of the "Madiun Affair" (a provocation launched in September, 1948, by the imperialists and the Hatta-Sukiman clique, during which many thousands of Communists and progressive people were arrested

and murdered, Tr.) which they thought would be repeated in the August mass arrests, regained their courage and enthusiasm. Sukiman did not succeed in creating a second "Madiun Affair" because everywhere he struck up against the democratic forces.

On the directives of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, inner-Party democracy as well as criticism and self-criticism were cultivated. After passing through a process of criticism and self-criticism in the Party groups, branches, fractions and committees, courage and enthusiasm to work was restored in all Party organisations. Efforts to strengthen the ideology of Party members were begun for the first time in the history of our Party during the period of the August mass arrests by what were called "theoretical discussions" which were held periodically, side by side with what were called "discussions on practical work" which were also held periodically in Party groups, branches, fractions and committees. Inner-Party democracy, criticism and self-criticism, and discussions on theoretical questions and everyday activities have now become a habit in our Party. This is an advance of inestimable value to the development of our Party. At the same time, the Party spirit has been constantly growing among Party candidate-members, members and cadres, in accordance with the development of the Party in all spheres. All this could not possibly have happened formerly because of the lack of unity within, and the liberal character of the leadership.

One important event which took place at the end of the August mass arrests was the *National Party Conference* which was held at the beginning of 1952. In this National Conference, the Party's policy towards the Sukiman-Subardjo-Wibisono Government, the question of annihilating the DI and TII terrorist gangs, of building a united front with the national bourgeoisie, of strengthening the ideological level of the Party, of increasing the membership and other organisational questions were thoroughly discussed. The discussion on all points made at this National Conference led to the conclusion that it was necessary to eliminate sectarianism,

capitulationism and adventurism as a guarantee that the Conference decisions could be realised.

In the National Conference, it was deeply felt how close the relationship is between the question of the Party's political line and that of its up-building. The Party's political line which placed the centre of gravity of the Party's task on building a united national front against the ultra-reactionary Sukiman Government, could only be carried out if the most important organisational question of the time were solved, namely, the expansion of Party membership and of the Party organisation. With the number of members and candidate-members at that time standing at 7,910 and with such a small and narrow Party organisation, it was not possible to carry out the broad and heavy political task as explained above, i.e. to bring about the downfall of the Sukiman Government which was fully supported by American imperialism.

Bearing in mind the fact that the amount of work facing the Party was so great that many cadres were having to take up as many as seven different functions in the Party leadership and in the mass organisations, and bearing in mind the fact that the correctness of the Party's policy and the continuous decrease of sectarian elements within the Party had attracted an extraordinarily large mass of people who wanted to join the Party, the Political Bureau made plans for an expansion of membership. The National Conference approved the Political Bureau's plan to expand membership from 7,910 to one hundred thousand in a period of six months.

The plan for the expansion of membership gave rise to a great amount of activity among the candidate-members, members and cadres of the Party. The plan of membership expansion concluded with the result of 126,671 candidate-members and members which meant that the plan had been exceeded. At the same time as this plan for the increase of membership was in progress, the question of organising candidate-members and members, the question of political education, of raising the ideological level, of allocating cadres and of strengthening political vigilance were also solved.

An educational campaign based on a fixed plan was also undertaken for candidate-members, members and cadres and also for the masses of the people.

The activities of the Party during the August mass arrests in building the united national front and in building the Party were the most important factor for the development of the forces of democracy. The contradictions among the ruling cliques themselves and the pressure of the democratic forces had resulted in the downfall of the Sukiman Government which was replaced by a fairly advanced government, the Wilopo Government. The Party gave this government the opportunity to work in an effort to prevent the government from falling back into the hands of the Sukiman-Hatta clique and so as to give the opportunity to the Party and to other democratic forces to develop and strengthen themselves.

During the period of the Wilopo Government, the Party improved and strengthened its work of building the united national front. The improved work of the Party in building the united national front resulted in improvements for the development of the Party, and the converse was also true; as the work to build the Party improved, so the work to build the united national front also improved.

Whereas members and candidate-members of the Party had formerly numbered less than 10,000 and the Party's organisation had only extended to Java and Sumatera and was isolated from the other democratic classes and groups, in 1952 it was possible to increase membership to over 100,000, to expand the Party to Madura, Sulawesi (Celebes, Tr.), Kalimantan (Borneo, Tr.), the Lesser Sunda Islands and the Moluccas, and to win the sympathy and support of broad sections of the democratic elements outside the Party.

The correct tactics of the Party towards the Wilopo Government improved and cleared the way for the Party's work of building unity with the national bourgeoisie which unity had been split since the middle of 1948 when the national bourgeoisie sided with the compradore bourgeois clique headed by Hatta—Sukiman—Natsir, who had declared war on the workers, peasants and other democratic

elements (the Madiun Affair). The return of the national bourgeoisie to the united anti-imperialist national front meant an important additional force for this front. If the Party had not swiftly and correctly restored relations with the national bourgeoisie, the development of the united national front and the development, consolidation and bolshevisation of our Party would also not have been so fast as it is now.

Thanks to the united national front and to the Communist Party which had increased in strength, it was possible to frustrate the attempted right-wing socialist coup on October 17th, 1952. This failure of the attempted October 17th coup gave new strength to the united national front and to the Communist Party as well as to the other democratic parties.

The development of the united national front and the up-building of the Party have greater prospects with the formation of the Ali Sastroamidjojo Government whose composition and programme is more advanced than that of the Wilopo Government and which therefore has the support of the CPI and other democratic parties and groups.

A serious weakness from which the Party now suffers is that Party members and cadres do no yet properly understand either agrarian relations or the demands and living conditions of the peasants. That is why the Party has not yet been able to draw the majority of the peasants into the united national front and the number of Party members from the ranks of the peasants is still relatively very small. At present, only about 7% of the peasants are organised under the leadership of the Party, while less than 50% of the total Party membership comes from among the peasants. The *Party's Agrarian Programme* which was drawn up during the August mass arrests and the working ability of Party members has not yet been able to win over and mobilise the peasants on a large scale. This means that our united national front does not yet have a strong basis and, in a difficult situation, for example, should the national bourgeoisie once again be disloyal to the struggle against imperialism as was

the case in 1948, then the Party would not have a strong peasant base.

Although our present united national front has succeeded in gaining some victories in its struggle, it is still not yet built on strong foundations. This situation will continue so long as the Party does not yet work correctly for the peasant masses and so long as there are not yet many people from among the peasants, particularly the poor and landless peasants, who enter our Party and become its cadres.

2. Two Extremely Urgent Tasks of the Party

It is now clear that the problems which are now extremely urgent for the Party are: *firstly*, the problem of building the anti-imperialist united national front which is based on the anti-feudal alliance of workers and peasants; and *secondly*, continuing the up-building of a bolshevised CPI, nationwide in scale, which has a broad, mass character, and which is fully consolidated in the ideological, political and organisational spheres.

The subjective and objective conditions are sufficient for the building of a broad united national front with the alliance of workers and peasants as the basis, sufficient for building a bolshevised Communist Party, a Communist Party of the Lenin-type.

A. The Problem of Building the United National Front

Since our Party was founded in 1920, the united front of the Indonesian proletariat and national bourgeoisie has passed through several different situations and periods.

The first period (1920—1926) was the period in which the Party was still completely unaware of the need for uniting with the national bourgeoisie, in which the Party's slogan was "Socialism now",

"Indonesian soviets" and "dictatorship of the proletariat". This "left" deviation of the Party was criticised exactly and correctly by J. V. Stalin in his speech before the students of the University of the Peoples of the East on May 18th, 1925, in which he said that this left deviation contained within it the danger of isolating the Party from the masses and converting it into a sect. Stalin said that a resolute struggle against this deviation was an important condition for the training of truly revolutionary cadres for colonial and dependent countries in the East.

The second period (1935—1945) was the period of united front with the national bourgeoisie against fascism. The fact that the Party adopted this correct political line was mainly due to the leadership given by Musso who came illegally to Indonesia from abroad in 1935. Musso's arrival not only provided political leadership to the Party, but it was under the leadership of Musso that the Party, which since the Dutch colonial government's terror in 1926—27 had suffered much damage and had been unable to remuster itself, was rebuilt. Although the CPI was working illegally at the time, it was however able, through the GERINDO (revolutionary people's organisation during the prewar Dutch colonial period, Tr.) and other organisations, to take an active part in building the anti-fascist front, both before Japan had occupied Indonesia as well as during the period of the Japanese occupation. This anti-fascist front not only succeeded in drawing in the national bourgeoisie, but also, a section of the compradore bourgeoisie added further strength to the anti-Japanese front. But after the Japanese armed forces occupied Indonesia, the majority of the national bourgeoisie and virtually the entire compradore bourgeoisie pursued a policy of collaboration with Japan. The national bourgeoisie pursued a policy of collaboration with Japan, after seeing that the forces of the people resisting Japan were not very great, and because they were under the illusion that Japan would give "independence" to Indonesia.

The third period (1945—1948) was the period of the armed united national front against Dutch imperialism. The national bourgeoisie

re-entered the united national front after seeing that the strength of the People's Revolution was great. The great strength of the People's Revolution caused the national bourgeoisie to adopt a firm attitude during the first years of the revolution. The weaknesses of the Party in the political, ideological and organisational spheres made it incapable of providing leadership to the objective situation which was, at that time, very favourable. During this revolution, the Party departed from its political, ideological and organisational independence and it did not place any importance on work among the peasants. These are the basic causes for the failure of the revolution. The weakness of the leadership of the revolution resulted in the revolution continually experiencing military, political and economic defeats and these defeats caused the national bourgeoisie to waver and finally side with the compradores and the imperialists. The resolution "The New Road for the Republic of Indonesia" which was approved by the CPI conference held in August, 1948, was the way out of the difficult situation which the Republic of Indonesia faced at that time. But before this resolution could be implemented, the Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir Government succeeded in engineering the "Madiun Affair" provocation.

The fourth period (1948—1951) was the period in which the national bourgeoisie split away from the anti-imperialist united national front and sided with the Hatta-Sukiman-Natsir Government which provoked the "Madiun Affair". The national bourgeoisie joined forces in capitulating to imperialism by agreeing to the treacherous RTC agreement created by Hatta, Sultan Hamid and Mohammad Roem. The policy of the national bourgeoisie which had split itself away from the united national front was heavily felt by the Party because the Party, as a result of the weakness of its work among the peasants, was not yet able to rely on the peasants. This situation forced the Party to adopt tactics of gaining time in order to draw the national bourgeoisie back into the anti-imperialist united national front and to improve as well as strengthen the Party's work among the peasants. The correctness of these tactics of the Party was proven by the new

political developments in the country which began to take place in the beginning of 1952.

The fifth period (1951 till the present) is the period in which unity with the national bourgeoisie is getting closer and closer but the alliance of workers and peasants is still not strong. In other words, the Party still does not have strong foundations. At this stage, the Party must fight resolutely against the right deviation which gives exaggerated significance to unity with the national bourgeoisie and underestimated the significance of the leadership of the working class and of the alliance of workers and peasants. There is the danger of losing the Party's independent character, the danger of its merging itself with the bourgeoisie. Side by side with this, the Party, of course, must also resolutely prevent the "left" deviation, prevent sectarianism, that is, the attitude which places no importance on the policy of a united front with the national bourgeoisie; the Party must preserve this united front with all its might. Since the compradore bourgeois cliques rely on different imperialisms, and because Party policy is at present directed in the first place against Dutch imperialism and not against all foreign imperialisms, increasingly sharp contradictions have arisen between the imperialists themselves, and these contradictions have naturally arisen among their compradores, too. The creation of a united national front with the national bourgeoisie opens up new prospects for the development and building of the Party and for the immediate task of the Party, that is, the building of the anti-feudal alliance of workers and peasants. The up-building of the Party and the building of the alliance of workers and peasants are guarantees that the united national front will be under proletarian leadership.

We may draw the following conclusions from the above experiences:

1. The Indonesian national bourgeoisie, because it, too, is being oppressed by foreign imperialism, can, under certain circumstances and within certain limits, participate in the struggle against imperialism. Under such circumstances, the Indonesian proletariat must build unity with the national bourgeoisie and preserve this unity with all its strength. Under even more specific circumstances,

when the Party's policy at a given time is only directed against one particular imperialism, a part of the compradore bourgeoisie can also be an additional force in the struggle against that particular imperialism. But even so, the compradore bourgeoisie is still very reactionary and is still aiming at the destruction of the Communist Party, the proletarian movement and other democratic movements.

2. Because of the economically and politically weak position of the Indonesian national bourgeoisie, it is possible that, under certain historical conditions, the national bourgeoisie, which is by very nature wavering, may hesitate and betray. That is why the proletariat and the Communist Party of Indonesia must always be prepared for the eventuality that, under certain conditions, the national bourgeoisie will not participate in the united front but, under other circumstances, it may possibly again rejoin the front.

3. Without the participation of the peasants, the united national front cannot possibly be strong and powerful. Without the participation of the peasants, the united front can only draw together at the very most between 20% and 25% of the people, i.e. the workers, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. The peasants comprise more than 70% of the population of Indonesia. It follows from this that a strong and powerful united national front is one which is based on the alliance of workers and peasants. Apart from the fact that the peasantry is a firm ally of the proletariat, the urban petty bourgeoisie whose number is quite considerable is a reliable ally of the proletariat. That is why work among the urban petty bourgeoisie is also important.

4. In the struggle to create a united national front, both by co-operation with various political parties or by co-operation with people of various trends and ideologies, the Party must not become merged with them. The Party must preserve its political, ideological and organisational independence. In order to do this, the Party must arm its functionaries with a clear understanding of the Party's programme and tactics. A united front with other political parties and other classes is an alliance based on common demands and common action. At the same time, the Communists, when necessary, must criticise any reactionary measures taken by their allies and must oppose their wavering attitudes. Side by side with this, the Party must warn its members of sectarianism.

It is clear to us that our Party must correctly solve the problem of the united front, the problem of unity with and separation from the national bourgeoisie and the problem of the alliance of workers and peasants as the basis of the united national front.

B. The Problem of Building the Party

Once the Party has a correct political line, the problem is then how to apply this correct political line consistently and make it into a mass line. How to ensure that all the prospects outlined by the Party become actual facts? This depends on the situation in the Party. In this question, the central problem is the problem of the Party itself, the problem of building the Party.

If we want to be victorious in the revolution, we must have a revolutionary Party of the Lenin type. In other words, if we want to be victorious in the revolution, if we want to change the physiognomy of society from a semi-colonial into a completely independent Indonesia, if we want to take part in changing the physiognomy of the world, we must have a Party of the model of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the model of the Communist Party of China.

Without the theory of Marxism – Leninism it is not possible to have such a Party. The Party can only play a leading role if it is led by advanced theory. Only a Party which has mastered the theory of Marxism – Leninism can be relied on to be the vanguard of and lead the working class and other masses of the people. In order that our Party should be capable of fully shouldering its great and heavy historic burden, and in order to be capable of leading the Indonesian people from one victory to another, it must first of all create Marxist – Leninist ideological unity within its own ranks, raise the Marxist – Leninist ideological level of the entire Party and consolidate the correct Marxist – Leninist leadership. Our Party can only be strong by raising the Marxist – Leninist ideological level of all Party

members. Only when we have mastered the science of Marxism – Leninism and have complete faith in the masses, only when we have close links with the masses and lead them forward, shall we be able to break down all obstacles and surmount all difficulties, and in this way, our strength will be invincible.

Our Party will only be able to fulfil its great and heavy historic task if it carries out an incessant and merciless struggle against both the right and "left" opportunists within its own ranks, if the Party continuously purges itself of capitulators and traitors within its own ranks and if it constantly preserves unity and discipline within its own ranks. The Party is the vanguard detachment of the working class, its strongest bulwark, its General Staff. Victory cannot possibly be achieved if there are capitulators, opportunists and traitors sitting in this General Staff. If this were so, the Party could easily be smashed, not only from outside but also from within.

Our Party can fulfil its great and heavy historic task only if it does not become conceited as a result of the victories it achieves, if it sees the shortcomings in its work, if it has the courage to admit its mistakes and frankly and honestly rectifies them. The Party will become invincible if it is not afraid of criticism and self-criticism, if it does not conceal the mistakes and shortcomings in its work, if it teaches and trains its cadres to draw the lessons from the mistakes in the Party's work and is able to correct them in time.

Indonesia is a petty bourgeois country, that is, a country in which small-scale enterprise is still very widespread especially individual peasant undertakings which are not sufficiently productive. Our Party is surrounded by this very large petty bourgeois class and many members of our Party come from this class, and it is unavoidable that those of them who enter our Party bring with them, to a greater or lesser extent, the thoughts and habits of the petty bourgeoisie. It is this petty bourgeoisie which is the social basis of two kinds of subjectivist diseases in our Party: dogmatism and empiricism. These two kinds of subjectivism have been the ideological basis of those people guilty of right and "left" opportunism in the Party in the past.

Dogmatism and empiricism stem from two opposite extremes. Both these ideologies are equally one-sided. The dogmatists base everything on books alone and on isolated dogmas and do not see everything as living, changing and developing. They render theory powerless because they cut it off from all connection with practice, with the masses. The empiricists, on the other hand, work hard, perhaps as hard as pack-horses, but without knowing from where all that they are doing originates, and without knowing what is their objective and what is the correct way of achieving this objective. They make practice blind because they are not guided by any theory, because they ignore theory. It is clear that both these ideologies are not objective and, on this one-sided basis, these two kinds of ideologies, when confronted by a certain practical problem at a given time, will link up with each other and arrive at a common viewpoint. That is why we not infrequently see that "leftists" inside and outside our Party, in facing practical problems, link up and find common ground with the rightists inside and outside our Party. In the same way, we frequently see that such a person can suddenly change from being a "leftist" and become a rightist, or the converse, without going through any serious mental struggle; it happens quite naturally.

The question of resisting subjectivism is very important for our Party, that is, resisting both dogmatism and empiricism. Both these types of subjectivism are equally dangerous for our Party and the most dangerous is that one which we are not opposing and attacking. The experiences of our Party show that the Party's defeats and the injuries inflicted on it, (for example, the defeat and injuries suffered in 1926, the defeat of the 1945—1948 Revolution, the unsuccessful resistance to the Madiun Provocation as well as the serious damage suffered as a result of it) have all been caused by these above-mentioned two type of subjectivism, dogmatism and empiricism. Therefore, those members and candidate-members who are afflicted with this disease must overcome their own respective deficiencies. Those with knowledge of books must turn to actuality so that they can develop and not stop dead at books, so that they do not commit the

mistake of dogmatism. Those who have working experiences must turn to study and take up reading seriously so that they can systematise and synthesise their experiences, so that in this way they can raise themselves theoretically. This is the way for them not to take their own partial and limited experiences for the universal truth, so that they do not commit the mistake of empiricism.

The basic point is that in our work, we must be guided by the Marxist–Leninist outlook. This outlook opposes theory without practice. Theory becomes aimless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice; practice gropes in the dark if its way is not illumined by revolutionary theory.

Petty-bourgeois narrow-mindedness takes the form of sectarianism in political life and organisational questions in addition to ideological one-sidedness. Subjectivism means ideological isolation from the masses both within and outside the Party, while sectarianism means political and organisational isolation from the masses both within and outside the Party. They are both aspects of one and the same thing, the narrow-mindedness of the petty bourgeoisie.

In order to resist subjectivism in our Party, it is very necessary for us *firstly*, to teach Party members to apply Marxist-Leninist methods in analysing a political situation and appraising class forces. In this way, we shall resist all subjective analysis and appraisal. *Secondly*, to direct members' attention to investigation and study in the social and economic sphere so as to be able, in this way, to determine the tactics of the struggle and the methods of work, and thus make our comrades understand that mistakes made in the investigation of an actual situation will cause them to get submerged in phantasy and adventurism. These two methods have also been used by the Chinese Communists since 1929 to oppose subjectivism in the Party. It was in connection with these two questions that the conferences held by our Party in 1952, at which every committee representative was given the task of preparing a report on the political, social and economic situation in their respective regions, took on special significance, as also was very significant the Political Bureau's approval of the

speech "*The Indonesian People's Struggle for Complete National Independence. (Towards a New Indonesia)*" as the speech to commemorate the 33rd anniversary of the Party, and even more important was the decision taken by the Central Committee on the *Draft CPI Programme* which has been submitted to the present Vth National Congress. Hence, we have every reason to hope that, in the future, Party members and cadres will have a better knowledge of our country's history, of its political, social and economic situation and of its culture.Knowledge of all this is a condition for a bolshevised Party.

What is the most successful method of overcoming subjectivism and sectarianism on a large scale in our Party? Since, in our Party, because of historical circumstances, the majority of members are of petty bourgeois origin, we must adopt a serious and prudent attitude and not at all a liberal and hasty one in order to overcome the various mistakes and consolidate the unity of the Party. We must ruthlessly oppose all past errors, analyse and criticise them scientifically so that we shall take greater care in our future work and work better than before. But apart from sharply criticising every mistake, we must also try to correct the people who make the mistakes. In this way, we carry out our task correctly, that is, cleanse the ideology of the Party and preserve the unity within our ranks.

The campaign launched by our Party in 1952 to study the articles by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, "*On Practice*" and "*Oppose Liberalism Within the Party*" and the article "*On the Mass Line*" by Comrade Liu Shao-chi, was of very great significance in the effort to raise the ideological level of our Party. The same is also true of the great progress made in publishing Party literature, especially the publication of the pamphlet by Lenin "'*Left-Wing*' *Communism, An Infantile Disorder*" and the forthcoming publication of the works "*The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*", "*Report to the 19th Congress on the Work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*", and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's "*On Contradiction*". All these will raise further the ideological level of our Party.

Our Tasks in Strengthening the Party are:

1. To raise the political level of candidate-members, members and cadres of the Party and convince them of the very close relationship between the correctness of the Party's political line and the building of the Party.

2. To convince the entire Party of the two extremely urgent tasks of the Party; firstly, to build the anti-imperialist united national front based on the anti-feudal alliance of workers and peasants, and secondly, to continue the work of building a bolshevised CPI, nationwide in scale, with a broad mass character and fully consolidated ideologically, politically and organisationally.

3. To continue the expansion of the membership and organisation of the Party, to draw more peasants into the ranks of the Party,—in particular, the poor and landless peasants—, to place Party members and cadres in more suitable positions for them and decrease the amount of multifunctioning among Party members and cadres. To exercise better control over all Party work.

4. To give an important place to ideological work in the Party by more intensively studying the works of Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi and other Party leaders, to continue the struggle against dogmatism, empiricism, opportunism, sectarianism and liberalism.

5. To make a greater study of Indonesian history, to study Indonesia's political, social, economic and cultural conditions as the basis for determining the tactics of the struggle and the methods of Party work.

6. To equip the Party and arm its functionaries with a correct tactical line, with a correct organisational line and with a new programme which is clear and concise, dealing with all important and basic questions of the Indonesian Revolution. To make this programme, which meets the wishes of the masses, into a mass programme.

From this general report, several basic aspects of the international situation, the internal situation and the situation in our Party become clear to us, and also the task of the Party in the sphere of foreign policy, in the sphere of domestic policy and our task to strengthen the united national front and to strengthen the Party becomes clear. In this way, too, it becomes clear what must be the basis of the CPI Draft Programme which is the most important item on the agenda of this Congress.

After the Plenum of the Central Committee last October, some important international and internal events have taken place. International events are, for example, the Conference of the Four Great Powers in Berlin which decided, among other things, to invite the Chinese People's Republic to a conference which will be attended by the Five Great Powers to discuss tensions in the Far East. Domestic events are, among others, the commencement of the unearthing of the Dutch colonialist anti-Republican conspiracy, the concrete measures of the Indonesian government taken to defend West Irian as territory of the Republic of Indonesia and to annul the Indonesian—Dutch Union. All these events confirm what has been stated in the general report; they add more proof to the fact that the peace movement which is getting stronger has been able to compel Americam imperialism to come to the conference table, and that the continuous pressure of the Indonesian people on the government has forced it to adopt rather a clear attitude towards Dutch colonialism.

We are all conscious of the fact that the tasks which are faced by us Indonesian Communists are heavy. This has also been clarified in this general report. But we are also conscious that we shall be able to fulfil these tasks because the way in our everyday work is illumined by Marxism – Leninism and because in our work, we have the inspiration and example from the experiences of two great peoples and two great Parties of the Soviet Union and China.

Beneath the ever-lasting banners of Lenin, in unity with the people, and confident of the strength of the heroic Indonesian

people, we shall surely advance continually toward our victory, the victory of the People's Democratic system over the semi-colonial and semi-feudal forces in Indonesia. This is the aim of the people and therefore it will become their possession.

FOR DEMOCRACY AND A GOTONG-ROYONG CABINET

Permit me first of all to tell you how deeply grateful I am to the Party for giving me the honour to submit this General Report to the Sixth National Congress of the Party, the Congress of the builders of a national front and the builders of the glorious Communist Party of Indonesia, the Congress of militant fighters for complete national independence, for democracy and lasting world peace.

This Sixth National Congress is a Congress which has been prepared very well and these preparations have been imbued with high revolutionary spirit and with a spirit of loyal service to the people.

More than six months prior to this Congress, the Congress material had already been distributed and discussed by Party cadres and members. Thousands of meetings, large and small, public lectures and discussions have been held to consider the material of our Congress, namely, the *Draft Thesis for the General Report of the CC of the CPI* which is to be submitted to the Party's Sixth National Congress, the *Draft Revision of the Programme* and the *Draft Revision of the Constitution of the CPI.* Many opinions in the form of proposals have been submitted to the CC Secretariat about all this material and all of them have been studied by the Thesis Commission, the Programme Revision Commission and the Constitution Revision Commission. Ideas which help to improve the Congress material have been incorporated into the material that the Sixth Congress will discuss. This General Report that I am now submitting includes the correct and important proposals that have been made about the Draft Thesis for the General Report.

It is of course impossible for this Congress to discuss all the proposals that have been made, one by one. It is a fact that all members' meetings, fraction meetings and meetings of Party Committees and all Party conferences that have been held to discuss the Congress material have agreed to the basic ideas put forward in the Draft Thesis.

The Draft Thesis has played an exceptionally significant role in arousing the spirit and interest of Party members in all important and basic questions which are to be discussed at the Sixth National Congress of the CPI. This General Report basically represents a welding-together of the Draft Thesis and the correct and important ideas put forward about it. This means that now that there is this General Report, the Draft Thesis no longer performs any function in the life of our Party.

As you all know, the CC Secretariat also submitted the Congress material to persons outside the CPI, to civil and military officials, to leaders of parties and mass organisations, to scientists and to cultural workers. We have also sought the opinions of individuals from among the ranks of the working people. We have received many opinions, both written and verbally, and these opinions have also been discussed by the Commissions concerned. On behalf of the entire membership of the Communist Party of Indonesia and on behalf of the Sixth National Congress of the CPI, I declare from this rostrum that we are deeply grateful to all those outside the CPI who have been kind enough to submit their opinions about the CPI Congress material.

Party members' activities to welcome the Sixth National Congress have not been confined to discussing the Congress material but have extended to other things. Various activities in the campaign of preparation for our Congress have helped further strengthen the Party's ties with the masses of the people; these include activities to increase the service to the people, to promote people's culture, to intensify education within the Party, to expand Party membership and organisation. All these activities have raised the ideological, political and

organisational consciousness of the Party and this is of paramount importance to the further development of our Party.

As an example, I should like to point out that, as part of the activities to increase the service to the people—within the framework of the preparations for the Sixth National Congress—thousands of volunteer brigades have been formed and we have obtained many rich experiences in this sphere. Party leaders at all levels as well as persons outside the CPI have taken part in these volunteer brigades. It is very important to develop these volunteer brigades after the Congress. In brief, this Congress is not a Congress of Communists alone; millions of Indonesian people join with us in feeling that this Congress is their Congress.

Our Congress has received many letters and telegrams of greetings from fraternal Parties. We express our thanks for all these messages of greetings and express the hope that the close friendship between the Marxist-Leninist Parties will be further strengthened.

Our Congress has also received contributions in the form of gifts, it has received letters and telegrams from all corners of our country, from mass organisations and from individuals, all of which express sympathy with our Congress. All these expressions of sympathy are an incentive to the Party and especially to the participants at the Congress to work better to implement their patriotic duties. On behalf of the Congress, I express thanks for all these contributions and messages.

During the period that has elapsed since the Fifth Congress of the Party, we have lost many of our best Comrades. Among them is Comrade Bachtaruddin, member of the CC of the Party. In addition to this, heroic Comrades, refusing to retreat, have been barbariously murdered by the RGRI counter-revolutionary rebels in West Sumatera, especially in Situdjuh, Suliki and Atar. In the same way, too, the bestiality of the 'Permesta' counter-revolutionaries has led to a heavy toll of lives of the best Communists in North Sulawesi. And not a few of our Comrades have fallen victims to the cruelties of the Darul Islam-TII.

Abroad, too, we have lost Comrades who have been tried and proven for their loyalty and unflinching fidelity in unfurling and defending the banners of Marxism-Leninism, Comrades who have won the deep devotion of the international proletariat, such as Comrade Boleslav Bierut of Poland, Comrade Antonin Zapotocky of Czechoslovakia, Comrade Kuichi Tokuda of Japan, Comrades Marcel Cachin and Juliot-Curie of France, Comrade Dimitri Manuilsky of the Soviet Union, and others.

In honour of these best sons of their fatherland and of the heroes of the proletariat who are deeply loved by their class and people, both those at home and abroad, I invite you all, participants of the Sixth National Congress of the CPI, to stand for a moment in tribute to their memory.—

More than five years have elapsed since our Fifth National Party Congress. With Communist pride we can say that we have in the main carried out well the tasks given by the Fifth National Party Congress.

Much has happened during these five years both at home and abroad and within our own Party. But whatever may have happened and however many the difficulties faced by our people and Party during this period, our Congress today is being held in a domestic and foreign situation and in a situation within our Party that is far better, far more advanced and far more consolidated than it was at the time when we held our Fifth National Congress in March, 1954.

During the time since the Fifth National Party Congress, three National Party Conferences have been held and eight Plenums of the CC as well as several sessions of the Political Bureau enlarged to include CC members resident in Djakarta, in which the central leadership of the Party has examined the implementation of the tasks given by the Fifth National Congress, has analysed the situation and fixed measures to implement the tasks in a more effective way.

Thanks to the directives given by the Fifth National Congress, it can be said that our Party has always been in a position of taking the initiative in the political life of our country. The confidence of

the masses of the people in the correctness of the political line of the Party and in the sincerity and ability of our Party to fulfil its national and international tasks is getting greater and greater. These facts have made the ties of the Party with the masses of the people closer. The growing confidence of the people in the Party has led to jealousy, fear and anxiety among parties, groups and individuals that are hostile to the interests of the people, or that feel guilty before the people because of their dishonesty and vacillations in defending the people's interests. They slander the Party, try to bring about provocations and organise conspiracies against the Party with the purpose of "containing Communism" or "wiping out Communism" in Indonesia.

We now face work that is even more difficult in continuing to carry out the tasks given by the Fifth National Party Congress. As the confidence of the people in the Party grows, the heavier are the duties and responsibilities that must be borne by our Party. The problems being faced by the Party are becoming more and more complex.

In the sphere of foreign policy we must even more earnestly continue to pursue an anti-colonialist and peace-loving policy, while in the sphere of home policy, we must continue to struggle for more and more political rights to be transferred to the hands of the working people.

We shall only be able to carry out these foreign and domestic political tasks properly if we remain loyal to, and continue more earnestly to implement the urgent tasks as fixed by the Fifth National Party Congress; *firstly* to build up an anti-imperialist national united front based upon the anti-feudal alliance of workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class, and *secondly*, continue to build a Party that is spread out throughout the country and that has a broad mass character, that is completely consolidated in the ideological, political and organisational spheres. Implementing these two urgent tasks at one and the same time means strengthening the anti-colonial and peace-loving international front.

Thus, the urgent tasks of our Party today have not yet changed from the tasks fixed by the Fifth National Congress. Based on these two urgent tasks, we have prepared for and are now holding the Sixth National Congress of the Party, with four basic slogans, namely: "With the CPI in the vanguard, continue the people's struggle for a fully independent and democratic Indonesia!", "Improve the work of the national front, further isolate the diehard forces!", "Strengthen the anti-colonial and pro-peace international front!", and "Continue to build a Party throughout the country closely united with the masses, consolidated ideologically, politically and organisationally!"

These four basic slogans inspire our Sixth Congress and shall continue to inspire the activities of the Party following the Congress. Inspired by these slogans, we shall also continue to struggle for an expansion of democratic rights for the people and for a Gotong Royong-Cabinet*.

The basic aim of the Sixth National Congress of the Party is to lay down the ideological, political and organisational tasks based on the two above-mentioned urgent tasks, so that our Party will be better able to change the balance of political forces at home. By doing so it will mean that we shall be providing the conditions for bringing the Indonesian people and nation closer to the strategic aim of the Indonesian revolution, to complete the demands of the August 1945 Revolution in their entirety which will mean putting an end for ever to the power of imperialism and feudalism and setting up a People's Government, a Government of the people, by the people and for the people.

By carrying out the tasks as outlined above, it will mean that we are being led by a feeling of responsibility towards the working class, towards the working people, towards the entire Indonesian people and nation and towards the international revolutionary working class movement.

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* This term, meaning "get-together", was originally used by President Sukarno in his Concept in reference to a National Coalition Cabinet which would include all the main parties, including the CPI. — Tr.

I. CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE FOR A COMPLETELY INDEPENDENT AND DEMOCRATIC INDONESIA

1. Dutch Imperialism is still Enemy Number One of the Indonesian People

The CPI Programme ratified by the Fifth National Congress of the Party stated among other things that the tasks of national emancipation and democratic changes in Indonesia have not yet been carried out. The aspirations of the Indonesian people for complete national independence, for democratic liberties and for improvements in their living conditions have not yet been met. What the CPI Programme states in this connection is still true today.

By saying that the tasks of national emancipation and democratic changes have not yet been carried out in our country, we are not in any way failing to evaluate the achievements obtained by the Indonesian people and our Party in the struggle for national independence and democracy during the period that has elapsed since the Fifth National Congress. Our Party always evaluates the successes of every struggle that have been won as a result of the toil and sacrifices of the people and these successes must indeed be held high.

During the period under review, the Indonesian people have succeeded in expelling the Dutch Military Mission (DMM) from the country, in dissolving the so-called Indonesian-Dutch Union, in dissolving the "Sticusa" (Indonesian-Dutch Cultural Relations League), in renouncing the "Indonesian debts" to Holland, in pushing aside Dutch Government control over Indonesia's foreign policies and foreign trade policies, in abrogating the Round Table Conference Agreement and expelling from Indonesia Dutch colonial officials and other Dutch persons who can harm Indonesia's interests, and in taking over and nationalising the enterprises owned by the Dutch colonialists. A number of achievements have also been made in democratising the system of government as a result of the victory of the Party and other democratic forces in the first parliamentary general

elections and in the elections for the first- and second-level swatantra regional (provincial and county -Tr.) legislative assemblies.

The political line laid down by the Fifth National Congress, namely that Dutch imperialism is the enemy number one of the Indonesian people, was very correct. This political line is objective, and with it the Party has been better able to mobilise the forces of the Indonesian people on the greatest possible scale to strike against Dutch imperialism and its lackeys.

With the attainment of successes in the struggle against Dutch imperialism and with the democratisation of the system of government, the following questions may arise: does this not mean that the tasks of national emancipation and democratic changes have now been completed? Does it not mean that Dutch imperialism is no longer the enemy number one of the Indonesian people?

With the results achieved up to the present in the struggle against Dutch colonialism it does not by any means mean that the tasks of national emancipation have already been completed. And, too, a certain democratisation in the system of government, though very important, does not at all mean that the tasks of bringing about democratic changes in our country have been completed.

The fact today is that the Dutch colonialists still occupy 20% of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, West Irian; that the Dutch enterprises that have been taken over have not yet all been nationalised; that in Indonesia's foreign trade Dutch capitalist channels are still being made great use of; that in Indonesia, there is still Dutch capital invested in oil (the BPM or Anglo-Dutch Shell) and this has not yet been touched at all; that many Dutch puppets still occupy important functions in the state apparatus and in the economic sphere; that armed gangs operating in the interests of the Dutch colonialists are still active; that Indonesian air, waters and coasts are still under the continual threat of Dutch planes and submarines; and that the Dutch colonialists still maintain an influence in the educational and cultural spheres. *All this indicates that the struggle of the Indonesian people to put an end to Dutch imperialist domination is not*

yet completed, that the task of national emancipation has not yet been completed at all, that Indonesia is not yet completely free or that in essence it is still in a state of a semi-colonial country. Dutch imperialism is still the enemy number one of the Indonesian people.

The continued prevalence of feudal remnants in the countryside in the form of landlord monopolisation of the land, in the form of land rents paid in kind, in the form of labour and in the form of debts that place the peasants in a position of slavery towards the landlords, are proof that we cannot possibly talk about the task of democratic changes having been completed. *Indonesia is still a semi-feudal country.*

Apart from all this, we cannot yet talk at all about having completed the task of national emancipation because American imperialism is more and more pushing Dutch imperialism out and increasingly occupying important positions in Indonesia in the economic, political and cultural spheres. If we talk about national independence, it does not mean that we want to be free from Dutch imperialism in order to receive American imperialism or other imperialisms. The fact that there are American military forces in West Irian, that rightist leaders and parties are still freely pursuing the policy of US imperialism in Indonesia, that there is American cultural infiltration via books, films, education and the like, that help in the form of planes, pilots, arms and other military equipment as well as military instructors is being given by the USA to the "RGRI-Permesta" counter-revolutionary rebels, that US officers and FBI are still free to roam around in Indonesia, all proves that US imperialism already represent a constant danger threatening Indonesia's sovereignty and independence.

US imperialism is the most dangerous enemy of the Indonesian people since this imperialism is the most aggressive, the most capable of carrying out its criminal intentions, since the amount of US capital invested in Indonesia is growing, and since there are still quite a number of persons in important positions who naively believe that US imperialism is not so very criminal. A policy of anti-imperialism which is not accompanied by resistance

to US infiltrations and intrigues, is just so much phrase-mongering. At present US imperialism is a more dangerous enemy of the Indonesian people than any other imperialism, because if it is already in the country it would be difficult to throw it out.

The acceptance by Parliament of the Foreign Investments Bill in September, 1958, although bitterly opposed by the CPI and the Indonesian working people, means opening the doors of Indonesia to the entry and the strengthening of the political, economic and cultural activities of imperialist countries, especially the USA, Japan and West Germany. The CPI firmly opposed this Draft Bill when it was under discussion in Parliament because it is convinced that this Bill is favourable exclusively to the imperialists and will make it easier for them to carry out intervention, and enable them legally to obtain and cultivate compradores from among Indonesians. This Bill obstructs the implementation of the task of national emancipation and opens up the way for the imperialists to preserve Indonesia as a place for the investment of their capital, and this means obstructing Indonesia's national economic construction. This is why the CPI calls upon all the workers and the entire people of Indonesia to demand of the Government that this Foreign Investments Bill should be repealed.

The above outline shows clearly that the national struggle for the complete liquidation of Dutch economic domination within the framework of realising the abrogation of the RTC agreement and the struggle to liberate West Irian cannot be separated from the national struggle against intrigues, infiltrations and the danger of US intervention. Thus, our task of national liberation today is to clean up the survivals of Dutch colonialism, to put up resolute resistance to the subversive activities of the US and its SEATO, to prevent an increase in the amount of US and other imperialist capital invested in Indonesia, and to mete out the same treatment to the US enterprises as that meted out to the Dutch enterprises if the USA continues to supply the armed counter-revolutionary gangs with weapons or gives material assistance to the Dutch in an armed aggression against the Republic of Indonesia.

2. Indonesia is Still in the Grip of Economic Crisis

The conclusion drawn by our Fifth Party Congress to the effect, among other things, that Indonesia is still in the grip of continuous economic crisis as a result of the fact that the economy is still colonial in character, still applies up to the present. The fact that an economic crisis took place in the United States during 1957—58 which had widespread consequences for the capitalist world further intensified the stranglehold of crisis upon Indonesia's economy.

Some basic factors causing the still gloomy economic situation are:

Firstly, the capitalist international division of labour of which Indonesia is a part, results in (a) a widening gap between the industrial countries and the backward countries, and (b) the backward countries remaining backward.

The capitalist international division of labour has in practice deprived Indonesia of the potential and the ability to organise and expand its production in all spheres. This is because the position of our exports in the capitalist world market is becoming more and more insecure, having to face the competition of synthetic materials, having to face speculation and price manipulations carried out by the big monopolists, having to face sharp and frequent fluctuations in demand, and having to face a capitalist market which is continually contracting. Such conditions have rendered Indonesia insufficiently capable of importing the goods she needs, especially capital goods, and have deprived Indonesia of the basis upon which to increase the production of the goods that are sold on the capitalist market.

It is difficult to get hold of completely reliable production figures for Indonesia. Official figures reveal that, with the exception of a few commodities the production of which rose slightly, such as quinine and tobacco, and with the exception of a few more the production of which remained constant, such as oil, coal and bauxite, the production of all other export products fell in 1958. For instance by comparison with 1957, the production of rubber fell 6% in 1958 whereas the production of rubber in 1957 was 15% lower than it

had been in 1954. The production of export goods such as *fibres, coffee, palm oil, copra* and *pepper* had in all cases been falling continuously since 1954. The production of tin which in 1957 had fallen nearly 23% compared with 1954, fell a further 18% in 1958.

Domestic industrial production, already very insignificant as it is, and heavily dependent upon the import of raw materials, fell even further. Not only did domestic industry fail to develop but in 1958 many industrial enterprises worked far below existing capacity. This sector encounters great difficulties generally, facing as it does heavy competition from imported manufactured goods, and because of the weakness of the domestic market; in addition, the Government has failed so far to import the necessary capital goods and to give protection to national industry in the form of guaranteed markets, the supply of raw materials and assistance in the form of capital.

Even at times when the world capitalist economy is experiencing an up-swing, our country's economy continues to be in a difficult situation. How much more difficult things become when the capitalist economy is in a state of crisis! Per Jacobbsen, Secretary General of the International Monetary Fund, frankly stated before the United Nations ECOSOC session held in Mexico in April 1959, that "*the primary producing countries should not expect that world industrial recovery will pull them out of their difficulties*". What more has Indonesia to hope from the world capitalist market if, even in a time of recovery, our exports have so little to hope for? The prices of manufactured goods exported by the capitalist countries continuously rise while the prices of the raw materials that they import from us have fallen sharply. These trends are borne out by the economic survey made by the United Nations for 1958, which talks of the "*fall in export earnings of primary producing countries of 7—8% by comparison with the previous year, whereas the prices of manufactured goods rose continuously*". These developments have been borne out by what has happened in Indonesia, where the value of imports in rupiahs in 1958 fell 37% by comparison with 1957, whereas the volume of imports fell by 47%. As regards the volume of exports, the fall in 1958 was almost 14%

(excluding oil and its products) whereas the value in rupiahs fell by more than 25%. Just see how severely Indonesia has suffered as a result of the economic crisis in the western countries.

The above facts make it clear that the Export Certificate System, considered by Sutikno Slamet (PNI), the Minister of Finance in the last Djuanda Cabinet, to be the way out of the difficulties, cannot bring about an improvement in the export-import situation and results in a further deterioration of the value of the rupiah while at the same time raising the prices of essential goods. The Export Certificate System in fact ties Indonesia even more closely to the capitalist economy and plunges our economy into even graver difficulties. The purpose of this system is solely to obtain foreign currency (dollars or pounds sterling) and it obstructs the expansion of trade with the Socialist countries, with the result that Indonesia is rendered incapable of drawing sufficient benefit from the existence of a Socialist camp whose economy is strong and continually growing. Despite the fact that the EC-System has now been abolished this does not mean that the orientation in foreign trade will be changed automatically.

Such an unrealistic policy does not harm the Socialist countries but Indonesia itself, and is especially harmful to its economic development.

Secondly, the survivals of feudalism which continue to prevail, make it impossible for the productive forces in the countryside to be liberated and make a rise in output of foodstuffs and other agricultural products impossible. The output of foodstuffs such as rice, cassava, maize and others generally remained constant or rose very little during 1958. This stagnation of production renders impossible any improvement in the living conditions of the peasants which comprise 60—70% of the Indonesian population. The situation today is even more serious since our production of foodstuffs cannot keep up with the increase in population. This means increasingly heavy burdens on Indonesia's imports, it means further rises in the price of essential goods and a further deterioration in the living conditions of the masses of the people. This stagnation, caused basically by the con-

tinued strong position of feudal survivals in our economy, is also the result of stagnation in transport and, too, of the fact that the Government has failed as yet to take concrete and correct steps to assist the peasants with direct, cheap and easy credits, with adequate supplies of good quality seeds and fertilisers.

These circumstances not only make it difficult to raise the output of agricultural goods but also make it impossible to expand the home market, something which is very necessary if national industry is to develop. Thus it is obvious that the continued prevalence of feudal survivals in the Indonesian economy seriously obstructs economic progress in all spheres.

Thirdly, Indonesia's economic crisis is also the result of the fact that the sector of the economy controlled by the State is very weak. The State sector of the economy should occupy a "commanding position", it should be the sector that gives the push, guides and cultivates the development of domestic industry, including heavy industry. Further, the Indonesian Government will not be able to overcome the financial difficulties which result from the continuous and growing deficit in the State budget and the increase in the amount of money borrowed from the central bank, as long as the State sector of the economy is not strong, as long as the State fails to control a significant portion of enterprises in Indonesia. It is essential to develop the State sector of the economy if Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution is to be applied in practice. The State financial difficulties cannot possibly be solved as long as our economy is shaken by inflation and by stagnation in production as described above.

Such in brief is the economic crisis in Indonesia which is characterised by stagnation in production, weakness because of its dependence on export-import which are continually being subjected to fluctuations, the unabated expansion in the amount of non-productive money in circulation, and the persistent inflation and the rise in prices of essential goods. Thus it is clear that the economic crisis in Indonesia has its basis in the colonial character of our economy, an economy which is still seriously dependent upon the world capitalist economy market.

These deplorable conditions have also rendered the Indonesian Government incapable of controlling and regulating the domestic level of prices. In fact the contrary has taken place. Measures taken in the sphere of exports and imports, such as for example, the introduction of the Export Certificate system, have resulted in a further rise in prices. Conditions deteriorated even further after the Minister of Trade in the last Djuanda Cabinet, Rahmat Muljomiseno (Nahdlatul Ulama) made a total surrender to the manipulations of the speculators and large-scale blackmarketeers who have been playing about with market prices to their heart's content; the result has been further pressures upon the living standards of the people. The prices of basic essentials such as rice, textiles, sugar and oil have got quite out of control, or else these goods have completely disappeared from the market.

The speculators have succeeded in taking advantage of the extremely serious state of the circulation of goods which has resulted from *firstly*, the stagnation in domestic production, *secondly*, the limited supply of imports because imports have fallen as exports contracted, *thirdly*, transportation is in a bad state, and *fourthly*, the price policy being pursued encourages speculation.

The *price policy* pursued by the Trade Minister in the last Djuanda Cabinet, a policy which has the support of liberalistic elements, is one of bringing government prices into line with market prices. The reason given is to prevent a difference between official prices and the high prices prevailing in the market. The result is that the government just trails behind everything that the speculators do; and all this is done in the name of . . . "guided economy". Yes, guided by the speculators! This is a policy of protecting the parasites, the large-scale traders and blackmarketeers, whose speculations victimise the interests of the consumers, the vast majority of whom consist of the tens of millions of the people.

The price policy pursued should be one of keeping prices low and the exercise of consistent control by the government. The way to control prices and prevent the prevalence of speculation and black-

marketeering is for the government to force the market to follow the low prices fixed by the government, to flood the market with essential goods and directly carried out the distribution of such goods so as to protect the position of those consumers with weak purchasing power. The Djuanda Government did once decree that market prices should not rise above the level reached on December 15th, 1958. But the Government subsequently withdrew this decree after it became apparent that it would not work. This attempt failed because it was not followed up by measures which were essential if the scheme was to succeed and because the decree was not implemented consistently; in fact, the interests of the big traders and blackmarketeers were afforded more protection than the interests of the millions of consumers.

Price manipulations by the speculators and other parasites are very much facilitated by the *distribution policy* being pursued by the Ministry of Trade up to the present, which is not a healthy one. The Government still continues to preserve a trading apparatus which includes a number of stages in the circulation of goods between the importer or the distributor and the retail seller. This trading apparatus leads to a large number of intermediary stages and at each stage big profits are taken by the parasites to the detriment of the consumers who consist for the larger part of working people who are very poor. Therefore the Government should, in its distribution policy, reduce as much as possible the number of middlemen and should make use of the people's co-operatives, the campong residents' societies, neighbourhood's society and the small shops as the main channels for the distribution of goods.

As regards co-operatives, the demand should be made of the Government that it provides more protection and facilities without discrimination so as to develop the co-operatives established by the working people because these co-operatives are set up on healthier foundations than the capitalist "co-operatives" of the Hatta model. Working people's co-operatives must genuinely be developed democratically so as to help improve the distribution of essential goods.

The policy of government's Department of Co-operatives which is against the co-operatives selling things below the market price, must be halted. This policy is a continuation of the extremely liberal price policy of the Trade Department which, if pursued by the co-operatives, would mean that they would become organisations of speculators and blackmarketeers. The democratic life of the co-operatives must be cultivated by making it a practice for meetings of co-operative members to be held to control the policy being pursued by the officers.

As regards the *status of the Dutch enterprises that have been taken over*, some progress has been made in the sphere of legislation but there are still many obstacles in the way of turning these enterprises effectively into State enterprises. Attempts to turn these enterprises over to private hands are being bitterly resisted by the workers and patriots in general. Attempts by capitalists to turn these enterprises into mixed enterprises with 20% of the capital in private hands have also failed, and now there is a great possibility that these enterprises will remain 100% State enterprises. The Government has issued Government Regulations No. 2 and No. 3, 1959, in implementation of the Act on the Nationalisation of Dutch Enterprises. If both these regulations, especially the former, are implemented consistently, the attempts to turn these enterprises over to private hands will fail completely. But these two regulations contain certain shortcomings; for example, there is still no guarantee that the composition of the bodies implementing the nationalisation will be democratic in character and there is no provision for the inclusion of trade union's representatives in these bodies. The question of trade union representation in the executive bodies of the taken-over enterprises and nationalised enterprises is important not only to ensure the smooth functioning of the enterprises and raising output but also and especially to prevent certain businessmen from gaining their objective of turning these enterprises over to private hands or of managing the enterprises in such a way as to permit manipulations and corruption.

In some cases, the output of the taken-over enterprises has risen but in general, it has remained constant by comparison with the level of output prior to the take-over. Where contractions have taken place, this has not been because of the inabilities of the workers but because of the inadequate supply of raw materials that have to be imported or because of the difficulties that have occurred in the world market.

Up to the present day, more and more taken-over enterprises have gradually been nationalised, in particular, plantations. While not losing sight of the shortcomings, the policy of taking over and subsequently nationalising the Dutch colonial enterprises is a concrete and important achievement, a major patriotic measure taken by the Djuanda Cabinet which was supported by the CPI and the other democratic forces. We have gained the lesson that, with strong national unity and with firm anti-colonial measures, we can do things to the advantage of the Indonesian Fatherland and people. What is needed now is to prevent these positive achievements from being spoilt by anti-national egoistic elements, by the speculators and black-marketeers and by corruptors, both civil and military.

The question of *communication and transportation* is vital if improvements are to be made in the economy of our country. A serious question which must speedily be solved and to which attention must first be paid is that of *sea transport*. It was very correct for the Government to prohibit the KPM (Dutch coastal shipping company, Tr.) from operating in Indonesia because the Dutch were able to make use of this company as a means of sabotaging economic affairs and as a means of smuggling criminals into and out of Indonesia. Today, the tonnage of national shipping for inter-insular communications is less than 50% of what it was when the KPM was operating (approximately 290.000 tons in November, 1957). And now, particularly because of the large amount of shipping required for military operations, the available tonnage is very far from adequate. The question of overcoming the shortage of shipping is urgent and vital. The way to do this is by intensifying the construction of ships at home and by the government chartering or buying foreign ships.

The question of building *roads and developing river transportation* in places other than Java is very important and pressing. In actual fact, this is not really a very difficult question as long as the Government is prepared to make the maximum use of the possibilities made available by the economic relations with the Socialist countries; these countries have rich experiences and possess the most modern equipment for dealing with such needs, while we here have more than enough labour power available.

Railroad transportation, a cheap means of transportation, has not yet up to today been rehabilitated. Considering the many railway accidents that have occurred, the question of rehabilitation of the railways is extremely urgent; though at the same time, account should be taken of the part played by foreign subversive activities in these accidents. But it will be impossible to carry out rehabilitation if reconstruction is not carried out on a broad scale by means of equipping the railway repair shops with the new machines that they need so as to ensure that their level of performance is raised. More engines and waggons must be obtained and the maintenance and servicing of rolling stock must be improved.

Motorised transport is facing a number of difficulties as a result of the inadequate supply and high price of spare parts, a factor which results from the stagnation in exports which limits our ability to import. The lesson of all this that it is extremely dangerous for us to depend too greatly on imports and for us not to possess the machine factories that are able to produce the spare parts for motorised transport as well as the spare parts required by the factories that already exist. Lorries, buses and other means of public transport must be given first place in imports of motorised transport, and import of luxury motor-cars should be stopped.

Of course, a question of great importance in connection with communications and transport is that of extending and intensifying the network of *airways*. Travel by air has become an everyday necessity in the economic, political and social life of the Indonesian people.

Since Indonesia is an extensive country made up of thousands of islands,

any government will be judged a.o. by its sincerity and success in solving the problems of communications and transport. The question of the unity of Indonesia also depends greatly upon the solution of these questions.

3. Expand Trade with the Socialist Countries

The above analysis makes it clear that the economic crisis in Indonesia is to a large extent caused by the dependence of our economy upon the capitalist world. This means that if the crisis is to be overcome, this position of dependency must be ended and Indonesia must expand its economic relations with the world Socialist market, a market that is stable and free of crisis.

The most recent government statistics reveal that there has been an expansion in trade relations with the Socialist countries during 1958 and the beginning of 1959 by comparison with the previous year. Exports to the Socialist countries which accounted for only 3,5 % of total exports in 1957 (total Indonesian exports in that year were Rp. 11 milliard), doubled in amount in 1958, while imports from the Socialist countries which accounted for only 4% of total imports in 1957 (total Indonesian imports were Rp. 9 milliard) also doubled. The most recent American economic crisis gave rise to new developments in Indonesia's trade relations with the Socialist countries. On the other hand, exports to West Europe and USA both directly and via Singapore (including oil) fell from Rp. 8.1 milliard in 1957 to Rp. 5.7 milliard in 1958, a fall in foreign currency earning of Rp. 2.4 milliard (almost 30%). Naturally, imports from the capitalist countries also fell.

But even though some progress has been made in trade with the Socialist countries, especially with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, Indonesia's foreign trade policy is still heavily orientated towards the West. The countries of the Socialist camp produce more than one-third of the world's industrial output, and yet Indonesia's trade with the Socialist countries is

still less than 10% of the total. We shall only be able to say that Indonesia's foreign trade policy is not one-sidedly orientated if our trade with the Socialist countries already accounts for at least one-third of total trade.

The Indonesian Government has still not taken sufficiently significant and earnest measures to expand trade relations with the Socialist countries so as to reduce the consequences suffered by Indonesia as a result of economic crisis in the imperialist countries. Much has already been said by government officials about changing the orientation of our foreign trade but in actual fact, Indonesia's foreign trade is still heavily orientated towards the USA, Britain, West Germany, Japan and other imperialist countries.

The facts regarding foreign trade still reveal that even though the Dutch enterprises have already been taken over, Dutch trading channels abroad are still being utilised for reasons of "tradition" and being "experts". The continued utilisation of transit trade, now via Bremen and Antwerp, show how strong Indonesia's foreign trade ties still are with the capitalist market. Within certain limits, these measures harm the interests of the Dutch monopolists, but are of little significance so far as improving Indonesia's economy is concerned. To do harm to the Dutch is indeed important, but more important it is that Indonesia should gain by it. Reorientation will only be significant for Indonesia's economy if the system of transit trade is completely abandoned.

In the past, Dutch monopoly control of import-export trade has been implemented by means of "sole agency agreements" with factories and large manufacturers in western countries. This system is based on the principle of liberalism in foreign trade, that is, freedom to import from and export to any country as the trader wishes. These "sole agency agreements" naturally give a strong position to the Western industrial monopolies in the Indonesian market who are absolutely free to apply their price policies here. By means of this system, the Dutch monopolists as the sole agents of numerous big Western manufacturers, receive commission for

the sale of their goods in the Indonesian market. This commission, which runs into huge amounts, is sent directly by the Western manufacturers to the headquarters of the Dutch enterprises in the Netherlands. And even though the Dutch enterprises have already been taken over and nationalised by the Indonesian Government, this commission continues to flow to Holland at the expence of the Indonesian consumers so long as these trade transactions with the West continue and so long as Indonesia continues to be dependent upon the world capitalist market. These facts show just how strong the position of Dutch capital still is in our foreign trade, especially as regards imports.

This shows why the foreign monopolists are very much concerned to preserve, through their agents in Indonesia, the liberal system of imports. Everybody knows that this liberal system of imports makes it difficult for concrete measures to be taken to expand our foreign trade with the Socialist countries. We cannot expand our trade with the Socialist countries if the conditions and possibilities are not created for buying goods from these countries. And yet, the Socialist countries are not only stable, extensive markets for our exports, but they also represent a reliable source of the capital goods and consumer goods that we need. This objective situation is favourable to solving the stagnation in our imports and exports and in our production. Sufficient conditions exist for expanding economic and technical relations with the Socialist countries on an *equal and mutually beneficial basis* and not on the basis of benefit to one side only.

The first Ali Sastroamidjojo Government did begin to take measures to undermine this liberal system; it implemented a system of import planning and clearing payments. But this system of import planning failed to put an end to liberalism in imports or in foreign trade in general because what the Ali Sastroamidjojo Government did was basically to shift the distribution of foreign currency from the foreign importers to the hands of the private national importers who amounted at that time to about 6,000.

A system of planned imports or foreign trade should be brought into line with domestic economic needs based on a concrete policy of economic development. The purpose of foreign trade should not be in the first place to run after foreign currency but it should be to get hold of capital goods, raw materials and consumer goods which make up part of the everyday needs of the people.

A favourable aspect of the measures taken by the Ali Sastroamidjojo Cabinet was the implementation of the clearing system of payments; according to this system, account is kept for a certain period of time of the value of the goods exported and imported between Indonesia and the country in question. This is the system which made possible a new orientation in Indonesia's foreign trade; new markets were utilised, in particular the Socialist market. Had this system been further developed, it could have meant pursuing a new foreign trade policy and one which would serve the policy of construction, namely an import policy which is brought into line with the direction and developments of our exports so as to be able to meet economic requirements at home.

But this clearing system did not last long because the liberal import system of the "socialist" Sumitro, Economics Minister in the Burhanuddin Harahap Cabinet, put an end to this system and once again liberalised our import system. The pity is that this liberal system which was thus restored is still basically being implemented up to the present day, with the exception of our trade with a few countries, namely Czechoslovakia, Egypt and China.

Thus, if Indonesia wants to overcome the stagnation in her economy and wants to obtain the goods she desperately needs to improve economic conditions, the best way of doing this is to abandon this liberal system and restore the clearing system, especially in our trade with the Socialist countries and with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Our import policy must be brought into line with a concrete and urgent plan of construction so as to ensure that the goods imported are really useful to overcome the present economic

crisis. In this way, an end can be put to the structure of our foreign trade which is heavily orientated towards the West.

In connection with the question of imports, note should be made of the fact that the last Djuanda Cabinet introduced new import regulations which, if implemented well, could indeed help to improve economic conditions in Indonesia. According to these new regulations, the government directly controls the import of a number of vital goods (raw cotton, yarn, textiles, paper, cement, concrete iron bars and rods, tinplate, gunny and flour). In addition to these nine commodities, four others are already under government control (rice, cloves, cambrics and fertilisers). The "Big Eight" (the CTC Usindo, Indestins, Indevitra, Juda Bhakti, Mira Sari, Satya Negara and Triangle*) all of which operate fully with State capital, have been given the task of handling the import of these commodities.

The positive aspect of this new import regulation is the fact that partially the demand of the people that imports of important commodities should be in the hands of the government, has now been met, and this means that 75% of the value in foreign currency of all imports is now in the hands of the government. If these regulations are implemented consistently, it will make it possible to put an end to the manipulations of the 4,000 or so importers, who are in most cases nothing more than legal and illegal adventurers and speculators.

But the new import regulations can fail in practice if they are not immediately followed up with the necessary measures. Everything must be done to preserve these "Big Eight" as State enterprises. In addition, the question of implementing and channeling imports and exports must be solved by, for example, setting up a single *State Export-Import Corporation*, while the "Big Eight" should only be the channel for these imports and exports. This would make

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* The latter six companies are all Indonesian companies set up out of the major Dutch export-import companies that were taken over. — (Tr).

it possible to prevent competition between the "Big Eight" themselves which could indeed occur as a result of a scramble for profits and a scramble for commissions between the various managements.

Another measure needed for the legal status of the State Import-Export Corporation, the "Big Eight" and all other State enterprises established in various forms of limited liability companies, is to be fixed by an Act on State Enterprises, and the principles underlying such an act should be as follows: capital fully in the hands of the central or a local government, management or direction must be directly in the hands of the central or a local government, advisory councils should be established with representation of the trade unions of the workers involved, and improvements should be made in the wages and social facilities of the workers.

In connivance with the big foreign capitalists and their agents who still occupy positions in the government apparatus, the diehard private importers and certain big speculators and blackmarketeers are putting up a bitter fight against the progressive measures taken by the government in the sphere of import and distribution, and are doing this among other things by taking advantage of the "good relations" they have abroad so as to sabotage the efforts of the government. This is why the government and the people must be on the alert, and must skillfully and resolutely put an end to the resistance of the reactionaries in economic affairs.

In order to put a stop to continuous deterioration in economic affairs and, in the first place in order to free Indonesia from the unfavourable effects of the world capitalist crisis, we submit the following demands:

Firstly, domestic production should be increased, among other things by means of completely transforming the Dutch colonial enterprises that have been taken over, into State property, naturally including the Dutch banks in Indonesia. Dutch shares in the BPM must be taken over by the Indonesian government. Kuomintang enterprises must also be confiscated and turned into State property.

State enterprises must continuously be expanded and strengthened so as to be able to occupy a "commanding position". By means of co-operation between the government, the experts and the working people, everything should be done to realise in practice the policy of as far as possible meeting our own economic requirements, and especially as far as food and clothing are concerned. To ensure success in raising production in State enterprises, the principle of "*patriotic leadership, raise production, prevent corruption and sabotage, ensure democracy and improve the conditions of the workers*" must be put into practice. In order to increase the production of foodstuffs, the area of cultivated land must be extended, the land must be more intensively worked and the standard of living of the peasants must be improved.

Secondly, exports and imports and the distribution of important commodities must be completely in the hands of the government. The government must pursue a policy of keeping prices low, in line with the purchasing power of the people. Smuggling and illegal barter trade must be completely stamped out. The government must genuinely give priority to the State sector of the economy as a guarantee that the government will be able to direct the entire economy of the country and uproot the economic domination of foreign capital. The problems of communications and transport must rapidly be solved.

Thirdly, the principles of our foreign trade must be changed. Foreign trade must place emphasis upon changing radically the heavily one-sided orientation towards the imperialist countries, by means of expanding trade relations with the Asian-African countries and with the crisis-free Socialist countries, so as to achieve the aim of expanding the market for Indonesia's export commodities and to obtain capital goods needed for the establishment of industry, and particularly industry to process ourselves the raw materials produced by Indonesia. Sufficient raw materials should be imported to meet the requirements of domestic industry. The foreign exchange earned by the foreign oil companies should be controlled by the

government and put to use to facilitate domestic construction and to improve the State finances.

Fourthly, the government should strive to meet the need for capital and technical goods from abroad by means of foreign loans at lowest possible interest rates and free of all political or military ties, both open or secret. All this is required to meet the need for rehabilitation and the industrial construction of our country and for the exploitation of the many kinds of mineral deposits available in our country. Within the framework of foreign credits, attention must also be paid to the construction of blast furnaces, chemical factories and plants producing machines and other means of production, as a first step towards freeing Indonesia from economic dependence upon foreign countries. The Act on Foreign Capital Investments must be repealed.

By meeting these demands, the conditions will be created for freeing Indonesia from the grip of continual economic crisis which still strangulates our country. Thus, it will be possible to overcome continual economic deterioration by these means and not by means of inviting foreign capital investments, increasing the taxes of the people, converting State enterprises into private enterprises or public corporations, and other such reactionary measures in the spheres of economics and finance.

The implementation of these economic demands cannot be separated from the present demands of the masses of the people for the complete smashing of the remnants of the RGRI-Permesta counter-revolutionary rebels and the Darul Islam-TII terrorist gangs, and for "iron fist" measures to be taken against the economic disruption carried out by big foreign capital in conspiracy with the compradores and parasitic elements, both civil and military, who still occupy a position in economic institutes and within the government apparatus.

So as to fully restore domestic law and order and improve economic conditions, all national forces must be aroused and mobilised. The people have had the experience that although, since the Round

Table Conference agreement, cabinets have changed frequently, there has not yet been a cabinet which has been strong enough to solve the difficulties being borne by the country and the people. The people have had experience of anti-Communist cabinets such as the Hatta, Natsir, Sukiman and Burhanuddin Harahap Cabinets. These cabinets were not only incapable of solving the pressing problems of the people but also dragged Indonesia more deeply into economic crisis and national disruption. The non-Communist cabinets, cabinets in which Communists have not participated but which have been supported by the Communists, such as the Wilopo Cabinet, the two Ali Sastroamidjojo Cabinets and the Djuanda Cabinet, were also incapable of pulling Indonesia out of crisis. Reflecting these experiences and guided by the ideas contained in the President Sukarno Concept, it is correct and just for the people to demand, within the framework of the implementation of the 1945 Constitution, that a Gotong Royong Cabinet be established under the leadership of President Sukarno, in which should be fairly represented all parties and functional groups who genuinely favour the implementation of the ideals of the August 1945 Revolution which is national and democratic in character. Only with a Gotong Royong Cabinet, a cabinet which includes Communists, can all national forces be aroused and mobilised on a large scale to overcome all the difficulties whatsoever that are being faced by our country and people, including the possibility to overcome the protracted economic crisis.

4. Unemployment, Poverty and Economic and Social Injustice

As a result of the ever deepening economic crisis in Indonesia, added to which is the widespread prevalence of speculation with the result that prices of essential goods have got completely out of control, and to which must also be added the price policy being

pursued by the Ministry of Trade which is a policy of surrender to the speculators, the sufferings of the Indonesian working people are getting worse and worse.

The workers: As a result of the economic crisis being suffered by Indonesia, the living conditions of the Indonesian workers are getting worse and worse. The Indonesian workers are among other things faced with the following basic difficulties:

a constant deterioration in the living standards of the workers, the government employees and the working people in general;
rapidly soaring prices of basic daily essentials;
the increasing danger of dismissals, and spread of unemployment;
greater and greater contraction of working opportunities because of the failure of the State and private national industrial sectors to develop.

According to the statistics of the Ministry of Labour for 1956 of the 3,896 disputes between workers and employers, 2,893 were over the questions of wages and dismissals. The figures for 1957 show a total of 4,131 disputes of which 3,216 were over the questions of wages and dismissals, whilst in 1958, of the total of 3,350 disputes, 2,613 were over the questions of wages and dismissals.

According to official statistics for 1959, during the four years from 1954 to 1958, there has been an average wage increase of 50%. For government officials and government employees, wage increases have been introduced during the four years, the most recent being according to Government Regulation 7/1959, a regulation which provides for the implementation of the Rp. 135,00 minimum rate and the reduction in regional cost-of-living allowances, which provides for an increase in pensions for civil service pensioners and also provides for a 10% wage increase for government employees. But these wage increases which have been won at the cost of so much effort have not brought about any improvement in the living conditions of the government officials and employees. This is because prices of essential goods have risen far more rapidly than wages. The index of 19 essential commodities which is kept by the Central

Statistics Bureau registered 106 in 1954 and rose to 258 in 1958 (1953= 100), or in other words, an increase in prices of 143% in the course of four years. This means that the level of real wages, already so low in 1954, could not be maintained and had fallen a further 38% by 1958. By the middle of 1959, conditions had deteriorated even further as a result of the very rapid rise in prices of essential goods that has taken place, especially in the case of textiles, sugar, cocoanut oil, salted fish and other things. The result is that the composition and standard of food and other essentials of the workers has deteriorated even further, a fact which seriously threatens the physical and mental health of the workers. It is usual for the living conditions of the working people to be even worse than what official bourgeois reports depict. The average wage now stands at Rp. 6.50 paid in cash, or an average of Rp. 10,00 if wages in kind are included, though there still are casual workers who receive as little as between Rp. 4.50—5.00 which means just about enough to buy one litre of rice.

As regards legislation in labour affairs, note should be taken of the law introduced to ratify the ILO Convention No. 98 which prohibits employers from obstructing by any means the growth of trade unions; there is also the law ratifying the ILO Convention No. 100 concerning the elimination of wage inequalities between men and women; and Act No. 22, 1957 on the settlement of labour disputes, an Act which is somewhat more democratic than the Emergency Decree No. 16 introduced in 1951. Experiences up to present show that the victories achieved in the sphere of legislation which are indeed quite significant for the development of trade union organisations, have not yet been genuinely implemented by the government. The trade unions have not yet raised sufficiently strong demands for the implementation of all this legislation.

The most recent report of the Ministry of Labour reveals that on the one hand, the labour force has increased as a result of the increase in population which is estimated at about 1,500,000 a year, whereas on the other hand, working opportunities have not increased but on

the contrary have contracted. Bankruptcy in national enterprises and the dissolution of government public corporations have led to mass dismissals. Modernisation in some big foreign enterprises, especially the oil companies have, to the benefit of the foreign monopolists, meant an increase in the number of unemployed.

For the imperialists, Indonesia is still a place for the investment of their capital and a reserve of cheap labour power. They do all they can not only to preserve the capital that they have already invested in Indonesia, but to increase it. They only carry out modernisation if it brings them more profits than putting to work cheap labour power. Their basic aim is to obtain the highest possible profits by forcing the Indonesian workers to produce more at the same low level of wages. They are intensifying their exploitation by increasing working duties, lengthening the working hours by forced overtime, changing the status of permanent employees into that of casual employees so as to free themselves from the obligation to provide social insurances, and further, contracting out certain parts of the work to contractors so as to free themselves from the provisions laid down in the collective agreements between the employers and the trade unions. Moreover, there have recently also been attempts by agents of the imperialists to increase the working day from the present seven hours to eight hours a day.

This is why it is the duty of our Party and of the trade unions resolutely to resist dismissals, to oppose price increases, to struggle for wage increases and promotion of rank and for improvements in the social conditions of the workers and government employees.

At the present time, certain circles are actively making an issue of raising labour productivity under the slogan "For an increase in national income". It is indeed an honoured task to increase the national income. But it is a mistake for the question to be solved on the basis of a capitalist outlook which is also striving with might and main to raise labour productivity so as to increase the profits of the monopoly capitalists. This question can only be solved if it is linked up with the question of radically changing Indonesia's

economic structure from a colonial economy into a national economy, from an economy that depends for its very existence upon export and import into an independent economy based upon national industry in which the key role is reserved for the State sector of the economy. Every effort to raise productivity of labour within the framework of the old economy, or the colonial economy which is still today a fact cannot be advantageous to the working people and the national interests, it will bring profits to the monopoly capitalists and therefore cannot possibly be supported by the working people. It is possible for labour productivity to be raised in government enterprises and departments if the government in power has the support of the people and if the government pays proper attention to improving conditions of the workers and employees.

The peasants: The Indonesian peassants are at the present time experiencing a number of forms of oppression and disturbances, amongst other things:

> oppression from the landlords and the money-lenders in connection with the continued prevalence of feudal survivals;
>
> disturbances from the Darul Islam-TII terrorist gangs and remnants of the "RGRI-Permesta" bandits who are assisted by the landlords and the foreign companies and armed by the imperialists.

The vast majority of Indonesia's population, that is, between 60—70% of the entire population, are peasants. At the present time, the majority of the peasants are peasants who do not possess any land or possess it in insufficient quantity. Land rights over the vast majority of cultivated land are in the hands of a small number of native landlords and foreign monopoly capitalists. But even though the vast majority of the peasants possess no land at all or possess it in insufficient quantity, all the catastrophes that befall the village and agriculture are borne by them, such as natural disasters, irregularity in the rainy season or the dry season, plagues of pests or armed gangs assaults.

Within the framework of the preparations for this Sixth National

Congress, Party cadres have been carrying out a campaign of 'going down' which has included, among other things, high and middle cadres being sent out to do research on agrarian relations in the countryside and on the living conditions of the peasants. It cannot yet be said that the results of this research work are perfect, but it is a very important first step towards improving the Party's work among the peasants. After this Congress, we must continue with these research activities and must carry them out more extensively and thoroughly. From the research already done, the conclusion can be drawn that on the one hand, a few landlords in the villages control a large share of the land, and in some cases even more than half the land in the village. On the other hand, the agricultural labourers and poor peasants who account for more than half the population of the villages and in some cases as much as 90% of the population, own less than half the land. In general, the persons who till the landlords' lands have to pay 50% or more of the product in rent.

The Indonesian bourgeoisie, and even the more advanced elements among them, are in general evading the revolutionary way of transforming landlord ownership of the land into direct ownership by the peasants who till it. This is because the bourgeoisie is still closely connected with the survivals of feudalism. Under such circumstances, it is certain that nothing will be achieved as regards liberating the peasants and freeing the productive forces in the countryside. Thus, the only hope of the peasants is that the revolutionary Agrarian Programme of the CPI be implemented, that the slogan of "land to the peasants", the banners of which are being held high by the CPI, be implemented.

Our Party appreciates and encourages various efforts being undertaken by the Government to improve conditions in the villages and to improve the position of the peasants, such as:

the introduction of Laws on the Abrogation Of Free-hold Estates, on the Control Of The Transfer Of Rights Over Estates, and on Measures Against Foreign Estates, as well as

government regulations on settling land disputes between peasants and the plantations or the Forestry Department. These regulations to a lesser or greater extent help the peasants to struggle for their demands;

government credit assistance for peasants and activities undertaken by government departments in the sphere of agriculture and in peasant affairs;

efforts made by the Government to bring peasants' representatives into the various bodies or committees set up by the Government;

efforts by the Government to promote peasants' co-operatives so as to raise agricultureal production and improve the living conditions of the peasants.

But however all this may be, the facts show that the conditions of the peasants have not yet undergone any significant change, and in fact have deteriorated during the past few years. This is why we must not forget for a single instance that the most important objective of the peasant movement today is to completely get rid of the survivals of feudalism.

The city poor: The Party has not paid sufficient attention in the past to that section of the petty bourgeoisie that makes up the city poor; this section is quite numerous. In connection with the activities to improve the work of the Party in the towns, there must be an improvement in the work of arousing, mobilising and organising the masses of city poor which consist among others of hawkers peddling the wares they receive from master-traders, rag-and-bone men, betjak-drivers who possess one betjak which they operate themselves, keepers of way-side eating places, shoe-repairers, tinkers, barbers, and such like. Even though some of these city poor possess simple tools of production, they generally live a life of great hardship.

The number of city poor has increased in the past few years with the process of urbanisation, with many poor peasants or agricultural labourers moving from the countryside to the towns. Most of them do not have enough capital to operate on a small scale themselves whereas it is very difficult for them to get work because of the limited

employment opportunities and because of the need to have a minimum knowledge of a particular trade.

This question of the city poor is a serious social problem, not only because all this labour force is not being made good use of in the sphere of production but because many of them are still young and because they are growing in numbers day by day.

The city poor, as is the case with the petty bourgeoisie in general, are a part of the motive force of the revolution. But under excessively difficult living conditions a part of these city poor can be utilised by the employers as strike-breakers, or can be drawn over to extremist ideas or wild schemes so that they can be inticed by adventurers into joining gangs of disrupters. They can easily be turned into vagabonds, and this is why the Party must improve its work among the city poor, it must organise them into organisations that are in line with their everyday interests so as to improve their living conditions.

The fishermen: As Indonesia is an archipelago, millions of its people live along the coasts and make a living as fishermen. The fishermen play an important role in the production of foodstuffs in the form of fish and it sometimes happens that they play an important role in preserving security of the country and also in ensuring the smooth running of sea and river transport. With the exception of a very small number of rich fishermen, the vast majority of our fishermen live in misery and backwardness. Part of them live as working-fishermen exploited by fish-net owners and the owners of large fishing vessels, who also carry out exploitation in the role of money-lenders and middle-men. The cultural standards of our fishermen are still generally low, their working implements are out-moded, whilst their working relations are generally still feudalistic in nature.

The masses of the fishermen are a motive force of the revolution together with the workers, the peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and other democratic elements. Excessive destitution in the villages has forced some of the peasants living along the coast to leave agriculture and augment the ranks of the fishermen. This makes the Party's work among the fishermen even more urgent, to organise

and arouse them in actions aimed at improving their conditions and winning democratic liberties, as well as to improve their working implements, and all this will at the same time help to solve the shortage of important foodstuffs for the Indonesian people, the great need for fish.

The intelligentsia, too, including scientific and cultural workers, still face difficulties. Inadequacy of equipment, insufficient pay, difficulty to obtain employment and the high level of taxes, create many difficulties for those working in the sphere of science and culture. The fact today is that at a time when there is a shortage of schools, thousands of elementary school teachers are unemployed. It is very gratifying to see that in the recent period, more and more scientific and cultural workers as well as students, have taken their place in the progressive movement, have adopted an attitude of sympathy towards the Party or have joined the Party. The Party must put all its heart into the work of uniting with the scientific and cultural workers and the students and helping them to overcome the difficulties they encounter in the process of developing their skills and talents.

The above picture of the living conditions of the workers, the peasants, the city poor, the fishermen, the intelligentsia and others reveals that the suffering of the vast majority of the Indonesian people are getting worse and worse. Unemployment, poverty, and social and economic injustice are becoming more and more widespread. These people are the victims of the present economic crisis, victims of the policies pursued by governments that insufficiently reflect the national interest and the interests of the masses of the people.

5. Improve the Work of the National Front and Further Isolate the Diehard Forces.

Politically, in the last few years, Indonesia has shifted to the left. Following the holding of the first parliamentary general elections in our country, the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the

Party made an analysis and drew the conclusion that there are three political forces that are almost balanced in size, the diehard forces, the progressive forces and the middle-of-the-road forces, each of which have their own concept of how to complete the August 1945 Revolution.

Thus, in our country, there are contradictions between these three forces, some of which are sharper than others, some of which are not basic contradictions and others of which are. The contradiction between the progressive forces and the middle-of-the-road forces is not a basic contradiction; it is a contradiction among the people. But the contradiction between the people and the diehards is a basic contradiction because the diehards represent the interests of the imperialists who are the enemies of the people.

What is the situation today of each of these forces? And how is the balance between these three forces? We can state the following in this connection:

Because of their excessively reactionary, extremely anti-national and anti-people's policy, the "prestige" of the diehard forces has fallen greatly, and they have "lost all perspectives", they have no hopes any more of getting back into leadership and control of the central government by parliamentary means. This is why they have tried to force their concept on the nation via extra-parliamentary means, by means of terror and they have even gone to the extent of organising a rebellion in order to get the reins of government back into their hands. They have taken the road of fascism. Their basic force no longer lies in the confidence placed in them by a section of the Indonesian people who are politically the most backward, but in the assistance in the form of money, arms and other military equipment from the US, Dutch imperialists and Kuomintang, it lies in the support of a few corrupt military personages, in terrorist organisations, in sabotage in military affairs, economic affairs, in smuggling and illegal barter trade. Basically, their strength lies in the help from the imperialists.

More and more, the followers of the counter-revolutionaries are abandoning them, but at the same time their ties with the im-

perialist who direct all their activities, especially the US imperialist, are getting closer. It they do not get any assistance from abroad, these diehard forces would no longer have any role.

Even so, we must not make light of the diehard forces because there are still factors in their favour. The first and the most basic is the fact that Indonesia today is still in essence a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. As long as our country is still a semi-colonial country it means that imperialist domination still prevails in our country, and it means too that there is still a basis for existence in our country for reactionary forces, for the diehard forces. As long as our country is still semi-feudal, it means that the domination of the counter-revolutionary landlords will still prevail. Feudalism is the social basis of imperialism. Feudal survivals, still dominant in economic life, social life and cultural life will always be a source of life for the diehards.

Thus, even though the diehards have already sustained heavy political blows, even though their anti-national character has been more and more exposed, even though they have been more and more exposed as using religion as a mask and misusing nationality sentiments, even though it has become clearer that they are hostile to the people, nevertheless as long as our country is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, the diehard forces will continue to represent a force which we must unceasingly expose and oppose with all our might.

As regards the middle-of-the-road forces, we have had a number of experiences. Our Party has drawn the conclusion that the middle-of-the-road forces on the one hand vacillate in their resistance to imperialism and feudalism because of their economic ties with the imperialists and the feudalists that have not yet been completely severed too are part of the exploiting class. But on the other hand, they are revolutionary because they must, in the interest of preserving themselves and safeguarding their livelihood, get rid of imperialist and landlord obstructions. If the progressive forces are great and the Party programme is one which benefits the middle-of-the-road forces, if the Party's style of work is good and if the progressive for-

ces are able to deal heavy and well-aimed blows against the diehards, there is the possibility that the middle-of-the-road forces will, for a long period of time, remain loyal to the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle.

The conclusion has also been drawn that if these middle-of-the-road forces are no longer loyal to the policy of anti-imperialism, if they abandon their class interests and prostitute themselves before the diehards, they can, together with the diehard forces aim blows against the progressive forces so as, for a certain period of time, to obstruct the development of the democratic movement. But several major experiences that we have had prove that the alliance between the middle-of-the-road forces and the diehards, such as during the time of the Hatta and Sukiman Cabinets, are not at all to the advantage of the middle-of-the-road forces; on the contrary, their economic interests are being pressed more and more by the foreign monopolists and compradores and their political prestige falls because they are condemned by the people for participating in the game of selling out the Republic of Indonesia and its people.

The Indonesian national bourgeoisie are in general a commercial bourgeoisie. Their excessively weak position in economic affairs makes them very dependent upon export and import trade with the stress upon import, and this means that they are dependent upon the imperialists who dominate these two spheres. If their position as a commercial bourgeoisie is so weak then even more striking is their weakness in the sphere of industry.

If the Indonesian national bourgeoisie had a strong position in the sphere of industry, they would stand up to the foreign monopolists more courageously as competitors, they would defend their right to exist as industrialists and would oppose the imperialists. As industrialists, they would also put up greater opposition to the survivals of feudalism because they would be in need of a secure home market. In this resistance against imperialism and the survivals of feudalism, they would come together with and march side by side with the masses of the people who are also anti-imperialist and

anti-feudal. But in their position as a commercial bourgeoisie almost all their efforts are dependent upon the imperialists. They must bring themselves into conformity with the conditions fixed by the imperialists. Even if they had the intention to put up resistance, they are not strong enough. These circumstances are the reason for the very uncertain and very inconsistent features of the Indonesian bourgeoisie, and these circumstances have made our country fertile soil for the growth of compradores and bureaucrat capitalists. But on the other hand, the weak economic position of the national bourgeoisie does not provide a strong material basis for sharp contradictions between the national bourgeoisie and the working class in general. To a certain extent, this fact helps in the building of the national front.

But what has been stated above does not mean that the Indonesian national bourgeoisie is not an important political factor. They exert a significant ideological and political influence among the intellectuals and within the State apparatus. This is why the question of building unity between the progressive forces and the middle-of-the-road forces is still an important matter, side by side with striving to prevent the middle-of-the-road forces from capitulating to the diehard forces and the imperialists.

Since they do not have sufficient strength and courage to oppose the imperialists in economic affairs, certain groups of the national bourgeoisie, in line with imperialist policy, sharpen the antagonisms between the Indonesian capitalists themselves, between the so-called "native" and "non-native" businessmen, and together with this, they spread the poison of chauvinism among the people. This means protecting the big foreign enemy and beating one's own colleagues; the foreign enemy becomes stronger and more dangerous while one's own colleagues get beaten to pulp. This is a policy of "destroying one's own house so as to let the burglar in". That they indeed let the burglar in is evident from their attitude towards big foreign capital investments which they not only do not oppose, but have actually created an Act on Foreign Investments for this purpose.

If they were genuinely against foreign capital, their foremost task would be to reject big foreign capital investments and to undermine the position of existing foreign investments. If they fail to reject big foreign capital investments while making the foreign proprietors of small shops and stalls the target of their opposition, this is not a truly national policy; it is a policy of the domestic landlords and money-lenders who are making use of chauvinism in order to intensify their own exploitation of the working people. And yet in actual fact, their historic task is to unite Indonesian capital as far as is possible, to oppose the big foreign capitalists and to participate in the work of industrialising the country, or in other words, to pursue a policy of "*strengthening one's own house in order to keep the burglar out*".

Following the stride forward made in the anti-colonialist struggle when the enterprises of the Dutch colonialists were taken over the egoistic character of a part of the middle-of-the-roaders became very clear indeed. After the workers, at great risk and in complete disregard of their own interests had taken over the Dutch enterprises, the egoistic middle-of-the-roaders, by making use of their power in the government, tried to get these enterprises shifted over into their own hands. It was here that there was a meeting-place between the interests of the middle-of-the-road forces and the reactionary forces which could provide a platform for their joint reactionary policy. This is an important factor behind the "petty traders" agreements between the diehard bourgeoisie and right-wing nationalist elements under the slogan of "containing Communism". They believe that if they take over this imperialist slogan, there will be people ready to excuse their anti-national deeds.

The middle-of-the-roaders wavered at the time the workers, in a spirit of noble patriotism and at great risk, took over the Dutch colonialist enterprises. But as soon as the opportunity provided itself, they came forward to "safeguard" the achievements of the workers' struggle, they strove to prohibit the activities of the trade unions and get themselves into the positions previously occupied by the

Dutch colonialists. But fortunately it was in the main possible to frustrate this policy of turning these taken-over Dutch enterprises into private concerns thanks to the strong resistance of the Indonesian people and President Sukarno. But the reactionaries are still making strong efforts in this direction and there is even evidence that they have made some progress. A new danger is that some of the managers of these enterprises are misusing their positions to enrich themselves and their clique and to hamper production so as to prove that "the government and the workers are incompetent", while at the same time proclaiming that the private businessmen are more "competent".

In view of the fact that the "prestige" of the diehards has fallen, the American imperialists cannot for the time being effectively pursue their policy in Indonesia via the diehard forces headed by the leaders of the Masjumi and the PSI (right-wing socialist, Tr.). Therefore the imperialists badly need new compradores from among the middle-of-the-road forces, both civil and military, while at the same time trying to restore the position of the Indonesian diehard forces. This is the background to the attitude being taken by the rightist wing of the middle-of-the-road forces who are trying to get the entire middle-of-the-road forces to quit the policy of co-operation with the progressive forces.

But within the middle-of-the-road forces there are also left and centre wings as well as the rightist wing. The centre group in the middle-of-the-road forces is usually not a strong group, but it is in a position to "link up" the left wing with the right wing, and it has a strong tendency to come down on the side of the stronger of the wings within the middle-of-the-road forces. This is why the victory of the left wing within the middle-of-the-road forces is a magnet which can succeed in winning the centre wing over to the left and thus prevent the middle-of-the-road forces from shifting to the right.

The left wing in the middle-of-the-road forces opposes the policy of selling out to imperialism and the domestic reactionaries. The

policy of the left wing in the middle-of-the-road forces within certain limits reflects the feelings and hopes of the mass of the followers of the middle-of-the-road forces which to a large extent consist of the petty bourgeoisie. The left wing in the middle-of-the-road forces displays a more resolute anti-imperialist standpoint and cannot be easily drawn into the clutches of the imperialists. They also do not agree with the "petty trader" agreements reached between the right nationalist group and the diehards, because these are not in harmony with the interests of the mass of followers of the middle-of-the-road forces, especially the petty bourgeoisie. They also oppose the Foreign Investment Law because this law will mean commission earnings and other profits for only a small handful of the leaders of the middle-of-the-road forces to the detriment of the mass of followers of these forces themselves. These internal contradictions within the middle-of-the-road forces can, if they do not get too sharp, be solved quietly but if they become too sharp, if the consciousness of the left wing becomes high enough and the right wing continues to adopt a diehard attitude, this must lead to a split.

In connection with completing the demands of the August 1945 Revolution, the conclusion can be drawn that at the present stage, the left-wing of the middle-of-the-road forces no longer have any confidence in the ability and honesty of the upper layer of the national bourgeoisie to carry this out. They also witness the growth of the forces of the Indonesian proletariat and are beginning to be conscious of the fact that the working class is more and more occupying an important position in the national independence movement in leading the completion of the demands of the August Revolution. But this does not mean that the left group of the middle-of-the-road forces has already accepted and recognised the leadership of the proletariat. In order for this to happen the proletariat must even further strengthen itself and show that it has a greater ability to defend the interests of the entire people.

There is another question which it is necessary to clarify with regard to the middle-of-the-road forces, and that is concerning those

of the leaders of this group that sided with the "RGRI-Permesta" counter-revolutionary rebellion. In analysing these forces, we must not forget that the most basic contradiction in our country today is the contradiction between the Indonesian people and imperialism which in everyday political life is represented by the imperialists. The struggle to solve this contradiction still needs very much time and our Party must strive to gather together the greatest possible forces to strike the hardest possible blow at imperialism and its agents. There are a number of reasons why leaders of the middle-of-the-road forces sided with the counter-revolutionaries. Some of them have from the start indeed been reactionaries but during the time before the counter-revolutionary rebellion broke out, they still posed as middle-of-the-roaders.

As regards such people, the attitude of the Party is quite the same as its attitude towards the diehard forces. But there are also those who sided with the counter-revolutionaries because of dissatisfaction since the national bourgeoisie in power at the centre was not able or did not want to serve the interests of the national bourgeoisie in the regions, such as, for example, they did not quickly grant extensive autonomy to the regions, they failed to make a just division of the "spoils" in the form of economic advantage or governmental position, and so on. In a mood of dissatisfaction, the national bourgeoisie in the regions came face to face with an exceptionally strong campaign waged by the counter-revolutionaries under the slogan of "regional construction", "to hell with the people at the centre", "the people at the centre only consider the needs of Java", and the like. They were tricked by these slogans, they were tempted by temporary material benefits, and this was why they sided with the counter-revolution. Thus, the contradiction within the body of the middle-of-the-road forces which could not be solved led to a weakening of the people's forces and a strengthening of the counter-revolutionary forces because the counter-revolutionaries succeeded in drawing over a part of the national bourgeoisie, or in other words, a part of the people, to their side. Our Party's attitude towards these people who

were tricked but who, after the "RGRI-Permesta" rebellion had been defeated, declared once again that they would be loyal to the Republic of Indonesia, is not the same as its attitude towards the diehards. We must draw them back into the national united front because the task of our Party is not to smash the national bourgeoisie but to smash the counter-revolutionaries. Of course, this attitude does not in the slightest mean lessening political vigilance. Another conclusion that we can draw is that the contradiction between the Indonesian people and the "RGRI-Permesta" is in no sense a contradiction between the people in Java and the people outside Java but it is one between the entire Indonesian people and the "RGRI-Permesta" counter-revolutionaries who are financed and equipped by the imperialists under US leadership. This is one of the forms of the most basic contradiction, the contradiction between the Indonesian people and imperialism.

From the above analysis it is clear that certain difficulties are now being or will be faced by our Party in building the national united front, that is, building unity between the progressive forces and the middle-of-the-road forces. But the fact that there is a common stand and common action between the progressive forces and the nationalist movement under the leadership of President Sukarno against imperialism, especially as regards striking a blow at Dutch imperialist economic interests and crushing the "RGRI-Permesta" as well as weakening the diehard forces in general, proves that the united national front in our country is getting stronger and stronger. The most important question at the present time in connection with strengthening the united national front is: *constantly to develop the progressive forces with prime place being given to the forces of the workers and the peasants, and win victory for the left wing within the middle-of-the-road forces.* Our policy as regards the entire middle-of-the-road forces is: *encourage those who are already advanced, draw over the waverers and arouse those who are still backward.*

As regards the development of the progressive forces, the role of the Indonesian workers in the take-over campaign to a greater or

lesser extent gives a picture of what has happened. The Report to the Sixth Plenum of the CC states the following in this connection: *"In carrying out these take-overs, the Indonesian proletariat once again displayed its role as the heroic vanguard in the national struggle for independence of the homeland and for the interests of the entire nation. The workers took over the imperialist enterprises not in their own personal interests but to hand them over to the Republic of Indonesia whose government was not yet a government of the working class. The Indonesian proletariat did all this at great risk, the risk of being killed, dismissed from work, tried in court etc. In the national interests, the Indonesian proletariat did all this without regard for their own self-interests."*

Further, the experience in smashing the "RGRI-Permesta" rebellion raised the prestige of the CPI and the progressive forces in general. Ever since the time the rebels were preparing their seizure of power in the regions, Communists together with the mass organisations under their leadership were offering bitter resistance. The Communists have been the first victims of arrests and murders by the rebels. In such a situation, the middle-of-the-road forces were in a state of vacillation. The progressive forces under the leadership of the CPI which displayed the most resolute stand encouraged the government and helped the Armed Forces in smashing the rebels. But after the counter-revolutionary rebels had been smashed, the middle-of-the-roaders began busying themselves to get into important positions and wherever possible to kick the progressives out. By acting in such an unjust way, the middle-of-the-roaders not only discredited themselves in the eyes of the masses of the Indonesian people and the patriotic state apparatus but also very seriously weakened the potentials of the Indonesian people in their effort to smash the counter-revolutionaries.

Both as regards the take-over of the Dutch enterprises as well as in the question of smashing the counter-revolutionary rebels it was proven that the Indonesian proletariat is more and more being able to take its place and has begun to be recognised as the vanguard in the national struggle at the present stage, as the vanguard in the

struggle of the Indonesian people to complete the demands of the August 1945 Revolution. The Indonesian people have displayed in the course of the three general elections so far that they have no little confidence in the CPI and in the progressive forces in general. The birth of the President Sukarno Concept which is aimed at the formation of a "gotong-royong" Cabinet based on proportional representation, or in other words the participation of Communists in the Central Government, was a correct reflection of the hopes of the entire working people. Such great support for the establishment of a "gotong-royong" Cabinet would not have been possible had the people not had great confidence in the CPI. This confidence became even greater when the people got direct and good experience in regions where Communists are directing the government, where the people have seen for themselves the unity between what Communists say and what they do, where the people have for the first time got the feeling that they are participating in deciding on the course of government, and participating in deciding the course of development of society in their region.

But it is not easy for the progressive forces to develop themselves. The left wing of the middle-of-the-road forces aims, besides striking a blow at the diehards, at utilising and restricting the progressive forces. The right wing of the middle-of-the-road forces strives to hold back the development of the progressive forces with the policy it pursues of "striking both to the left and to the right", but because of jealousy, anxiety and a terrible fear of the developments of the progressive forces, they are striking more blows to the left than to the right. In the interests of their rightist policy, they are prepared within certain limits to make a compromise with the diehard forces. The diehard forces are striving with might and main not only to hold back the development of the progressive forces but also to "smash" these forces.

In addition to the efforts being made by the right nationalists to hold back the progressive forces, the efforts by the diehard forces to strike at and eventually smash by means of force the progressive

forces and the continuous encouragement to smash the Communist movement that is coming from the imperialists, the Trotskyites also feel that they would be committing a great sin if they did not take part in this campaign of "hunting down" the Communists.

It is clear what difficulties are being faced by the progressive forces in developing themselves. The Communists must not feel self-satisfied with the successes they have achieved in developing the progressive forces; on the contrary, they must always raise their vigilance, and tirelessly continue to strengthen and expand their links with all sections of the people. There are still important shortcomings in our Party's work of building the national front. Among Party cadres, there is still haziness about the non-basic and the basic contradictions in Indonesian society today, and there is insufficient understanding that under certain circumstances, antagonistic contradictions can turn into non-antagonistic contradictions, while non-antagonistic contradictions can turn into antagonistic contradictions. Because of this haziness and lack of understanding, we are insufficiently able in time to make use of all situations to strengthen the national front. By studying more theory and by gaining more experiences, as well as by not forgetting to draw the *conclusions* from the experiences that we have already gained, we shall gradually be able to overcome these weaknesses.

The entire development since the time of the Fifth National Party Congress bears out the correctness of the analysis concerning the "*three forces and the three concepts of completing the August 1945 Revolution*". It is also a fact that these three forces are undergoing constant shifts and up to the present these shifts have been to the left. From the point of view of its following, the CPI has not only become a national Party that is covering the entire country and all nationalities, but it has also become the largest party in our country.

How is the balance of forces today after the struggle against Dutch imperialism went forward a stage with the taking-over of the Dutch enterprises, after the "RGRI-Permesta" has basically been defeated and after their failure to prevent the return to the 1945 Constitution?

It can be said with certainty that *the diehard forces have seriously deteriorated, and together with that, the progressive forces have become greater while the middle-of-the-road forces have remained basically the same.* Even though the reputation of the leadership of the middle-of-the-road forces has fallen because they vacillated too much in the struggle against the counter-revolution and because of the "petty traders" agreements with the diehards reached by the rightist wing of the leadership, the position of the middle-of-the-road forces has been helped by the fact that the left wing of these forces has remained anti-imperialist and in view, too, of the fact that a part of the masses of the diehard forces have shifted to the centre. The CPI's political line towards these three forces is unchanged, namely, *develop the progressive forces, unite with the middle-of-the-road forces and isolate the diehard forces.* This means carrying out the slogan of "*improve the national front work, further isolate the diehard forces!*"

6. The CPI Defends the Proclamation Republic

The Constituent Assembly is the channel which the Party must use in the best possible way to defend the spirit of the Proclamation Republic of August 17, 1945, the spirit that can unite the widest possible sectors of the Indonesian people. Defending the Proclamation Republic means defending the principle that if they are to achieve greatness, the Indonesian people must unite, that sovereignty must be vested in the hands of the people, that the people must carry out their sovereignty through assemblies elected by the people and that all persons are equal before the Law. The CPI defends the spirit of the Proclamation Republic because during the August 1945—1948 Revolution, the Proclamation Republic proved to be a revolutionary republic, an important means of struggle in the defence of national independence, peace, democracy, and unity of the entire people regardless of differences of decend, nationality, regardless of differences of religion, philosophical outlook or political

conviction. Defending the Proclamation Republic means defending a Republic in which all religions and all political convictions that are not in conflict with the spirit of the August 1945 Revolution are respected, and in which the religious institutions are separated from the State.

The CPI continues to defend a unitarian state covering the entire area of the former "Dutch East Indies". In this unified state, the broadest possible autonomy is guaranteed for the regions. The contents of the articles in the 1945 Constitution concerning economic affairs which aim at the liquidation of the colonial economy will be defended by the CPI.

These then are the reasons why, after the Constituent Assembly had failed to draw up a Constitution containing the basic ideas as outlined above, the CPI and other patriotic groups put up a resolute struggle for the Constituent Assembly to accept the Constitution of the Revolution, the 1945 Constitution. After it became apparent during the sessions of the Constituent Assembly held at the end of May and the beginning of June this year, that it would not be able to ratify the 1945 Constitution despite the fact that there was a majority of members in favour, but less than the two-thirds majority required according to the Provisional Constitution, the CPI felt that the only way to save the country from the disaster of a further split in the national forces was for President Sukarno to issue a Decree restoring the 1945 Constitution in the name of the majority of the Indonesian people. The aim of the CPI in demanding that such a decree be issued was to deprive the reactionaries of the opportunity to create a further split in the national forces, and also to further consolidate the anti-imperialist unity of the people. The issuing of the Decree made it possible to avoid a shameful compromise between those middle-of-the-road forces in favour and those against the 1945 Constitution, a compromise that would have been harmful to the people. It will be possible to make up for the shortcomings in the 1945 Constitution at the sessions of the democratic People's Consultative Congress some time in the future. This is why

the CPI and the Indonesian working people welcomed the Decree issued by the President/Supreme Commander, Sukarno, on July 5th, 1959, restoring the 1945 Constitution.

7. The CPI's Attitude Towards the Sukarno-Djuanda Cabinet

In determining a practical, political standpoint, we must be guided by the programme of demands adopted by the Fifth National Congress of the Party subsequently improved upon by the Fourth Plenum of the CC and which is now being submitted again to this Congress after having been brought into conformity with the development of the situation. The basic task in this programme of demands of the Party is to unite the entire people and to fulfil the economic and political demands of the people at certain stages prior to the completion of the August Revolution in its entirety. In the political sphere, our programme of demands today basically wants the formation of a National Coalition Government or the formation of a "gotong royong" cabinet as the 100% implementation of the President Sukarno Concept.

The possibility of forming a National Coalition Government depends upon the work of the Party in building up a national front, in developing the progressive forces and in directing well-aimed blows at the diehards. As regards the participation of Communists in the cabinet, this depends upon the actual balance of forces at the time the cabinet is formed. The CPI has in the past and will continue to demand the formation of a National Coalition Government or a Gotong Royong Government made up of those parties, groups and individuals that are willing. The CPI must raise the question of its participation in the cabinet because the aim of the CPI is to strengthen national unity and the CPI has always had a feeling of responsibility for the conditions of the Indonesian people and nation.

In cases where it does not participate in the cabinet, the Party has laid down its attitude as follows: *firstly*, the CPI can give its support on the condition that the programme is advanced, that the composition and the ministers are sufficiently good to ensure the implementation of the programme: *secondly*, it will go into the opposition if the programme is reactionary or is just an attempt at demagogy, so that it does not fulfil the most minimum political and economic demands of the people.

The question of the Armed Forces is a factor which we must not minimise in building the national united front, in developing the progressive forces, in isolating the diehard forces and in the efforts of the people to bring about the formation of a progressive cabinet. After the Sukiman Cabinet went out of office as a result of the pressure of the democratic forces, and in its place the Wilopo Cabinet came into office on the basis of the support of the democratic forces, the right-wing socialists and the militarists tried to carry out a coup d'etat (October 17th, 1952). An attempt was made to rectify this failure in 1952 of the counter-revolutionaries with the "August 13th, 1956 affair" and the "November 16th, 1956 affair" which were attempts to oppose the legal power with the forces of the Army. When they got the chance to get back into power during the Burhanuddin Harahap Cabinet (Masjumi), they attempted to reorganise the leadership of the Army and the Air Force by making use of political powers that were in their hands. But all this met with failure because of three important factors: *Firstly*, President Sukarno who, united with the people, has a strong influence within the Armed Forces, and President Sukarno refused to become a militarist dictator. *Secondly*, the Armed Forces are the child of the People's Revolution, and because of this, the majority of the officers, non-commissioned officers and other ranks cannot easily be used to carry out orders aimed at liquidating the Proclamation Republic by means of setting up a military dictatorship or a one-man dictatorship. *Thirdly*, the Indonesian people not only love democracy, but under the leadership of a vigilant Party, they actively defend this

democracy. These are the basic reasons why the coup d'etat of the Masjumi-PSI and the militarists who sided with them met with failure and all these forces can still frustrate every counter-revolutionary attempt to seize power.

As has repeatedly been stated, the Communists will continue to struggle to prevent the return to power of a military dictatorship such as the Indonesian people experienced during the Japanese occupation, even though this time the form may be different. The most important thing for the Indonesian people, in the interests of progress in Indonesia, is to preserve and expand democracy. But if it proves impossible to prevent military dictatorship, if such a regime does indeed come into power, it will be the duty of every Communist to oppose it with all their might. Opposing military dictatorship means defending Indonesia's national independence from the brazen attacks of the imperialists. That the people do not like military dictatorship is proven by events during the Japanese occupation and during the time some of the Indonesian people faced the militarist fascists of the "RGRI-Permesta" in some parts of the country. Thus it is certain that the opposition to military dictatorship will be victorious. For a certain time there may indeed be people who are afraid of military dictatorship but this is only temporary. People continue to be afraid for as long as they have not had direct experience, but as soon as this happens, all feelings of fear and hesitations disappear, and the courageousness and unflinching will of the people will burst forth like a mighty flood sweeping away and destroying military dictatorship before it. The proof of this is what happened at the time the Indonesian people had to face the Japanese militarists, and now more recently, during the campaign to crush the counter-revolutionary "RGRI-Permesta" rebels.

It is now necessary to make a special analysis of the possibilities of development of the Sukarno-Djuanda Cabinet as a continuation of the Djuanda Cabinet which achieved certain successes in the struggle for the incorporation of West Irian within the Republic

and following the suppression of the "RGRI-Permesta" counter-revolutionary rebellion.

The special circumstances surrounding the Sukarno-Djuanda Cabinet to which we must pay attention is the continuance in force of military power. Even though the Emergence Decree of Dutch colonial manufacture has been repealed and has been replaced by a State of Emergency Law drawn up by the Parliament of the Republic, the fact still remains that it is the military that is in power. Military power has displayed some positive aspects, particularly in the regions of unrest. But it also has its negative aspects which, if they are not speedily brought to an end, can go on indefinitely and can outweight the positive aspects of this military power. As regards these negative aspects, very serious ones are the restraints placed on the democratic rights of the people, such as the continuance in force of the State of Emergency in regions where there are no disturbances, such as the restrictions on political activities, the prohibition of meetings held by parties, including parties that oppose the counter-revolutionary rebellion and support the 1945 Constitution, the prohibition on strikes in enterprises that side with the counter-revolutionary rebels, evictions of peasants, the ban on certain government officials being members of political parties, and other prohibitions which impose serious limitations on the development of the progressive and democratic movement.

Another negative aspect of military power that is also sufficiently serious is the question of the interference by some officers, still on active military service, in economic, financial and governmental affairs. If ex-officers such as Achmad Husein, M. Simbolon, V. Sumual and other rebel officers began their treachery in the sphere of economic and political affairs which were no concern of theirs and ended up by carrying out with a counter-revolutionary rebellion, then it is not correct for their treacherous deeds to be copied by officers who oppose the counter-revolutionary rebels.

Whenever it is necessary, the CPI and the people are prepared to give power within certain limits to the patriotic Armed Forces

as long as this power is not misused. We must prevent the emergence of unnecessary of sharp contradictions between the people and the Armed Forces, and everything that may lead to such a sharpening must be averted. The implementation of the line of "*the dwiumvirate between the people and the Army*" or in other words, the line of "*the people helping the Army and the Army helping the people*" or "*mutual assistance between the people and the Army*" is the guarantee for defending Indonesia's sovereignty and independence.

As a result of its success in the main of wiping out the "RGRI-Permesta" rebellion, the prestige of the Government has risen, both in the eyes of the Indonesian people as well as in the eyes of other friendly countries. This prestige can go on rising if the Government can preserve its position as a government which pursues a policy in conformity with the wishes of the masses of the people, as long as it always orientates itself towards and bases itself upon the people, as long as it always succeeds in controlling its entire apparatus in favour of the implementation of its programme, and within certain limits is able to bring about improvements in the living conditions of the people.

Now that the 1945 Constitution has been restored by Decree of President Sukarno on July 5th, 1959, Indonesia remains a State of law in which sovereignty is vested in the hands of the people, and fully exercised by the People's Consultative Council. The power to enact legislation is in the hands of the President and the People's Representative Assembly. In this connection, all deviations in the form of taking arbitrary action against the political liberties of the people, such as deliberately delaying the general elections for the PRA, harbouring a desire to trample upon and dissolve the parties, casting aside or trampling upon the rights of the PRA before or after the PCC has been set up, are threats against the pillars of democracy which are of vital interests to the Indonesian people, and all this means distorting for the 1945 Constitution.

After making a return to the 1945 Constitution via a Presidential Decree that had the support of a decisive majority, it was very

reasonable for the Indonesian people to hope for the formation of a Gotong-Royong Cabinet under President Sukarno's leadership, in conformity with the ideas contained in the President Sukarno Concept. But when the Working Cabinet (term used for the Sukarno-Djuanda Cabinet, Tr.) was formed under the leadership of Sukarno and Djuanda, a cabinet which is not a Gotong-Royong Cabinet, the hopes of the people were not fulfilled for the time being. The Indonesian people will not stop half way and they will not forget President Sukarno's repeated declarations to the effect that the people have the right to demand implementation of the Government's programme, and that at any time, ministers can be replaced by the President. The Indonesian people, who love national unity, who are democratic and progressive, will not abandon their practical political demands for the formation of a Gotong-Royong Cabinet, whether this be done via the replacement of ministers who prove not to have been correctly appointed, or via the formation of an entirely new cabinet. This is a very just demand and it will therefore sooner or later be achieved! The formation of the Provisional Supreme Advisory Council and the National Planning Council, the composition of which approaches the spirit of Gotong-Royong, have further encouraged the Indonesian people to carry on with the demand for the formation of a Gotong-Royong Cabinet.

The CPI will do all it can to assist in the implementation of the programme of the Sukarno-Djuanda Cabinet and the implementation of the basic thoughts contained in the Political Manifesto of President Sukarno promulgated on August 17th, 1959, so long as this cabinet does not put obstacles in the way of the development of the independence movement and the democratic movement. The support of the CPI for this Sukarno-Djuanda Cabinet is sincere, critical support and is based on the following principle: *Unreservedly support its progressive policies, criticise its vacillating policies, so as to make them progressive, and oppose those of its policies that are harmful to the people.* By assisting the development of the independence movement and the democratic movement, the Sukarno-Djuanda Cabinet is

strengthening its own position and is doing service to the people for a completely independent and democratic Indonesia, for the implementation of the demands of the August 1945 Revolution in their entirety.

8. Strengthen and Expand Democracy

The inability of the system of liberal democracy to solve a number of important problems being faced by the Indonesian people has led to a situation where it is no longer possible to conceal the bankruptcy of this system from the Indonesian people. Together with the ever deteriorating authority of this system a deterioration has taken place too in the position of bourgeois parties which tried to operate this system "as well as possible" to enrich the upper strata of the bourgeoisie by means of utilising political position for the carrying out of corruption and other objectionable activities. This system, which in the period of the general crisis of capitalism has become bankrupt historically, has proved in Indonesia too how completely at one liberal democracy is with corruption and bureaucracy, with inability to solve the basic and important problems being faced by the Indonesian people.

The most reactionary rightists, after having realised that they can no longer make use of liberal democracy, have for a long time now been trying to conceal the inabilities of this system by attempts to seize political power through extra-parliamentary means so as to create a fascist system of government in the form of a military junta. After these attempts at the centre failed, they attempted by making military figures in certain regions their champions to seize political power locally as a means for forcing the central Government to bow to its wishes. With the counter-revolutionary "RGRI-Permesta" rebellion which broke out at the beginning of 1958, the Masjumi-PSI leaders succeeded in setting themselves up as "kings-for-a-day" in West Sumatera and North Sulawesi with the help

of the bayonets of militarists of the same standpoint as them, and thanks to the encouragements and assistance of imperialist countries headed by the United States.

But even though the reactionary leaders and adventurers of the "RGRI-Permesta" have met with failure, the reactionaries and political adventurers are still sufficiently numerous in our country, and there is still Mr. Hatta who can become a means for trying to get Indonesian people to bow down, both by means of forming a reactionary cabinet, as has been stated by Dr. Sukiman (Masjumi), or by the establishment of a military dictatorship or a one-man dictatorship.

The speed with which liberal democracy became bankrupt in Indonesia was due to two processes: *Firstly*, the process of the consciousness of the Indonesian themselves based on their own experiences when they saw that liberal democracy is identical with corruption, bureaucracy and inability to solve the basic and important problems of the Indonesian people. *Secondly*, because of the anti-Parliament agitation, in essence, agitation against democratic living, carried out by promotors of a military junta and other fascist elements.

The bankruptcy of the liberal democratic system in the eyes of the Indonesian people has not taken place in a situation in which the balance of forces between the Indonesian people on the one hand and the imperialists and the landlords on the other is such as to make it possible for the Indonesian people to overcome this crisis in the political system by setting up people's power, that is, political power in which sovereignty is completely vested in the hands of the people and in which the enemies of the people are completely deprived of their political rights.

But even so, the Indonesian people will not permit the crisis of liberal democracy to be "overcome" by victory for the reactionaries, that is victory for the "RGRI-Permesta", victory for military dictatorship or one-man dictatorship, or by the formation of a reactionary cabinet. There is already a weapon in the hands of Indonesian people for overcoming the crisis, namely the President Sukarno Concept

and the idea of Guided Democracy. This is the reply of the Indonesian people at the present time, that the crisis of liberal democracy should be ended with victory for the people.

In such a situation, President Sukarno's idea of Guided Democracy takes on very great significance. The CPI accepts Guided Democracy with the understanding that what is being accepted is democracy even though it is not People's Democracy, but anti-liberalism, anti-military dictatorship and anti-one-man dictatorship democracy. The positive aspect of Guided Democracy is that it is on the one hand anti military dictatorship and anti a one-man dictatorship while on the other hand it is anti-liberalism. Anti-liberalism in political affairs can mean nothing other than the 100% implementation of the President Sukarno Concept, that is the formation of a "gotong-royong" cabinet based on proportional representation of the parties and groups that support the President's Concept. Anti-liberalism in economic affairs can mean nothing other than anti "free-fight liberalism" and this means giving pride of place to the state sector as the condition for directing the entire economy of the country and rooting out the economic domination of foreign capital.

The positive aspects of Guided Democracy must be developed and it must be aimed at the 100% implementation of the President Sukarno Concept. Guided Democracy and the President Sukarno Concept make up one single entirety.

The implementation of the President Sukarno Concept must be carried out among those parties, groups and individuals that agree with it. Those who reject it are anti national unity, pro liberalism and pro military dictatorship or pro one-man dictatorship. It is therefore incorrect if the implementation of these good aspirations should have to depend on people who reject these aspirations.

The fact that there still are parties, groups and cliques that reject the President Sukarno Concept and Guided Democracy and want to see a military dictatorship or a one-man dictatorship installed is proven by the fact that, even though the Indonesian people have

chosen democracy, the danger of fascism continues to be present. This is why revolutionary vigilance must be kept high so as to defeat this danger.

In order to defeat the danger of fascism, the CPI is of the opinion that it is the task of the entire Indonesian people to resolutely struggle for the Government:

genuinely to implement its programme of meeting the needs of the people for food and clothing, of safeguarding the security of the people and the State and of continuing the struggle against imperialism;

to give the broadest possible democratic freedoms to the people and to the people's organisations, to repeal all laws and regulations which restrict the liberties of the patriotic movement, and wherever the counter-revolutionary rebels and the terrorist gangs are not a problem, have already been defeated, the democratic liberties of the people must speedily be restored with the repeal of the State of Emergency;

to guarantee all rights and liberties to the workers to defend their legal interest, to annull all laws and regulations which prohibit the workers to strike;

to suppress and crush the counter-revolutionary "RGRI-Permesta" rebels, the Darul Islam-TII and other terrorist gangs completely, to give the freedom to the people's organisations to develop themselves so as to destroy the political influence and the armed strength of the counter-revolutionary forces, especially in the regions where the "RGRI-Permesta" bandits and the Darul Islam-TII bandits are still freely carrying out their atrocities. To give right to the peasant to take up arms under the leadership of the Armed Forces to defend themselves against the activities of the counter-revolutionary terrorist gangs;

to respect the position and rights of the Central People's Representative Assembly (Parliament) and the regional ones, to maintain the system of regional heads elected by the people, to

expand the competence of the government in first and second stage autonomous regional government, and to carry out the formation of third-level swatantra regional (dictrict—Tr.) government;
to democratise all public institutions that carry out functions of an economic or social nature;
to democratise and reorganise the state apparatus, to dismiss from office civil and military personnel who are traitors to the nation, reactionaries, embezzlers and corruptors and that these people be punished; to man the state apparatus with persons who are prepared to serve the interests of the people;
to democratise the Army and to develop close ties between the Army and the people.

II. FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF THE ANTI-COLONIAL AND PEACE-LOVING INTERNATIONAL FRONT

From their many experiences since the outbreak of the August 1945 Revolution, the Indonesian people are convinced that their strivings and aspirations cannot be separated from the process of events in the world, and that the future of their country is inseparable from the struggle of the people of the whole world for peace and progress, for national independence and Socialism.

Their own experiences and aspirations do not make it possible for the Indonesian people to take a neutral or disinterested stand towards imperialism and independence, towards war and peace, towards backwardness and progress, towards capitalism and Socialism. In their own national interests and for their humanitarian aspirations, the Indonesian people take the side of independence, democracy, peace, progress and Socialism. Neutrality or lack of interest towards all this is in conflict with the standpoint and way of life of the Indonesian people, and is in conflict with the national interests of the Indonesian people.

Ever since the very first days of the Revolution, the foreign policy

of the Republic has been a vital part of the Revolution. This means that the foreign policy of the Republic must categorically serve the interests of winning victory for the August Revolution. It has been proven that a foreign policy that does not serve the national task of winning victory for the August Revolution is a betrayal of the Republic and people of Indonesia.

Alongside with serving the August 1945 Revolution, the foreign policy of the Republic must also serve the interests of peace among nations. These two tasks of foreign policy, winning victory for the August Revolution and peace, are inseparable.

During the period since 1945, Indonesia's foreign policy has experienced a number of setbacks and advances. It has been proven that every time foreign policy deviates from the aim and spirit of the August Revolution, it is subjected to the condemnation of the people and Indonesia experiences a difficult time as regards its relations with other nations. But on the other hand, every time foreign policy is directed towards serving the August Revolution, it wins the support of the people and it takes Indonesia forward on the international arena. All this must become a lesson for the leaders of the people, the persons in power and the State officials in this field of activities.

Indonesia has had enough experiences to be able to draw conclusion that a foreign policy which is objective and correct is one that is aimed at implementing the two tasks as outlined above.

The history of Indonesia's diplomacy and experiences teaches us that the correct foreign policy is one that is supported by the people and this can be achieved only if the policy is drawn up together with the people through democratic consultations and by means of other forms of collaboration between the government and the people.

The only correct and successful foreign policy is one which is based on the forces and the interests of the masses of the Indonesian people and based on the forces and general interests of the people of the whole world.

Based on this analysis of foreign policy, the Party has in the past and will continue in the future to arouse and preserve national

vigilance. The Party has been able to and will continue to be able to exert close control over the foreign policy pursued by the Indonesian government, to improve it and push it forward, or if necessary to oppose it. In this way, the Party will always be in a position to warn the Indonesian proletariat and people of the dangers of imperialist provocations, intervention and aggression which constantly threaten the Republic of Indonesia.

The Party must draw up a foreign policy which is capable in facing up to the most dangerous international enemy of the Indonesian people, US imperialism. This policy must be capable of preventing and condemning imperialist intervention and aggression that represents a constant threat against Indonesia's integrity and sovereignty. It must be capable of dealing with all the political tricks played by the reactionaries and with all the conspiracies of the counter-revolutionaries which have their source in the imperialist policy of subversion and intervention pursued against Indonesia. Our foreign policy must be capable of helping the implementation of economic construction and bringing about improvements in living conditions in accordance with the aspirations of the Indonesian people. It must truly be in line with and reflect everything progressive in the domestic conditions prevailing in Indonesia.

It is such a correct and objective foreign policy that the Party must draw up and that must become the possession of the people, so that the people together with the Party will, sooner or later, be able to struggle to ensure that this foreign policy becomes the official policy of the government of the Republic of Indonesia.

1. The Essence of Our Era is the Transition from Capitalism to Socialism

Within the framework of determining the direction of our Party's foreign policy, it is first of all very important to be acquainted with the economic and social transformation that is now taking place in

the world. In this connection, the "Declaration" issued in November 1957 by the 12 Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist countries said, among other things, that "*the essence of our era is the transition from capitalism to Socialism which commenced with the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia.*"

The truth of this statement is proven by the fact that about 1,000 million inhabitants of the world, or more than one third of mankind have taken the path of Socialism and are in the process of building a new life.

In the period that has elapsed since the Fifth National Party Congress, international political life has been extremely rich in intensive and rapid changes, in experiences and advances. The balance of international forces has undergone a tremendous change. This is the result of the continuation of two social processes operating in opposite directions, each of which are more and more rapidly proceeding along their respective source. On the one hand there is the imperialist world with its social process heading for its own destruction, while on the other hand there is Socialist world with its social process heading for continuous expansion and advance. At one with these two social processes is the development of the national independence movement which has now given birth to many new independent states and which is showing with crystal clarity the complete disintegration of the colonial-imperialist system. The entire development of events in the world centre round these two basic processes. The "Declaration" referred to above had the following to say on this question:

"*While Socialism is on the upgrade, imperialism is heading towards decline. The positions of imperialism have been greatly weakened as a result of the disintegration of the colonial system.*"

The failure of various imperialist adventurers such as for example the failure of the military aggression against Egypt and the failure of the counter-revolution against Hungary at the end of 1956, the failure of scheming in Cambodia, the failure of their intervention in rendering active assistance to the counter-revolutionary "RGRI-Permesta" rebellion, the failure of their aggression in Lebanon and

Jordan with the result that plans to launch aggression against the newly-born Republic of Iraq were frustrated, the failure of their aggression in the Taiwan Straits, and the failure of their intervention in Tibet, clearly show how much the position and strength of the imperialists have fallen. Mention should also be made of their inability to overcome by peaceful means the crisis which now again grips the US economy. The entire world, including the Indonesian people, are already well acquainted with the aggressive, interventionist and oppressive nature of American imperialism, of its characteristic of decay and of retreating when faced with resistance. The people of Latin America gave expression to their dislike when they accorded a decisive "welcome", turning down John Foster Dulles and US Vice-President Nixon when they visited that continent in 1958. The more hard-pressed the imperialists become, the more desperately and ferociously too they behave, with the result that they become more and more detested and opposed by the peoples of the world. When finally they get into a situation in which they can no longer overcome their difficulties by normal methods, they do not hesitate, in their efforts to preserve their colonial domination, to utilise the methods of fascist coup d'etat and military junta as the way to set up puppet governments such as now exist, for example, in South Korea, South Vietnam, Pakistan, Thailand, and some other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. But the path of the puppet governments is not always a peaceful one for the imperialists, as became apparent from the overthrow of the Nuri Es Said regime by the Iraqi Revolution.

The US imperialists are the enemy number one of all nations of the world. The "Declaration" of 12 Communist and Workers' Parties, already referred to above, stated concerning this that "*With their policy, certain aggressive groups in the United States aim at rallying around them all the reactionary forces of the capitalist world. Acting in this way, they are becoming the centre of world reaction, the sworn enemies of the people.*" Resistance to US imperialism in the present world situation is an inseparable part of the struggle for national independence, democracy and lasting peace.

2. The Present Economic Situation in the Capitalist World

Speaking about the present economic situation in the capitalist world means speaking about the crisis of over-production, about unemployment, about social contradictions that are becoming more and more difficult to solve. Speaking about the present economic situation in the capitalist world means speaking about the American economy which is striving with might and main to dominate the entire economy of the capitalist world and it also means speaking about the ever-intensifying competition between the capitalist countries themselves. Speaking about the present economic situation in the capitalist world cannot be separated from the economic conditions in the Socialist world economy which is making very rapid progress.

The contradictions in capitalist society have their basis in the desire of the capitalists to increase production and thus increase their profits, a desire which is in contradiction with the limited purchasing power of the domestic market. These contradictions have led to crisis in the United States on a number of occasions since the end of the Second World War and the capitalist countries in Western Europe have also suffered as a result. These contradictions intensified the contradictions of the capitalist world that took place as the Socialist world economy expanded, and also because of the progress made in the newly independent non-Socialist countries that have now begun to build up industrial economies. As a result of all this, difficulties in the form of ever-deepening crisis frequently strike the capitalist world. The rivalry between the capitalist countries for control of the capitalist market is becoming more and more intensified, as can be seen from the bitter conflicts that are now raging around the question of the European Common Market which includes six West European countries (West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxemburg) and around the British proposal for the establishment of a Free Trade Area which would include the 17 member-countries of the Organisation of European Economic Co-operation.

Even though conflicts exist between them, both the European Common Market and the Free Trade Area are hostile to the national independence movement and are an obstacle in the way of relaxing international tensions, because they aim at monopolising the purchase of raw materials at lowest possible prices and aim at preserving military blocs.

During the various crises that have occured in the USA since the Second World War, the level of output in that country fell 10% during the 1948—1949 crisis, it fell 11% during the 1953—1954 crisis and fell 14% during the 1957—1958 crisis. A special feature of the present crisis is that, as distinct from the crises in 1948—1949 and 1953—1954, the crisis in 1957—1958 has hit all capitalist countries without exception. In the first six months of 1958, output in the capitalist world fell 6% by comparison with the same period in 1957, while at the same time, the level of trade in the capitalist world fell 8%.

The most recent crisis in the USA which commenced in 1957 and which was subsequently followed up by crises in other capitalist countries has had a serious effect upon economic conditions in the underdeveloped countries. The London "*Financial Times*" stated that "*one of the most serious aspects of the recent recession in the US and Europe was its impact on commodity prices*". This paper explained that figures presented in the "*World Economic Survey for 1958*" issued by the UNO reveal that "*export earnings of raw material producing countries fell between 7 to 8% in 1958 as compared with 1957.*" And if note is made of the fact that the prices of manufactured goods purchased by these countries from the capitalist countries rose continuously during the crisis, it is easy to imagine just how severely the underdeveloped countries have suffered as a result of the economic crisis in the capitalist countries.

In addition to having to cope with social contradictions within their own societies, Britain and the other capitalist countries in Europe have also suffered as a result of the fall in purchasing power of the underdeveloped countries that took place as a result of the

crisis in the US, a crisis which led to a reduction in purchases from these underdeveloped countries. As a result, exports from European countries fell, particularly exports of capital goods. For example, the output of the British steel industry fell 17% in 1958 as compared with 1957 and in the first quarter of this year it fell a further 15% by comparison with the same period a year ago.

Comparative figures of totally unemployed in several capitalist countries for 1957, 1958 and 1959 clearly reveal what conditions are like:

	1957	*1958*	*1959*	
USA	2,936,000	4,400,000	4,700,000	(January)
Canada	274,000	450,000	750,000	(January)
Great Britain	347,000	500,000	620,000	(January)
Belgium	116,000	180,000	250,000	(March)
Japan	530,000	600,000	not yet available	

In the USA the question of unemployment is a matter of great public concern. Concerning this question, the London "Economist" wrote in January 1959 that "*even on the basis of the most optimistic estimation for total output during 1959, there is no reason to expect that unemployment will fall below 3.5 million throughout the whole year.*" It is generally recognised that the USA will have to get accustomed to living with chronic unemployment amounting to 5% of the total labour force (before 1957—1958 the figure was around 3%). Whereas according to the bourgeois economists, unemployment of 2.5% of the total labour force is regarded as being a situation of full employment, the ruling circle in the USA now regard 2.5% as being too low and feel that it should be increased to 5%! This fact exposes all the nonsense spoken about the "era of prosperity" of the US economy. It is as well in this connection to take note of what the "*US News and World Report*" wrote in February 1959 to the effect that during the past ten years, the number of workers employed in American industry had risen by only 1% whereas output has risen by 32%. Under the system of capitalism in the USA, technological

improvements in production such as result from automation, do not bring prosperity for the people as is the case in the Socialist countries, but on the contrary they bring unemployment, physical and material losses for the workers and more bitter social tensions. This is clearly proven by the strike of half a million US steel workers that broke out in the third week of July and which has paralysed 90% of the output of the American steel industry.

In the name of fighting inflation, the US Government, which is under the control of the big monopolists, is now preparing to resist every effort of the workers for winning improvements in their conditions. The existence of chronic unemployment makes it evident that the struggle of the American workers for an improvement in their conditions will become increasingly bitter. Western economists like to boast of the fact that crisis, which they generally refer to as "recession", can now be surmounted. But the fact is that the increase in output that has occurred since May 1958 has not yet been able to restore output to the level attained in 1957 and it has not brought any improvements whatsoever in the living conditions of the people.

In connection with the present world economic crisis which commenced in 1957, note should also be made of the following:

Firstly, US exports fell 18% in 1958 by comparison with 1957 and that are still at a level much lower than that achieved prior to the crisis. Speaking about US exports, the London "Economists" wrote in May 1959 that "*here is still no sign of any improvement in this sector*".

Secondly, the position of capital investments. These fell from an annual average of US $ 37,000 million in 1957 to US $ 30,000 million in 1958. According to estimation, it will not be possible to restore the 1957 level until 1960 at the earliest. But even in such a case it will not mean an expansion of productive capacity and employment opportunities because a large part of the investments planned for the year 1959 do not involve the construction of new factories but merely the replacement and modernisation of existing machinery and equipment. This factor will further add to the unemployment to which reference has already been made above.

Thirdly, the rise in output of the steel industry which has been a significant factor in the general rise in output during the first five months of 1959, has been the result of the tactics of the US monopolists, aimed at stocking up adequate supplies so as to be in a stronger position to cope with strike actions on the part of steel workers who are demanding a rise in wages. The steel workers strike, of which the US monopolists are so very afraid, has already broken out, as has been stated above.

Fourthly, as regards the *general* nature of the present crisis, it is necessary to note that the process of other capitalist countries being drawn into the crisis has proceeded relatively slowly and has also been very uneven. At a time when the crisis in one or several countries seems to have passed, other countries are deeply involved while yet others are just beginning, so that it is not possible to state that the crisis has come to an end. And further, every time crisis hits one capitalist country, things become difficult for the other capitalist countries, a fact that become evident from the failure of US exports to other capitalist countries to improve.

All this shows sufficiently clearly that the US economy has not yet succeeded in overcoming the basic problems facing it and that the internal contradictions within that capitalist society are becoming sharper, which means that it is possible to foresee that the present crisis will be followed more rapidly than before by yet another crisis that will be even deeper than the last.

In their efforts to overcome economic crisis, the monopolists adopted the method of increasing military expenditures. Militarisation of the economy is the one way out still open to them. This explains why the imperialist countries pursue a foreign policy towards other countries that is getting more and more aggressive.

The history of capitalist economics testifies the fact that military expenditures by the government is indeed the most important and most effective anti-crisis measure available to them. The US journal "*US News and World Report*" once described the armed forces as "*America's biggest customer*".

The Great Depression which lasted for 10 years (1930—1940), the period when unemployment in the US never fell below 10 million, could only be overcomed after the US began to be involved in preparations for the Second World War. It was only possible to overcome the 1948—1949 crisis when the imperialists had begun to make preparations for and had launched their act of aggression against Korea. And the economic crisis in 1953—1954 arose after the imperialists had been forced to halt their colonial war against Korea on the insistence of the peace-loving people of the whole world.

As a matter of fact, the US economy has not once been restored to a peaceful basis since the end of the Second World War. Government expenditures for the needs of the armed forces, which account for 60% of total budget outlay, are the basis and most important source of earnings for the big corporations and for the entire US economic activity. It represents a decisive part of US national income and is a decisive source of employment opportunities in the US. The US war industry absorbs almost half of total private industrial investments and accounts for 39% of the total output of US heavy industry. Weapons are America's most important export, also within the framework of the "aid" given to other countries. Although not at the level attained during the Second World War, it is clear that the US economy is a war economy, one in which military expenditures and consumption is the basic and most decisive element.

This means that the USA and world capitalism are becoming more and more incapable of dealing with the disorder in their economic system. The only thing they can try to do is to increase the market for the war industry, that is, by carrying out a foreign policy that gives rise to tensions and takes the world onto the brink of war, and by giving rise to new local war. Every time the imperialist economy experiences crisis, the international situation becomes tenser and the question of war and peace becomes the paramount and most striking issue. But the policy of militarising the economy only further sharpens the international contradictions within the body of American capitalism.

It is clear that the interests of the imperialists are diametrically opposed to the interests of mankind! Fear of the superior military might of the Socialist countries and of world opinion which is in strong opposition to war, has made the imperialists hesitate right up to today to plunge the world into a new world war.

The policy of the imperialists, which has its source in the dead-end faced by the capitalist system—a system without a future—is the cause and the prime mover of all international tensions and has resulted in certain nations coming into conflict with others.

This policy must be resisted and defeated in the interests of the safety and security of the world, in the interests of independence and the progress of the nations. The Communist Parties in all countries pioneer and lead the resistance to war, the resistance to the policy of mass destruction. It is a fact, whether people want to recognise it or not, that the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union is leading the struggle against the war policy of the imperialist countries, headed by the USA.

3. The Socialist Camp and Its International Significance

Nobody can deny that today Socialism is superior to capitalism in all matters that are progressive, useful and good for the working people and for mankind. None other than America itself, the leading capitalist country, is having to think about how to *catch up with the Soviet Union* in a number of important branches of science and technology. As regards industrial output, the Soviet Union long ago surpassed the major capitalist countries in Europe: Britain, France and West Germany. In his report to the Twenty-First (Extraordinary) Congress of the CPSU that took place from January 27th—February 5th, 1959, Comrade Khrushchov stated among other things that during the time of the Seven Year Plan plus about five years more, or in other words, by 1970, or possibly before that time, "*the Soviet Union will occupy first place both as regards absolute volume of production*

and as regards per capita output. This will be a victory of world historic significance for Socialism in the peaceful competition with capitalism on the international forum".

Nobody can deny that the Soviet sputniks and the man-made planet are the most striking evidence of the fact that under Socialism, the most daring and successful aspirations of mankind are realised.

Today, industrial output per capita for the whole Socialist world has caught up with per capita industrial output in the capitalist world. The Socialist world inhabited by one-third of the world's population, now produces more than one-third of total world industrial output, almost one and half of the total output of grain and 43% of the total output of cotton. Following the completion of the Soviet Seven Year Plan, and with the extremely rapid economic developments taking place in the People's Democracies, the world Socialist system will, by 1965, not only be in the first place as regards per capita output but will also be producing more than one half of total world output. As has been stated above, by 1970 or earlier, the Soviet Union will occupy first place in the world both in absolute output as well as in per capita output. This means that by 1970, the Soviet Union, as the vanguard of the countries of the Socialist camp, will be able to provide the highest living standard in the world. This will be a historic world event in the peaceful competition between Socialism and capitalism on the international arena, a competition which will certainly be won by Socialism.

The Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU laid down the basic tasks for the realisation of all materials and technical conditions as well as for the political and ideological preparation of the masses of the people to enter the era of Communist construction.

The Seven Year Plan of the Soviet Union is indeed such a mighty task so that even the bourgeois press is forced to take note of it, as it is clear from the British journal, the "*Economist*" which has talked about it giving an "*outstanding impression*". The mighty work being carried out by the Soviet people shows that today it has reached a new stage in the competition with capitalism, a stage which reveals

that the Soviet Union can now compete with the strongest of all the capitalist countries, the USA. To surpass US achievements means surpassing the highest figures achieved by capitalism.

It can be foreseen that starting from now, the situation and balance of international forces will undergo fundamental changes once the Soviet Union has become the foremost industrial country in the world and once all the Socialist countries together produce more than one-half of world industrial output. This success achieved by Socialism will mean the further consolidation of the peace-loving forces throughout the world. Even though Socialism will not have been victorious throughout the world and even though capitalism continues in existence in some parts of the world, sufficient conditions will exist for world war to be excluded from the lives of mankind. The superiority of the camp of Socialism in the balance of international forces is the decisive objective condition for achieving victory in the struggle to compel the imperialists to abandon war for ever as a method of solving international issues.

The People's Republic of China, although still confronted with the political and military task of liberating Taiwan, is now carrying out the tasks of constructing Socialism and is making great strides forwards. The establishment of People's Communes testifies once again the advanced creative powers of the people and the Communist Party of China in strengthening Socialism and in advancing towards Communism in China. After having completed the first Five Year Plan in four years, the Chinese people are today busily carrying out construction so as to catch up Britain, the oldest capitalist country, in a period of fifteen years starting from 1957, both in the output of iron and steel and in the output of other important industrial products. Considering the developments now taking place in China in the production of iron and steel, it is very likely that this plan will be fulfilled in less than fifteen years.

The advances achieved in China during 1958 are very striking. Total industrial output in 1958 was 66% higher than in 1957 and the output of steel, iron, coal and some other industrial products

doubled. The output of the machine building industry rose 3.2 times in 1958. In agriculture, the output of raw cotton rose by 28% in 1958 by comparison with 1957 with the result that China is now the leading country in the world in the production of cotton. The output of grains rose by 35% in 1958, achieving a total of 250 million tons.

The success of the People's Commune movement in China marks a new stage in Socialist construction in the countryside and is of very great international significance. Ever since the movement first started, the People's Commune has been a centre of world interest. The enemies of the people proclaim that this new form of social organisation destroys family life. These US imperialist slanders against the Chinese People's Republic have been taken up by Indonesian reactionaries such as Hatta who indeed cannot bear to see anything that is really good for the people. The People's Communes that have been developing in the Chinese countryside ever since the middle of 1958 have "*combined industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs, and the administrative government and the affairs of the Communes are merged into one*" *(Resolution on Some Questions on People's Communes, Sixth Plenum of the Eighth CC of the Communist Party of China, December 1958)*. The development of the People's Communes is a natural part of the continuous and rapid developments taking place in all sectors of agricultural production, and the political consciousness of the 500,000,000 Chinese peasants is rising from day to day. All this accelerates and consolidates the construction of Socialism in China and means therefore a great contribution to the victory of Socialism in the world. Hundreds of millions of Chinese people who have been consolidated within the People's Communes are not just confining themselves to economic affairs but are receiving training in cultural and military affairs; they clearly make up an exceptional force in the struggle to defend peace and defeat imperialism.

The enemies of Socialism cannot deny the extraordinary progress made by Socialist China. This fact shows that the path taken by China is the correct and great path, the path which is right for other

Asian countries to take, bearing in mind of course the peculiarities of each country.

The development of world Socialism led by the Soviet Union is also distinguished by the completion of Socialist construction in a number of other countries in Europe and Asia. In Czechoslovakia, the exploitation of man by man has basically already been eliminated. From the point of view of the volume of industrial output, Czechoslovakia is today one of the most advanced Republics in the world. In Bulgaria, Socialism has been victorious in the towns and in the countryside. In the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Albania, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Vietnam Democratic Republic and the Mongolian People's Republic, Socialist construction is proceeding rapidly.

The economic superiority of Socialism is proven by the fact that the rate of growth achieved is much more rapid than in the capitalist countries. During the past 40 years, industrial output in the Soviet Union increased annually at an average of 10.1% while for the USA the figure is 3.2%, for Great Britain, 1.9%, and for France 3.2%. When years of peace only are calculated, the rate of economic growth in the Soviet Union is even greater. During the eleven years prior to the Second World War (1930—1940) plus the eleven years after the war (1947—1957), the rate of increase in industrial output attained an annual average of 16.2% in the Soviet Union, while for the United States it was 2.7%, for Britain it was 3.2% and for France, 3.1%. In 1957, total industrial output in the Soviet Union was 33 times greater than in the year 1913. For the USA this figure is 4.1, for Britain, 1.8 and for France 2.

Economic co-operation among the Socialist countries has been perfected with the establishment of the Council of Mutual Economic Co-operation. This economic co-operation is aimed in the first place at developing the sources of raw material and electric power and also at making the fullest use of all the latest achievements in the field of technology. Special attention is being directed towards the need for greater co-ordination and specialisation in the sphere

of the machine industry and this will make possible the mass production of products on a massive and modern scale, and it will also greatly reduce the costs of production. This Council of Mutual Economic Co-operation is the form and system of international co-operation of the future.

In contrast to the division of labour in the capitalist world, where Indonesia also participates, in which the progress achieved is confined to the dominating imperialist countries alone, while the other countries remain backward and achieve no progress, the system of international division of labour in the Socialist world guarantees even, rapid and mutually beneficial progress for all the participating countries. Within a period of just a few years, all the Socialist countries without exception have made striking progress in industrial construction and the construction of the entire economy.

The even and rapid economic development that is taking place in all the Socialist countries is of great significance for the underdeveloped countries because the Socialist camp is more and more becoming a source for the goods they need for their national economic construction and is more and more able to buy the goods these countries produce. The existence of a Socialist camp that is making continuous progress creates and guarantees the possibility for progress for all the backward countries.

The process of transition from capitalism to Socialism which is taking place in this present century has not only given birth to Socialism in an extensive area in the continents of Europe and Asia but has also given birth to a camp of peace which is extremely powerful, and it has given birth to a national independence movement the like of which has never existed before in world history.

Prior to the Second World War there was only one Socialist country covering one-sixth of the land surface of the world, namely the Soviet Union with a population of about 170.4 million. In 1956, the population of the world was 2,737 million (U.N.O. figures). Today, nearly 1,000 million live in Socialist countries, 700 million

live in newly-independent and anti-imperialist countries such as Indonesia, India, Egypt, Burma and other countries. Six hundred million are struggling for national independence against imperialism, and only 400 million live in imperialist countries such as the U.S.A,. Great-Britain, France, Belgium, Italy and so on. But these 400 million, a large number are participating in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and capitalism.

Before the Second World War, the membership of the trade unions throughout the world was only 40 million, but today it is four times greater, namely 160 million. The peace movement, which is also anti-colonial in character, is day by day growing stronger and more extensive, especially since the Stockholm Conference held in the middle of 1958. The alliance of the workers and peasants, as the backbone of the people's unity, is growing more and more in all parts of the world.

As the backbone and the leading force of the progressive people's movement throughout the world, the Communist Parties before the Second World War existed in only 43 countries and had a combined membership of 4.2 million. Today, Communist Parties and Workers' (Communist) Parties exist in 83 countries and have a combined membership that is eight times greater, namely 33 million, of which 1.5 million are in Indonesia. Before the Second World War there were only some thousands of Communist in Indonesia and they were not organised as they should have been.

Socialism as an idea already fills the thoughts of a majority of the inhabitants of the world. Even the leaders of various newly-independent non-Socialist countries in Asia and Africa give expression in various forms to the desire for and aspiration of Socialism. We perhaps do not agree with these leaders on the way of achieving Socialism and on the intentions contained in these statements but the important thing is that they are giving expression to something that the people yearn for, that is, Socialism. In actual fact, the upsurge and victory of the independence struggle of the Asian and African peoples following the war is an important part and one of the forms

of the transition of the process of the disintegration of world capitalism and the growth of Socialism.

Socialism has become a world system, it is a symbol and represents all that is good and progressive, and has become the international force of attraction and the objective in life for hundreds of million of people still languishing and living in hardship under the exploitation and oppression of capital.

Socialism in diplomacy and international affairs is the faithful and resolute defender of independence of the peoples and of world peace, it is the initiator and implementor of peaceful co-existence and friendship among nations, it is the example of goodwill and the ability to live and co-operate peacefully among all nations with different social systems, it is the champion of the normalisation of non-discriminatory international trade and the peaceful exchange of scientific and cultural achievements between the East and the West.

Socialism in economic affairs represents the ability to work according to plan, it represents the ability to industrialise countries on a large-scale, the utilisation of automation on the broadest possible scale, the mechanisation of agriculture, and the ability to achieve continuous progress and ever-rising land of prosperity, in the material and cultural life of mankind. The superiority of the Socialist system over capitalism is also reflected in the sphere of people's welfare. The death rate in the Soviet Union is the lowest in the world, whilst the population there is growing more rapidly than in most capitalist countries. By the final year of the Seven Year Plan, a thirty-hour week will have gradually been introduced for all workers employed underground and for all other forms of employment that are harmful to the health; in the case of all other workers, there will be a 35-hour week. The further aim is for a five-day week with a six-seven hour working day. This reduction in the number of working hours is not accompanied by a reduction in wages; on the contrary, wages are definitely increasing. In short in the not-too-distant future, the Soviet Union will be operating with the shortest working day and the shortest working week in the world,

at the same time improving the welfare of its inhabitants. All this is possible because of the superiority of Socialism, where the increase in output is not aimed at winning greater profits for the big capitalists but at meeting to the maximum the requirements of all members of society.

The superiority of Socialism over capitalism is also evident from the superiority in the sphere of science and technology, in the sphere of culture and morality, and in the sphere of military strength.

Every counter-revolutionary plot that has been launched in any Socialist country has one by one been defeated. The Socialist ranks are becoming more and more consolidated, Socialist construction is proceeding more and more smoothly and the prestige of Socialism is rising higher and higher.

The very core of the most valuable experiences of the Communists has been formulated in the "*Declaration*" of 12 Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist countries and in the "*Peace Manifesto*" of the 64 Communist and Workers' Parties as the result and conclusion of the Moscow Conference held in November, 1957. Our Party, too, took an active part in this historic Conference. The success of this Conference marks the beginning of a new stage in the world Communist movement.

These two documents give a clear analysis of the world situation today as well as clear perspectives of its developments in the days to come. These two documents are democratic guides to action and working programmes for the struggle of the Communists and all people who love peace and independence.

In this connection, it is necessary to recall the efforts being made to create chaos in and split the world Communist movement. These efforts are extremely dangerous for world Socialism, for the ranks of the anti-war and anti-colonial front. Mention should be made here of the modern revisionism now afflicting the Tito clique in the leadership of the Yugoslav Communists' League (YCL). In the name of Socialism and in the name of Communism, the Tito clique

has placed itself outside the Socialist camp and outside the Communist movement.

In its words, the Tito clique also places itself outside the camp of imperialism, but in actual fact, they have never once clearly blamed, let alone condemned, the aggressive policy of the US government. On the contrary, together with Turkey and Greece, it has created the Balkan Pact which brings them close to NATO. It is not surprising then, if the Tito clique, in spirit of revenge, never tires of repeating the accusations and slanders against the Soviet Union accusing it of being an imperialist country which is aiming at destroying Yugoslav independence. They state that they stand outside the "two political-military blocs", and by so doing they perpetrate the slander that the aims of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union are the same as the aims of the aggressive foreign policy of the US imperialists. Whereas in actual fact, one need not be a Communist to understand the difference between Socialism and imperialism and the difference between the foreign policies of these two systems. The Tito clique in the YCL, just like the imperialists, too, are found of shouting about "Soviet imperialism" and accusing the Socialist countries of being "Soviet satellites". But do they know that in Yugoslavia the kings would be able to get back into power if it were not for the Socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, because the imperialists have more confidence in the kings than in the leaders of the YCL? Unless of course there is no difference any more between the leaders of the YCL and kings! It is because there is already the Socialist camp which is able to surpass the capitalist world in many questions, it is because there is a strong anti-colonial and peace-loving international front, that the old form of imperialist power is no longer possible.

It is clear that the Tito clique is carrying out a policy that is in essence the same as the policy of the imperialists, namely one of splitting the unity of the Communists of the world. By so doing, the revisionists hope to be able to draw them into what they refer to as a "third bloc", as a channel and means for estranging the

non-Socialist countries of Asia and Africa from the countries of the Socialist camp as well as dragging these countries into the imperialist bloc. In this way, they aim at splitting the anti-colonial and peace-loving international front which is now growing throughout the world.

But the results have not all been what the Tito clique hoped for. Not only have the Communists not been split but they have, on the contrary, become more consolidated. It is only within the ranks of the nationalists in the Arab countries that Tito has, within limits, succeeded in creating a split. This is a matter that we very much regret because it does, to a greater or lesser extent, weaken the anti-colonial and peace-loving international front.

In this connection we should like to refer to the stupidity of President Nasser of Egypt in sacrificing his good name as an anti-colonial fighter and following Tito's example of pursuing the reactionary anti-colonial policy of the imperialists.

And yet, the facts today are that the Nationalist leaders of the newly independent Asian-African countries can declare with pride and relief that their countries will not "die" if they are boycotted by the USA and other imperialist countries, because there are the Socialist countries that are prepared to stretch out a hand at any moment to render them unconditional assistance. Would such pride be possible if it were not for a strong Socialist camp? The honest reply is: No. An even more honest reply would be: if it were not for the Socialist camp led by the Soviet Union, the imperialist would still be dominant in Asia and Africa, and the countries which are now independent would still have white-skinned governor-generals and immoral and corrupt kings in power. The existence of the Socialist camp objectively favours and helps to accelerate victory for the national independence struggle, regardless of whether this truth is recognised or not.

The existence of People's China has changed the face of the world. But in terms of Asia, the existence of People's China is of even greater significance. The existence of the Chinese People's

Republic with its population of 700,000,000, added to which is the population of the Mongolian People's Republic, the Korean Democratic People's Republic and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, means that already more than one-half of the population of Asia has entered the Socialist camp and represent a very powerful fortress in the struggle to smash the survivals of imperialist power in Asia. Just imagine what Asia would be like if China was still under the power of Chiang Kai-shek and the USA! And just see what the situation is today with China as a powerful member of the Socialist camp! The national independence struggle of the countries of Asia and Africa has been made easier, the imperialists no longer dare to do just what they like in these two continents, or if they were to do so then they would have to bear the consequences which would mean their own destruction.

The existence of People's China made possible the birth of that historical document in international diplomacy and policy, the Chou En-lai-Nehru Five Principles, the principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, of non-aggression, of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, of equality and mutual benefit and of peaceful co-existence. These Chou En-lai-Nehru Five Principles have very greatly helped us to analyse various international problems and disputes. These Five Principles are a weapon in the hands of the people of the world to judge the foreign policy of their respective governments, to control imperialist foreign policy and to know as well as to evaluate Socialist foreign policy. These Five Principles are Principles of International Security and Peace. This is Asia's contribution to the world of diplomacy and international policy, it is an expression of the East wind that is prevailing over the West wind. It also bears out the prophetic statement made by Lenin in 1913 about "*backward Europe and advanced Asia*".

Thus it is clear that the world Communist movement and the camp of Socialism have never been as strong and as united as they are today, especially following the great successes achieved in Socialist

construction, and in particular the commencement of Communist construction in the Soviet Union and the mighty People's Commune movement in the Chinese People's Republic.

These are the facts about world society today. The two social systems, capitalism and Socialism are both realities and are living side by side. The former, capitalism, is a moribund system in a process of disintegration. The latter, Socialism, is a new world system and one which has the sympathy of the working people throughout the world, a system that is developing rapidly, that has a brilliant future, a system with unlimited potentialities. Indeed, such a situation cannot go on for ever and the outcome must be on the side of the system that is objective, the one that conforms to the needs and progress of mankind. The problem is how to decide upon the issue: by hosility between them, by mutual isolation and war, or by peaceful competition.

In connection with this question, the Communists have already for a long time indicated the most democratic way out, the one most beneficial to mankind—the path indicated by Lenin, based on mutual co-existence between countries with different social systems, the principle of peaceful co-existence between the capitalist and Socialist countries. Since 1917, history has proved that there is absolutely no way of forcibly imposing the capitalist system upon a society in which the conditions are already sufficiently ripe for Socialism, not even by means of war.

Socialism as a new world system is a reality. It is also a fact that capitalism as a world system still exists and has not yet been eradicated from the earth. There is no other way, capitalism and Socialism must live side by side and compete peacefully, and they must establish normal peaceful relations between them in social, cultural, economic and political affairs. In his report to the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU Comrade Khrushchov declared that "*The Plan adopted by our Congress is aimed at securing peaceful co-existence and at strengthening efforts for peace throughout the world*" and that "*the economic programme of peaceful construction in the USSR for the period*

of 1959—1965 opens up broad perspectives for the development of trade between the Soviet Union and all countries" and the Soviet Union "*is able to double at the very least its foreign trade.*"

One extremely important manifestation of the principle of peaceful co-existence is the establishment of free, normal and active trade relations between West and East. It is a fact that during the past few years, trade among the capitalist countries has been contracting while trade between West and East has doubled, reaching a level of US $ 6,000 million in 1957 by comparison with US $ 3,000 in 1953. The leaders of the Soviet Union have repeatedly invited the West to carry out free trade with it and has made concrete offers for this; if all this were accepted by the West, it would represent a way out for them, a way of reducing the economic difficulties that the West is facing today.

Another important manifestation of the principle of peaceful coexistence is the international exchange of visits between government leaders and people's leaders of various countries. Within the framework of all this, it is necessary to appreciate the great significance and favourable impact of the personal contacts and direct relations established between State leaders, such as was realised, for example, with the visit of the Soviet Deputy Prime Ministers, Mikoyan, and then Frol Kozlov, to the United States, the visits of British Prime Minister, McMillan and US Vice-President Nixon to the Soviet Union and the mutual exchange of visits that is going to take place between Nikita Khrushchov and Eisenhower during the course of this year. Another unforgetable thing is the great significance of the close relations between the Prime Ministers who gave birth to the historic Asian-African Conference in Bandung and also the contacts and direct relations established between President Sukarno and the topmost leaders of other States. All this must be further expanded, in particular, the establishment of direct relations between the scientists, artists, sportmen, journalists and representations of the various people's organisations in Indonesia and the leaders of other countries.

The only alternative to peaceful co-existence is the path of war, the path of massacre and mass destruction. It is clear that the path of war leads to hell, it is anti-humanitarian and there is no justification whatsoever for it. The Communists will continue to do everything in their power to prevent the path of war from being forced upon the world. The "*Declaration*" of the 12 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties declared that "*the issue of war or peaceful co-existence is a decisive issue today in world political affairs*". The only correct choice is the path of peace, the path of co-existence and peaceful competition between the capitalist system and the Socialist system.

It is not surprising if mankind is more and more abandoning capitalism and drawing towards Socialism. This is in essence the core of international developments today.

4. The International Political Situation

The world situation as has been outlined above and also the issues involved are clearly reflected in the current international political problems and disputes; there are basically two trends, the trend defending and maintaining capitalism and the trend defending and struggling for Socialism. The conflict between these two trends involve the whole world, including Indonesia and the other non-Socialist countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

These two trends are indeed reflected in the objective process that is taking place today in world society. This is why it is a reactionary falsification to turn this objective situation into a question simply of conflict between the economic and political interests of the USA and the Soviet Union.

The history of the struggle for Socialism has proved in theory and practice that it is the science of Socialism, as drawn up and formulated by K. Marx and F. Engels, and further developed by V. I. Lenin and other Communist Party leaders that has been proven in the test to be correct.

The political trend that defends and struggles for Socialism comes forward with genuinely and frankly stated aims, as is reflected in the policies of the Communist Parties and in Socialist diplomacy. This political trend, representing as it does an objective and correct social process, does not need deception or concealment behind empty and false slogans.

But on the other hand, the trend that aims at defending and maintaining capitalism, is forced, as has been proven, to hide behind empty false slogans and must utilise "socialist" demagogy, as is done for example by Prime Minister Nehru of India. This is for no other reason than that this trend is in contradiction with the objective process that is taking place, and it is therefore difficult for it to find a market for its ideals among the masses of the people. This is also evident in Indonesia. There are loyal defenders of capitalism, people who are the sworn enemies of Socialism, and yet in their everyday language they take shelter behind "socialism" and "marxism". A number of variations of the "socialist" slogans are utilised, such as, for example what the right-wing socialists do, but basically they are all nothing more than various forms of bourgeois concepts, attempting to defend their class interests which are hostile to Socialism. This proves once again the correctness of what was stated by Lenin in 1913 when he said: "*the Dialectics of history is such that the theoretical victory of Marxism forces its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists*". (Lenin in "*The Historic Fate of the Teachings of Karl Marx*")

The conflict between these two trends in international affairs takes on various forms and gives rise to problems involving the general interests of the entire world. The most basic of all is the issue of war and peace, the question of the cold war, the question of colonialism, the question of the establishment of military bases in foreign countries, the question of free and normal trade relations between East and West, the question of banning the use of nuclear weapons, the question of halting tests of nuclear bombs, the questions of disarmament and other burning questions, such as the remilitarisation

of Japan, the reunification of Vietnam and of Korea, the question of West Berlin, the question of the SEATO, NATO and other aggressive military pacts. All these questions affect the general interests and world security, including Indonesia. This is why the Indonesian people must not remain passive towards all these questions, but must face these issues and take an active part in their solution.

Of all these burning issues, the question of West Berlin and Germany is the most urgent at the present time. There is indeed no justification for a situation where almost 15 years have elapsed since the end of the war and yet West Berlin is still occupied by a foreign army and a peace treaty with Germany has not yet been signed. The peaceful and democratic policy of the Soviet Union and all the Socialist countries is aimed at putting an end to this unsatisfactory state of affairs. But on the other hand, the Western countries want to preserve it because by so doing they hope to be able to maintain their domination of Europe. Adenauer and the West German Government, which represents the interests of the German imperialists, are the chief master-mind behind this scheme, and together with the other Western countries they are constantly postponing a settlement of the West Berlin question and the German question. This has aroused the broad opposition of the German people themselves. The German imperialists who have been revived with the help of the US monopolists, are an extremely disruptive danger to security and peace in Europe. In an attempt to settle these questions, the Soviet Union has made a proposal for the convening of a Summit Conference of the Big Four. The West is not at all compact in face of this Soviet proposal. The Big Three of the West, the United States, Britain and France, are each trying to pursue their own policy, even though outwardly they give the impression of being united. But it is quite natural for the democratic and peace-loving world, including the Indonesian people, to support the policy of convening a Summit Conference, because this is the policy that directly strengthens peace.

Side by side with these two world processes, the process of capitalism towards destruction and the process of the upsurge of Socialism, there are also two types of international policy and diplomacy, each with its own objectives, methods and spirits. On the one hand, there is imperialist foreign policy which defends and maintains exploitation and oppression, colonialism and war. On the other hand, there is the foreign policy of the Socialist countries which are struggling for the eradication of exploitation, colonialism and war and for the creation of a new world society, a society that is just and prosperous, peaceful and progressive.

Time and again without stop, imperialism is carrying out intervention and aggression against other countries, while the Socialist countries are time and again without stop opposing all this and defending the rights and interests of the countries that fall victim to imperialist intervention and aggression. Time and again and without stop the Socialist countries are taking the initiative and making peaceful and democratic proposals as well as giving examples to others in the cause of reducing international tensions, but time and again and without stop, America and the other imperialist countries are turning down these proposals and defeating them.

We stated at the Fifth National Party Congress that the international balance of forces and the prospects for its further development are proceeding in a direction that is more and more favourable to national independence, peace and Socialism. In the period since that time, international developments have indeed reflected a shift to the left, towards growing isolation and a more and more unfavourable position for the imperialists, especially the US imperialists, who continue desperately to maintain colonialism, to create new tensions, to carry out subversion, intervention and aggression and to turn the cold war into a hot war. As a result, Anglo-French imperialism was never so isolated and detested by the people of the world as when they launched their military aggression against Egypt. And too, the US-British imperialists were

never so isolated and detested by the people of the world as they were when they landed their troops in Lebanon and Jordan.

The US suffered a very heavy blow indeed when the revolution broke out in Iraq on July 14th, 1958. This revolution was the symptom of a new upswing in the national revolutionary movements of the world. The Iraqi Revolution was followed up by the proclamation of the Republic of Algeria and the Republic of Guinea. The USA was never so completely isolated as when it launched aggression against China in the Taiwan Straits area. Just compare that situation with the situation at the time the US launched its act of aggression against Korea on June 25, 1950, an aggression which went on continuously until July 23, 1953. At that time, the US was still in a position to force its will upon many countries in the world, including Indonesia, by for example imposing an embargo on trade with China.

World public opinion is becoming more and more acquainted with the insincerity of the USA to reach an international agreement on putting an immediate, unconditional and permanent stop to all nuclear weapon tests, despite the fact that the Soviet Union gave a clear display of goodwill when it unilaterally stopped such tests for a period of six months as from March 21st, 1958. Time and time again, the Soviet Union has called upon the USA and Great Britain to conclude an international agreement on this matter even though the number of nuclear weapon tests it has undertaken is less than the number already undertaken by the US or Britain. But these good endeavours have not been successful; the USA and Britain still want to go on with their tests.

The anti-colonial awakening of the Asian and Arab people is continuously expanding and has made important progress. There are a number of important experiences and lessons to be drawn from the bitter resistance put up by the Arab people against the imperialists. The most important is that the path taken by President Nasser of Egypt is erroneous. Egypt's experiences teach us that it is not possible to maintain a progressive foreign policy if domestic

policy is anti-democratic and anti-Communist. Egypt's experiences prove that the anti-Communist policy, the policy of restricting and suppressing the democratic rights of the peoples of Egypt and Syria are in conflict with the anti-colonial and peace-loving principles of the Bandung Conference Decisions, and are clearly in line with the imperialist policy of preserving their colonial domination over the Arab countries and over the countries of Asia and other part of the world. This anti-democratic policy is also being pursued by the ruling circles in India, especially in connection with their dissolution of the State Government of Kerala which was led by the Communists, a government that was faithful to the Indian Constitution and that took a number of measures to the benefit of the people of Kerala. This is a practical lesson for the people of the world, and it shows how easily the bourgeoisie throw Constitutions and democracy aside if their interests are threatened and how unwillingly they are to accept voluntarily the peaceful path of social transformation which the proletariat takes.

By contrast with Egypt there is Iraq, a country which, following the victory of the July 14th, 1958 Revolution, has pursued a foreign and domestic policy which is founded upon the interests and forces of the people, a policy that is not anti-Communist, that is anti-colonial and peace-loving, a policy of co-operation with the camp of Socialism in the interests of construction and Arab unity. The Egyptian path and the Iraqi path represent the alternatives for the Arab world. There is no doubt whatsoever that the path being taken by Iraqi today, the path of co-operation between the Nationalists and the Communists, is the path for the Arab people, the path of real national independence.

During the past few years, imperialism has suffered more blows with the growing intensification of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of Africa and Latin America. The African Conference held in Accra, Ghana, the Conference of the Governments of African countries held in April, 1958 and the Conference of the People of Africa which was also held in Accra, in December, 1958, take

forward and expand the anti-colonial spirit of Bandung on the African continent. Extremely widespread mass actions took place after Accra in the Congo, Nysaland, Rhodesia and almost all the countries of West, Central and South Africa. Armed resistance is no longer confined to Algeria but has spread to the Cameroons, Uganda and Central Africa. In Latin America, too, democratic mass actions are becoming more and more widespread and are winning victory. Countries such as the Argentines, Venuzuela, Brazil, Chile and others have become quite unsafe for US capital. The victory of the revolution in Cuba is an important source of inspiration of the liberation struggles of all peoples of Latin America.

The decisive victory won by the People's Action Party at the general elections in Singapore at the beginning of this year demonstrates that the people reject British colonisation in that island and at the same time it exposes the bankruptcy of the pro-British policy being pursued by Tengku Abdul Rahman in Malaya.

The repeated blows and defeats suffered by world imperialism make it essential for the people to heighten their vigilance. Imperialism will not be willing to surrender voluntarily but will have to be forced to surrender by the strength of the mass actions of the proletariat and the masses of the people of the world. Every attempt made by the imperialists to drag the world into the holocaust of a new world war as they themselves advance towards their destruction, must be resisted.

The anti-colonial awakening which is now taking place throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America is having a great influence upon the change in the international balance of forces, to the advantage of independence, democracy, Socialism and peace.

In this connection, it is essential to be fully aware of the paramount international significance of the world peace movement against war and defence of peace. The "*Declaration*" of the 12 Communist and Workers' Parties stated: "*The Communist Parties regard the struggle*

for peace as being the foremost task. In common with all peace-loving forces, they will do everything in their power to prevent war."

Experiences of the people themselves teach how correct was the conclusion drawn by the World Peace Bureau at its meeting in Moscow on February 21—25, 1959, to the effect that the enemies of peace are also the enemies of the independence of the peoples, and that the *peace movement and the anti-colonial movement are a single entity and are inseparable. The national independence movement without the peace movement will not be able to achieve complete success.* This is completely in line with the slogan of the Indonesian people: "*We love peace because we love independence*". President Sukarno was very correct when he said that there can be no peace as long as colonialism exists. This is why the world peace movement which is today the most extensive democratic mass movement in the world is a movement to prevent war and is an anti-colonial movement. The total cessation of nuclear weapon tests and the prohibition against the use of these weapons, the end of the cold war and the guarantee of independence for all nations are the most important demands of the world peace movement.

The Indonesian people have already made a contribution towards the achievement of the ideal of peace in the world. The role played by the people and government of Indonesia in defence of Egypt's rights at the time that country was facing military aggression from Britain, France and Israel, and in ensuring the success of the Asian-African Conference in Bandung, are important and valuable contributions. The statements and speeches made by President Sukarno in Washington, Moscow, Peking, Ankara, Phnom Penh, Hanoi and elsewhere in a spirit of anti-colonialism and love for peace, have had an excelent influence in expanding and enlarging the world peace forces. The early recognition by the Indonesian Government, on the insistence of the people, of the Republic of Iraq, the Provisional Government of Algeria, the Republic of Ghana and the Republic of Guinea were of very great significance for the anti-colonial and peace-loving struggle.

The experiences of the people's struggle have also testified as to how correct is the conclusion drawn by the Party that *national awakening in the form of an upsurge in the anti-colonial movement and actions of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, is not a force that stands alone in the world or a third force that stands between the forces of imperialism and Socialism, but is a very important part of the awakening of the entire mankind, which, together with the camp of Socialism opposes imperialism and is advancing towards the national independence of all peoples, towards democracy, peace and Socialism.*

It is a fact that an international balance of power that is favourable to Socialism is the decisive objective condition for the success of the struggle to defend world peace and prevent the outbreak of a new world war. On this question, Comrade Mikoyan has stated among other things that "*the new balance of forces and the further prospects of development give every ground to declare that a real possibility of excluding world war from the life of society will take shape even before the universal triumph of Socialism, with capitalism still existing in some parts of the world.*"

Our Party has pointed to the existence of the anti-colonial and peace-loving international front. The Party has drawn the conclusion that Indonesia should indeed become an active participant in this front, in accordance with the spirit and objectives of the August 1945 Proclamation, the aspiration of which is a just and prosperous Indonesian society and a safe and peaceful world. The Party is always striving to encourage the Indonesian Government to take action and to pursue a foreign policy in this direction.

For the Communists, work in the world peace movement is not just a trick and a case of putting up a show as the imperialists and their agents make out. It is a serious task of struggle and must be carried out in all earnestness.

The entire anti-colonial forces of the people, the forces of the fighters for peace and the Socialist forces, make up one extremely broad international front, a front that involved all countries, and that is facing one enemy, world imperialism, which is headed by the United States. This international front which, whether people like

it or not, has as its core the camp of Socialism, must continually be developed, expanded and consolidated in the cause of the safety of humanity, for international security and for the progress of mankind throughout the world.

5. Not a Question of "Choosing Blocs" But of Pursuing a Foreign Policy Beneficial to the Indonesian People

The history of the Republic of Indonesia itself sufficiently testifies to the fact that with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the camp of Socialism in the international front for peace and against colonialism, there is a guarantee for the safety, advance and a better future for the people of the Republic of Indonesia. This is not a question of "choosing blocs" but is simply one of recognising a fact. People may say thousand times over that "Indonesia will not choose either one of the blocs" but the fact is that every policy hostile to the Soviet Union and the camp of Socialism favours imperialism and this is against Indonesia's interests and will certainly meet with defeat. On the other hand, every act of friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the camp of Socialism conforms with and runs parallel with Indonesia's interests and will surely be victorious. Such a diehard anti-Communist as Moh. Hatta was forced to recognised this when he stated in the middle of 1948 that "*it is indeed true that Soviet Russia defends the independence of colonial countries based on its own ideology*" (Hatta in his book "*Rowing Between Two Precipices*").

Only by expanding the co-operation with the Socialist countries can an independent and active foreign policy directed towards peace and anti-colonialism be erected upon the correct foundation and worked out in the correct proportions. Only in this way is it possible to be sure that this policy will not grow along the wrong lines and turn into a hybrid neutral policy, one that dares not take sides in dealing with various international problems, or grow into a policy

which "has no preference for either of the two world blocs" which means adopting the same attitude towards imperialism and treating it in the same way as Socialism. It is here that we can see just how correct is the statement repeatedly made by President Sukarno to the effect that *in the question of war and peace, in the question of imperialism and independence, we are not neutral but clearly side with peace and independence.* Here is the foreign policy that is genuinely anti-colonial and peace-loving, the policy that will definitely be successful and that will bring progress for Indonesia.

What actually is the independent and active foreign policy which is adhered to by the Republic of Indonesia?

At first, the so-called independent policy was the creation of Sutan Sjahrir (right-wing socialist) who controlled Indonesia's foreign policy during the first years of the August Revolution, and was subsequently continued by Dr. Moh. Hatta when he held the reins of government. There are indeed some people who like to create the impression that Sutan Sjahrir was the founder of Indonesia's present foreign policy.

But what in actual fact was Sjahrir's concept of a foreign policy? In his book, "Our Struggle", which was written two months before the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia, he wrote among other things that "*Indonesia lies within the sphere of influence of Anglo-American capitalism-imperialism. The fate of Indonesia depends upon the fate of Anglo-American capitalism-imperialism*", (p. 12). How unfortunate for the Indonesian people to have their fate dependent upon Anglo-American capitalism!

Sjahrir writes further that it is within the confine of the conflict between the interests of US policy and British policy each of which, he states, wish to make use of Dutch power in Indonesia, that there exists "*the possibility for us to obtain a new position which fits in with the wishes of the mighty Pacific power of the USA*", (p. 13). On the basis of this would-be concept, Sjahrir admits that the independence that we could obtain is none other than the "independence" which we see in other countries under the influence of large imperialist countries, or in other words, independence in name only. It is clear that

Sjahrir's concept of foreign policy recognises as its maximum objective nothing more than the attainment of independence along the lines of that in the Philippines, Malaya, South Vietnam or South-Korea.

And even this can only be obtained, Sjahrir says, if the Indonesian Government is able to "*avert disorders which would threaten the wishes and possibilities of foreign capital*", because, he continues, "*if they consider it as being definitely detrimental, then they (the foreign capitalists) will mobilise all their resources to oppose us, and they would not hesitate to carry out military intervention to defend their capital interests*" (p. 9). There need be no doubt anymore that this capitulationist way of thinking was also the background to the "*Political Manifest*" published by Hatta on November 1st, 1945, which guaranteed the imperialists, including the Dutch, that their enterprises would be restored to them.

In brief, right from the very first time that Sjahrir played an important part in determining Indonesia's foreign policy, he has tried to scare the Indonesian people and urge them to surrender to imperialism and not to do anything to harm the interests of the imperialists or to anger them. This policy of capitulation is camouflaged by phrases about a "third force policy". What more could be expected from such a political concept than capitulation and yet again capitulation!

Thus it is clear that Sjahrir's independent policy was directly opposed to the independent and active foreign policy for peace and anti-colonialism that with the support of the people has been pursued by Indonesian governments from the time of the first and second Ali Sastroamidjojo Cabinets up to the present day. Sjahrir is not the founder of the Indonesian foreign policy that is today supported by the Indonesian people; on the contrary, he is its opponent.

In both words and practice, Hatta's foreign policy was nothing more than a continuation of Sutan Sjahrir's treacherous foreign policy. In a reply made to the Working Committee of the Central Indonesian National Committee in September, 1948, Dr. Moh. Hatta in his capacity as Prime Minister stated among other things that "*in view*

of the geographic position of our country, lying as it does right in the centre of international communication, and which is still surrounded by the big capitalist countries, it is a wise policy not to expand the circle of our enemies" (in "*Rowing Between Two Precipices*"). These words were stated by Hatta just at a time when the spirit of anti-imperialism of the people was at a peak, and at a time when the US via "its advisers" was trying directly to intervene in the internal affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. This is why it is clear that with this independent policy, Hatta intended that Indonesia should not take up a position of hostility towards the imperialists or anger them in any way. The consequence was that, since the imperialists wanted the Communists to be hunted down and terrorised, this was done so as to prevent the imperialists from getting angry. In order to keep the imperialists from getting angry and from being hostile towards Indonesia, he let loose the national tragedy of the Madiun Provocation. Because the imperialists wanted Indonesia to surrender to the Dutch, the treacherous RTC agreement was born! Because the imperialists once again wanted Indonesia to hunt down the Communists so that it could then "quietly and peacefully" sign the MSA agreement, an agreement which bound Indonesia to the USA, to prevent the imperialists from getting angry and based on the Sjahrir-Hatta mode of "independent policy", the August Razzia was carried out by Mr. Sukiman. This was the Sjahrir and Hatta independent policy in practice, a policy based on surrender to imperialism. And yet who was the enemy of Indonesian independence if not imperialism? How is it possible to defend independence without adopting an attitude of hostility towards imperialism? Their "independent policy" was a policy of independence to side with imperalism!

Sjahrir's and Hatta's foreign policy which belittled the forces of the Indonesian people themselves and the forces of anti-imperialism throughout the world, and which on the contrary surrendered to the intimidations and wishes of imperialism, finally grew into a compradore policy of bowing down to imperialists and of being

hostile to the independence struggle of the Indonesian people to defend and strengthen the Proclamation Republic. This indeed was the foreign policy of Sjahrir and Hatta which only desired independence of the type in the Philippines, where in essence it is not the Filipino people who are in power in their own country. Or like Malaya today where the Malayan Government is a British shield for the purpose of smashing the genuine forces of the Malayan people who are led by the People's Liberation Army and the Communist Party of Malaya.

How were it be possible to get West Irian incorporated into the sovereign territory of the Republic if an attitude is taken from the start of not opposing imperialism? It is not surprising that Sjahrir's and Hatta's foreign policy which was clearly a bankrupt policy and a catastrophic one for Indonesia, was praised to the skies by the imperialists on the one hand, whilst on the other, it was opposed by the Indonesian people with the result that this policy just does not find any support today.

Note should be taken of the fact that the Sjahrir-Hatta antinational and pro-imperialist foreign policy has not yet been completely eliminated. There still are enough persons among Indonesian diplomats and among the persons in control of the Republic's foreign policy whose way of thinking and practical activities are still inspired with the spirit of the Sjahrir-Hatta foreign policy. This seriously delays the development and advancement of the Republic and must therefore be cleaned up by any government that wants to pursue a foreign policy that serves the aspirations of the 1945 August Revolution and that serves world peace.

In reality, the foreign policy tradition of the Republic of Indonesia ever since its establishment has been based on friendly relations and co-operation with the East, even though Sutan Sjahrir obstructed this. The first defence of the Republic put up by the Ukranian representative in the UNO, D. Manuilsky, was an important foundation for strengthening Indonesia's position internationally. This was further strengthened by the success of the people's resistence

to Sjahrir's pro-West policy, with the establishment of diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level with the Republic of Czechoslovakia in 1947 and then the establishment of consular relations with the Soviet Union in May 1948. The Socialist countries are faithful defenders and supporters who, from the very first years of the Revolution, defended the Republic's position and have done so up to the present day. This is to Indonesia's advantage, and the significance of which cannot possibly be denied, is the assistance and recognition of countries of Asia and Africa in the first years of the Revolution. All this proves that Indonesia's traditional friends, her friends in difficult times, are the countries of the East and not the countries of the West. Not a single person can deny that at times when Indonesia faces difficulties, the Western countries always side with the Netherlands.

In this connection, the Indonesian people should state their deepest appreciation and gratitude to the Dutch proletariat together with their Party, the Communist Party of the Netherlands, which from the very beginning has consistently opposed the colonial policy of the Dutch Government and has always defended Indonesia's independence and the national right of the Republic to liberate West Irian. The Indonesian people should also state their gratitude to the proletariat and peoples of the world which always sided with the Indonesian people in their sacred struggle.

As it further developed it became clear that the independent policy of the Sjahrir-Hatta-made could not possibly be maintained because it was in conflict with Indonesia's interests and in conflict with the aspirations of the Indonesian people. This is what led to certain modifications with the result that it eventually was called "*independent and active foreign policy directed towards world peace*" of the Wilopo Cabinet, the first cabinet supported by the CPI since the conclusion of the RTC agreement. Since that time, a start was made in abandoning Sjahrir's and Hatta's independent policy, but the desire to place Indonesia clearly within the anti-colonial and peace-loving international front was not strong enough during the

Wilopo Cabinet. The "independent policy" faced a crisis and was drifting between the fact on the one hand, that Indonesia's interests indeed lay within and were guaranteed by co-operation with the Socialist camp, and on the other hand the hesitations and fear of the ruling bourgeoisie of coming into conflict with imperialism. In such circumstances, the Party faced the important task of helping and encouraging the national bourgeoisie and the Indonesian Government to be bold enough and prepared to oppose the war policy of the imperialists, to oppose colonialism and to be bold enough and prepared to co-operate with the countries of the Socialist camp.

One of the consequences and peaks of the policy of anti-Communism and anti-East foreign policy which proved to be anti-Indonesia, was the "RGRI-Permesta" armed rebellion carried out under the inspiration and on the expenses and orders of the US. The safety and integrity of the Republic was preserved by the wisdom shown by the Djuanda Government that was ready to recognise facts and that was ready within certain limits to abandon the anti-Communist policy and the anti-East foreign policy. Today, the continuance of the safeguarding and progress of the Republic depends entirely upon the fidelity and preparedness of the Government to continue with and develop the work in this correct direction.

Under the pressure of the progressive forces, the basis for a healthy Indonesian foreign policy was laid, particularly by the foreign policy of the Ali Sastroamidjojo Cabinet which succeeded in bringing about the birth of the Principles and Spirit of the historic Bandung Conference. This foreign policy has been continued by the Djuanda Cabinet which was shown signs of wishing to expand Indonesia's economic and cultural co-operation with the countries of the Socialist camp and which has pursued a "new course" in the struggle for West Irian.

It is generally known just how much the "other course" taken with regard to West Irian resulted in new forces developing at home and how this severely shook the position of the ruling class in the Netherlands.

Adopting a policy of categorically rejecting the landing of US troops in Pakan Baru (the centre of the "RGRI" rebellion in West Sumatera and an important oil centre, Tr.) at the beginning of 1958, the Djuanda Government, with the backing of the Indonesian people, succeeded in saving the Republic. Indonesia's foreign policy will be able to reap more benefits for the Indonesian if closer relations with the East are continued and developed and if a policy of peaceful co-existence with all nations is pursued and foreign intervention is resolutely resisted. But this has not yet been realised, as can be seen from the fact that the Indonesian Government does not yet want to establish diplomatic relations with the Korean Democratic People's Republic and with the German Democratic Republic even though diplomatic relations and extensive economic relations have long since been established with West Germany.

It is the task of the Party to further develop the positive results achieved by Indonesia's foreign policy. The first thing to which attention must be paid is the concrete and serious implementation of the Bandung Decisions. It is greatly to be regretted that in face of very pressing international problems such as for example the convening of a Summit Conference, the proposal to halt nuclear weapon tests, US military aggression against the Lebanon and British military aggression against Jordan, US military aggression against China around the Taiwan Straits, the havoc created by the US and SEATO in Laos, the Big Four Foreign Minister Conference on the question of West Berlin and the Peace Treaty with Germany and other such issues, the leading members of Asian-African co-operation, and especially the Five Colombo States, have not yet been able to come together to discuss these issues and define their attitude, while Indonesia has not taken the initiative in this direction.

Within the framework of the UNO, co-operation between the AA group must be further strengthened and made more active, because the objective conditions exist for this group to give expression to a more influential opinion and attitude in this international body. The Indonesian people have the task of further activising the

channels, both official channels as well as those of the people's organisations and of activising various forms of Asian-African cooperation, in implementation and continuation of the Bandung Decisions.

One important positive aspect of the Bandung Decisions is the question of good neighbour relations on the basis of the principles of the preservation of peace and anti-colonialism. For the safety and security of the Republic itself, it is extremely important to guarantee that Indonesia is surrounded by friendly neighbours whose foreign policy is at one with the decisions of the AA Conference in Bandung. For this purpose, the Government must carry out intensive efforts towards each of our neighbours, one by one. These efforts will be the more successful if carried out jointly by the Government and the people together. For Indonesia, the question of good-neighbour policy is a concrete and pressing question, bearing in mind the fact that Indonesia is in the very front lines in facing the aggressive SEATO pact. *We must be fully aware of the fact that Indonesia is in the front lines in the resistance against SEATO, which means facing national and international tasks that are not at all light.* The experiences of the Darul-Islam TII and the "RGRI-Permesta" rebellions clearly prove the truth of this.

The Dutch are now adopting the tactics of alliance with SEATO via Australia for the purpose of defending its domination over West Irian. This means that for Indonesia a good-neighbour policy is the same thing as a policy of staving off imperialist subversion and intervention, the same as a policy of opposing and defeating SEATO. It is in the interests of the Indonesian people to support the struggles of the peoples of Malaya, Laos and Cambodia and other countries, to prevent their countries from becoming members of SEATO, and to support the struggle of the people of the Philippines, Thailand, Pakistan and Australia to free their countries from the bonds with SEATO and from pressure from the US.

The Indonesian people should certainly be paying close attention to Japan which is now under the domination of the USA and of the Japanese monopolists. The Japanese ruling circles have still not yet,

up to today, shown any indications of pursuing a peace-loving, democratic foreign policy and one of friendly with its neighbours in Asia. The hostile attitude of the Japanese government towards the Chinese People's Republic, and its desire to continue with its patronising policy towards the peoples of South East Asia which it once colonised, is arousing the antipathy and anxiety of the peoples of Asia. This attitude indicates that Japanese imperialism still represents a danger threatening peace and the independence of the countries of Asia. This attitude is in conflict with the yearnings and interests of the Japanese people themselves who are bitterly resisting the American occupation and the suppression by Japanese imperialism and who in the recent period, have achieved a number of important successes. Resolutely and loyally, the Japanese people are struggling for equality and friendship between the peoples of Asia, for a lasting peace in Asia and the world. This struggle has the sympathy and the full solidarity of the Indonesian people. But on the other hand, certain bourgeois elements in Indonesia should become conscious of what they are doing, they should immediately abandon their policy of fawning upon the monopolists in power in Japan and should instead of upholding the honour of the independent Indonesian people.

It is realistic and in harmony with the national aspirations of the Indonesian people for the Indonesian government, together with the Asian-African group, to pursue a foreign policy of continuing more resolutely with the struggle in the UNO and in other international forums for the entry of the Chinese People's Republic and People's Republic of Mongolia into the United Nations, for putting an end to racial discrimination in South Africa and other parts of the world, for preserving international security in the Middle East and the Far East by demanding the withdrawal of all foreign troops in this area, and for the establishment of a peace region and in the first place an atom-free region in the Middle East, the Far East and the whole of the Pacific region.

As regards the struggle for West Irian, foreign policy plays a role of not inconsiderable importance. It is the responsibility of the

Indonesian Government to continue with the struggle for West Irian within and outside the United Nations and to convince further the other countries of the world, especially the countries of Asia, Africa and also the friendly countries in Latin America, of the justice and correctness of Indonesia's demand. The Indonesian people would never agree with the policy of refusing to bring up the West Irian question in the UNO because this is just the same as covering up the criminality of America's colonial policy which rejects Indonesia's demand for the restoration of West Irian and supports continued Dutch domination in this region. In pursuance of the struggle for West Irian, the Government must act with greater wisdom and must hold consultations and establish co-operation with the people's organisations.

In the recent period, some progress has been made in the sphere of foreign economic relations especially with the increase in economic assistance from the Socialist countries and the greater preparedness on the part of the Indonesian government to establish trade relations with the Socialist countries.

Some progress has also been made in the sphere of cultural affairs and in scientific and technological co-operation now that more Indonesian students are being sent to the Socialist countries and with the arrival here of experts and professors from these countries, and other such developments.

But by comparison with the rather progressive foreign policy being pursued in resistance to colonialism and in favour of peace, the degree of co-operation with the Socialist countries in the economic, cultural, scientific and technological affairs is not yet what it should be; there is still too little of it, and the stress is still towards the West.

In order to cope with the present international situation, complex as it is, it is above all essential therefore to be clarity of outlook and understanding in foreign policy that the chief enemy and obstacle to the safety and integrity of the Republic of Indonesia is world imperialism which is headed by the USA. It is because

there is imperialism that the position and independence of Indonesia is under constant threat. Every thought, wish or action which does not take a stand against imperialism is harmful to Indonesia, is in conflict with the national interests of the Indonesian people.

It is customary and characteristic of the foreign policy of the imperialists to make use of the methods of intimidation and intervention against other countries in order to gain control over them. For Indonesia and for other peoples who want to defend and preserve the safety and integrity of their countries, the only correct attitude is to stand up to all this and oppose it in all earnestness. It is general knowledge that the *strength of the imperialists is not unlimited, that imperialism is a paper tiger which is by no means invincible.* There is already more than sufficient evidence of the fact that *the imperialists retreat in the face of resistance.*

The Government will always be successful in its foreign policy if it consciously makes use of a system of consultation with the people's organisations so as to improve its work in the sphere of international affairs. The Indonesian people are today more mature and it will not be possible to ignore them in questions that concern the interests of their country. The history of diplomacy shows that the masses of the people have an influence and play a role that is by no means a small one in determining the direction and nature of foreign policy. The era of secret diplomacy, of keeping everything secret from the people, has now past, and secret diplomacy has been replaced with open diplomacy, diplomacy that is carried together with and for the people.

The Party must unceasingly and indefatigably continue to help and encourage the Government into opposing and resisting imperialist intervention in Indonesia and in all other countries.

The Party must always be on the alert and must always lead and mobilise the people to resist imperialist intervention in Indonesia which is implemented by means of the pro-imperialist policy of the Masjumi and the PSI, by means of the Darul Islam TII terrorist gangs, by means of the anti-Republic "RGRI-Permesta" rebel-

lion and by means of a few Indonesian political adventurers who, in the name of the 'anti-Communist' slogan, want to sell Indonesian independence to the American imperialists so as to force Indonesia into the SEATO military pact.

It is a fact of history that an anti-Communist policy is the same thing as inviting imperialist subversion and intervention and this means spurning the national interests of the Indonesian people. The people must always be on the alert against various types of outlook and various efforts which are basically hostile to the Indonesian people; they start of by just flirting with the imperialists but subsequently develop into collaboration with the imperialists, by pursuing a policy of "coming to terms" with the imperialists, a policy of begging from the imperialists. This is the new form of Sjahrir's and Hatta's 'third force policy', a policy which is bankrupt and which has been condemned by the people. It would also be wise for the government to be on the alert against such a policy and should keep clear of it in the interests of Indonesia's safety, in the interests of the advancement of the Republic of Indonesia.

In order to carry out all these tasks the Government must necessarily have a reliable and capable, patriotic, democratic, skilled apparatus. The "RGRI-Pemesta" elements and other anti-Republic elements who are still hiding in the apparatus of the Foreign Ministry and the Representations of the Republic of Indonesia abroad must be completely purged.

Such are the international position of Indonesia and the tasks of the Party and the Indonesian people in the field of foreign policy. In line with the development of the strength of the united national front in the country, and in accordance with the spirit and soul of the August 1945 Revolution, sufficient conditions exist, also in the field of foreign policy, which will facilitate the attainment of unity among all democratic forces and the unity between the Government and the people, to safeguard and develop Indonesian national independence and to maintain peace in Asia and throughout the world.

III. CONTINUE THE BUILDING OF THE PARTY

1. Development of the Party During the Period Between the Fifth and the Sixth National Congresses

During the period that has elapsed between the Fifth and the Sixth National Congresses, the Party has, side by side with the advances made by the movement for complete national independence and democracy in our country, experienced great changes, it has expanded throughout the entire country, and in some islands it has begun to take deep root. From the viewpoint of its followers, the Party, with its voters of more than eight millions, is today the biggest party in our country. The Party has made rapid progress not only in increasing membership and sympathisers but also in heightening ideological, political and organisational consciousness.

The balance between Party members and candidate members in the membership of the Party, which now amounts to more than 1,500,000, is almost equal. The position is thus different from what it was at the time of the Fifth National Congress when the members amounted to 49,042 and the candidate members amounted to 116,164, or in other words the candidate members accounted for about 70% of the total membership.

Actually, the number of members should today be greater than the number of candidate members, but because of the fact that some Committees concerned are behindhand, and because of the situation in certain regions which have been plunged into disorder by the counter-revolutionary rebels, the raising of candidate-members to the status of members has not been carried out in time. There are still many candidate-members who have for years carried out Party tasks spiritedly and well, but because of the negligence of the Committee concerned they have not been raised to members. This negligence means that the comparative number of members and candidate-members has not been speedily improved upon. More than that, the provision in the Constitution are not being applied properly

and the right of good candidate members to become members in timely fashion has been neglected by the Committees in question.

As the work of the Party among the peasants has improved, the Party membership from this section is now much greater than it was. Whereas at the last Congress less than 50% were from among the peasants, today a majority of Party members are from the peasants. Improvements, too, in the Party's work among the intellectuals and among the women has led to more people from these sections joining the Party or sympathising with it. From among the workers, too, there has been a considerable increase, but the percentage has not undergone any important change.

In brief, the great strides achieved in expanding the membership of our Party is as follows: at the time of the National Party Conference in 1952, there were registered 7,910 members and candidate members. This Conference decided to expand the membership to 100,000 within a period of six months. When a check-up was made at the end of 1952, the number of registered members and candidate-members was 126,671. At the time of the Fifth Party Congress, that is in March, 1954, registered members and candidate-members amounted to 165,206. In the middle of 1959, about 1,500,000 members and candidate-members were registered of which about 250,000 or 17% were women. At the time of the National Conference in 1952, Party members and organisations were confined to Java and Sumatera, and in these islands too very unevenly spread out. Following the expansion of menbership in 1952, Party organisations began to spread to Madura, Sulawesi, Kalimantan, Nusatenggara and the Moluccas. Today, the spread throughout the country is much more even, while in the islands of Java and Sumatera it is more intensive than in the other islands.

This more even and intensive spread out has been helped by the implementation of the *Fist Three-Year Plan on Organisation and Education* which was decided upon at the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee in July 1956.

The vast majority of the members of our Party have been steeled in revolutionary struggle. A part of the Party members who joined before the 1952 National Conference have experienced heavy blows from the Dutch imperialists, some of them having been imprisoned for years and exiled to Digul in West Irian, some others having experienced the difficult struggle against Japanese fascism, and many having taken an active part in the 1945—48 revolution, in the struggle against the Madiun Provocation in 1948 and against the Sukiman August Razzia in 1951.

Those who entered the Party after the 1952 National Conference that is, after the renewal of the central leadership of the Party, have taken an active part in the resistance against attempted counter-revolutionary coups d'etat which aimed at fascisising the system of government, against various atrocities directed against the workers and the peasants, against the Darul Islam-TII terrorists, against provocations launched against the Party, against the misuse of the Law on the State of Emergency, against the counter-revolutionary "RGRI-Permesta" rebellion. The last-mentioned of those was mainly in Central Sumatera, Tapanuli, North Sulawesi and Central Sulawesi. The heroic resistance and great sacrifices made by Party members has steeled the entire ranks of our Party, has greatly raised the prestige of our Party in the eyes of the people; has made closer its links with the masses of the people and with the patriotic organs of the state. Together with this, it has also steeled the unity within the Party, unity among the upper leadership, unity between the upper leadership and the lower leadership and unity between the leadership and the mass of the members.

Devotion and solidarity between fellow Communists is the prevailing spirit in our Party, and it is this spirit too which has given the inspiration to Party members to even more seriously devote themselves to the cause of the motherland and the working people.

Why was it possible to carry out such a rapid expansion of Party organisation and membership? Why was it that the CPI was able to become a big mass Party?

From the time of the August 1945 Revolution up to the time prior to the white terror during the Madiun Affair in 1948, the influence of the Party was very widespread and this influence extended among all groups. The Party's influence was not only confined to the workers and peasants but also extended to the youth and students, it extended to the members of the Armed Forces from the rank-and-file up to the officers, it extended to government employees, to the national businessmen and to the cultural workers. But all this tremendous sympathy for the Party was not systematically organised and consolidated. The Party did not put forward a correct programme of struggle to answer the problems being confronted by the Indonesian revolution and the masses of the people. On the contrary, the Party committed political and organisational mistakes as has been pointed out in the Resolution "The New Road for the Republic of Indonesia". In its national front policy, the Party at that time placed more stress upon co-operation with the right-wing socialists who had no revolutionary traditions and who were not known by the people, than with the nationalists who did have revolutionary traditions and who were known to the people. And further, at that time, there were three parties calling themselves Marxist-Leninist Parties: the Communist Party of Indonesia, the Socialist Party and the Indonesian Worker's Party.

Immediately prior to the Madiun Affair there were about 10,000 rather well-organised and well-educated Communists in these three Marxist-Leninist Parties. Of course, with Communists only amounting to 10,000 while the population of Indonesia was about 80,000,000 spread out over thousands of islands, large and small, it was impossible for revolutionary work to be well led.

When the Hatta white terror took place, the effects of these political and organisational mistakes were very acutely felt. Millions of people who had gathered around the Party but who had not been organised or given revolutionary political and theoretical education by the Party, became afraid and some of them even sided with the counter-revolutionaries; but the most serious thing of all that

was felt at that time was the shortcomings in the Party's work among the peasants.

These bitter experiences motivated the new Political Bureau that was set up at the beginning of 1951 into completely revising the Party and turning it into a big mass Party, nation-wide in scope and with a large number of members. But in order to achieve this, the first thing that had to be done was to correct the fundamental mistakes committed by the Party in political and organisational affairs. In order to do this, a consistently anti-imperialist national front policy was drawn up, based upon the alliance of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class. Co-operation with the nationalists was improved. With the "New Road" resolution as the guide, the Party was rebuilt. In order to draw the peasants over as the most loyal ally of the working class, the Party drew up an agrarian programme. In addition to this, the Party continually extended its ties with the people other than the workers and the peasants, with the masses of the petty bourgeoisie, the intellectuals, the national businessmen, and other sections of the population. They gradually came to consider our Party as the only Party that honestly and correctly analyses and solves the national problems being faced by the Indonesian people.

The Party's programme for the attainment of national independence by means of Indonesia's withdrawal from the Indonesia-Netherlands Union, the dispatch of the Dutch Military Mission and all Dutch advisors and the abrogation of the Round Table Conference Agreement, the nationalisation of all vital enterprises owned by the Dutch colonialists, and further the insistence upon West Irian being a legal part of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, was understood and strongly supported by the Indonesian people. The same was true as regards the Party's policy of demanding protection for national industry against competition from foreign goods, the policy of demanding that preparations be made for the industrialisation of the country, and also the struggle waged by the Party that broader employment opportunities be provided and that

special treatment be given to Indonesian experts working sincerely for the advancement of science and culture. All this drew broader masses of the people round the Party, including the businessmen and the intellectuals.

For the Indonesian people, it is a fact that our Party is not only good at propaganda work but is also capable of indicating the correct solutions to national problems and to the other problems being faced by the Indonesian people. In addition, the Party has also shown its ability to extract and develop the valuable national and progressive elements of the history, culture and traditions of our people. This is the reason why, among other things, our Party was able, within a short time, to greatly increase its membership and to grow into a mass Party. This fact is the most effective answer to all the filthy and criminal slanders. The correctness of the Party's policy has been of great significance to the work of building the Party, to the work of strengthening and expanding the Party.

Our Party's ties with fraternal Parties are becoming closer and closer day by day, both through the study of the experiences of fraternal Parties and through attending their Congresses or through personal contacts between the leaders of our Party and the leaders of the fraternal Parties. The participation of representatives of our Party in the Moscow Conference of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties in November 1957 which gave birth to the "*Declaration*" and the "*Peace Manifesto*" has greatly strengthened the ties between our Party and the fraternal Parties. The "*Declaration*" and the "*Peace Manifesto*" have been of great significance to the consolidation of our Party in the political and ideological spheres.

Within the framework of strengthening our Party's ties with fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties, great significance should be attached to the presence of a fraternal CPI delegation at the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU not only because this Congress was a Congress of the builders of Communism but also because Comrade Khrushchov clearly stated there what the relations between the Communist Parties should be. He said among other things that:

"There has always been complete equality and independence for all the Communist and Workers' Parties and the Socialist countries in the Communist movement and in the Socialist camp. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union does not control any of the other parties, the Soviet Union does not control any other country. There are no 'superior' and 'subordinate' parties in the Communist movement. All the Communist and Workers' Parties are equal and independent. All of them bear responsibility for the destiny of the Communist movement, for its failures and its successes."

For the Communists who thouroughly understand the essence of the world Communist movement and the world workers' movement Comrade Khrushchov's statement depicts the situation as it really is and is the same as what Lenin called for several decades ago. But the fact that this point was made under the present circumstances, at a time when the imperialists and their lackeys are very actively slandering the Communists, is of exceptional significance. This clarification not only rebuffs the slanders of the reactionaries but it also represents an incentive to the Communists in all countries to be able to see clearly what their class tasks, national tasks and international tasks are. With all these tasks made clear, we Indonesian Communists too will be better able to draw together large numbers of democrats and patriots around the Party.

2. Marxist-Leninist Education is the Indispensable Condition for Unity Within the Party

When in the middle of 1948, our Party carried out the big correction, great stress was placed upon work in the organisational sphere. This was correct because at that time, after the mistake in the political sphere had been basically corrected, the organisational weaknesses were the most striking. At that time, there were three Parties based upon Marxism-Leninism with a total membership of only 10,000. The Party had indeed made a serious mistake in the sphere of organisation.

It is a long time since we corrected this organisational mistake.

With Communist pride we can draw the conclusion that we have basically carried out well the general line of building the Party, the line that was laid down at the Fifth National Congress, namely "*to continue to build a bolshevised CPI which is nationwide in character, which has a broad mass character, which is completely consolidated ideologically, politically and organisationally*". But the complete implementation of the general line of building the Party is not something that can be carried out within the period that has elapsed between the Fifth and the Sixth National Congresses. We still need to go on improving the implementation of this line.

In connection with the building of the Party, a very pressing problem has now arisen as a result of the rapid expansion in the number of members. The rapid expansion of membership will not have favourable consequences if it is not accompanied by education on a large scale within the Party. In view of this, every time there has been a campaign to expand membership since 1952, it has always been accompanied by a movement for the new members to study the programme and Constitution of the Party, while old members have had to study Party documents and also Marxist-Leninist theoretical books.

When the Fourth Plenum of the CC drew up the First Three Year Plan, the Party had a membership of more than one million, and the central leadership of the Party warned that *it must not be forgotten that the mass of Party members come from various different classes, that their family environments also vary greatly and that their cultural level and their revolutionary experiences are very different too. It is therefore not surprising that there still are and there will continue to be many ways of thinking among the Communists. Thus, the question of unity of thought among the Communists is a question of the education of the entire membership of the Party.* The Fourth Plenum of the CC also adopted a decision on strengthening education and research into concrete conditions so as to raise the Marxist-Leninist level of the Party. Just herein lies the exceptional significance of the First Three Year Plan of Organisation and Education.

Based on the First Three Year Plan, education has been carried out throughout the Party on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and on maintaining the working class standpoint, outlook and method. This education was first carried out among the high cadres of the Party, and then among all Party functionaries, and was then directed towards all Party members. Education is closely linked up with the tasks of the Party and is regarded as an endeavour to eliminate ideological obstacles so as to ensure that the present tasks of the Party can be carried out well and so as to ensure that cadres are not unacquainted with the tasks that will have to be undertaken in the future.

Today, the majority of central cadres down to the basic Committees have received education according to the new plan of education. But the majority of members have not yet been educated according to this plan. One of the activities which must be carried out by the Party after the Sixth Congress is to educate all Party functionaries and activists and to educate the majority of the members according to the new system of education. During the period of the Party's Second Three Year Plan, all members who entered the Party before the Sixth Congress and most of those who enter it afterwards must have completed their education according to the new system of education.

With the implementation of the plan of education, unanimity of thought has been guaranteed, the Communist spirit has been strengthened as the dominating Party spirit. The choice of subjects at all levels of education, namely on the history of the development of society, on the basic questions of the Indonesian revolution, on the national united front and on the building of the Party has been proved in the test to have been correct.

The subjects of philosophy and the international workers' movement which, until now, have only been given in the Party schools runs by the CC and by certain Major District Committees, should now become subjects in all Party Schools and Courses.

The subject on international workers' movement is extremely important in implementing the Party's policy of combining the spirit

of patriotism and proletarian internationalism, the policy of defeating national nihilism and chauvinism. As a means of raising the theoretical level of the Party cadres, the theoretical conferences, the theoretical consultations and the obligation for all high and middle cadres to study books on classical theory as fixed by the CC or which they themselves have chosen, have been of great significance.

So as to ensure that all members are able to participate in and enjoy self-study from the Party daily and from other Party publications, the work of combatting illiteracy within Party ranks must be further intensified side by side with intensifying the combatting of illiteracy outside the Party, too. Together with all this, Party cadres must never for a moment stop expanding their general knowledge and improving their skills in their own subject or profession.

Our Party was very correct when it drew the conclusion that "*Unity within the Party is only possible if it is based upon unity of thought, unity of ideology, that is, Marxist-Leninist thought or ideology. Only if there is unity of thought among Communists will there be real unity, political and organisational unity of the Communist Party, will there be unity in the people's actions that are led by the Communist Party.*" This is why all forms and ways which can unify the thoughts of the entire membership of the Party must be utilised by the Party.

The Fifth National Congress of the Party provided the answer to all the important and basic questions of the Indonesian revolution. That Congress laid down the basis for better Party work in building up a national united front, and it provided the answer to all basic questions concerning the building of the Party. The developments following the Congress revealed that all of this was true. On the basis of the experiences during the period which we are reviewing, we can draw the conclusion that basically, the political line and the organisational line fixed by the Fifth National Congress are still valid up to today, so that basically these are also the lines of the Sixth National Congress. Naturally, we must make some changes here and there; those parts that are out of date must be deleted, those

parts that are not adequate must be added to, while those that are not sufficiently correct must be improved upon.

In implementing the political and organisational lines laid down by the Fifth Party Congress, the Party did of course meet with certain difficulties and we did commit mistakes. This was unavoidable. If it did not happen with the CC then it happened with lower committees or with both. In the time to come, too, we shall not be freed from difficulties and from the possibility of making mistakes.

The important thing is that we should always understand what is the cause of all these difficulties and mistakes. At the Fifth National Congress, we drew the conclusion that all mistakes, both including those made because of dogmatism as well as those made because of empiricism have their source in subjective ideology. In the further implementation of our tasks—and these tasks will definitely get more difficult because of the increasing complexity of the situation and the sharpening of the contradictions between the classes in our society — we shall certainly meet with more difficulties and possibilities of making mistakes.

Our experiences so far indicate, too, that every time our Party makes progress or achieves a victory, new difficulties arise and possibilities for making new mistakes arise. This is a law. This is why it is the responsibility of the leadership of the Party to study and analyse the mistakes made in the past, to draw the lessons from these mistakes, so that, as Comrade Liu Shao-chi has said, "*we shall make fewer mistakes in our future work and as far as possible avoid repeating past mistakes and prevent small mistakes from developing into big ones.*" *(Political Report of the CC of the CPC to the VIIIth National Congress).*

3. We Must Constantly Wage War Against Subjectivism

At the Fifth National Congress, we drew the conclusion that in order to oppose subjectivism in our Party, it is very important to do two things: *Firstly,* to teach Party members to use Marxist-

Leninist methods in analysing the political situation and in estimating the strength of the classes. In this way, we shall be opposing subjective analysis and calculation. *Secondly*, direct the attention of the members towards research and study in social and economic affairs. By doing these two things we shall be able to decide upon the tactics of struggle and the method of work, and in this way, to make our comrades understand that mistakes made in investigating a concrete situation will result in them getting submerged in fantasy and adventurism.

Carrying out these two things will mean that we shall be raising the level of Marxism-Leninism in the Party. This means that we must devote all our attention to study Marxism-Leninism, and to do it systematically, especially among the ranks of the cadres, so that they become skilful at putting to use the standpoint, outlook and method of the working class to consider and solve the problems being faced. This means that Party cadres must carry out investigation and research seriously and honestly among the masses, utilising the method of work of "*from the masses, back to the masses*". Basically we must weld theory with practice. This work can only be successful and be consolidated if we educate and form a corps of theoretical workers for scientific work on Marxism-Leninism and continue with the campaign of "going down" to the masses.

In brief, we must know Marxism-Leninism and know the situation so as to raise the level of achievement of our work. Knowing Marxism-Leninism and knowing the situation, this is our slogan of study and slogan of work.

At the Fifth National Party Congress, we drew the conclusion that the social source of subjectivism is the fact that our country is a petty bourgeois country. Our Party is like a rowing boat sailing in a petty bourgeois sea. It is not only surrounded by the petty bourgeois class, but a large part of the Party members come from this class, too. Thus, the fact that the ideological purity of the Party can be blemished by a class ideology illegal within the Party is not something impossible. As we constantly resist petty bourgeois ideology within the Party we must not forget that bourgeois ideology is also

a constant threat to the ideological and political purity of the Party. This is the situation if we consider the social source of our mistakes.

But our mistakes need not necessarily be based on social sources; they may be based on incorrect understanding. Regarding this, Comrade Liu Shao-chi said the following: "*If a person does not understand that a correct handling of things can only be based on an objective and all-round reflection of reality, but insist on acting according to his own subjective and onesided approach to things, then he will go on making mistakes, great or small, even though his intentions are good. In order to prevent mistakes, therefore, the basic thing is to acquire an accurate knowledge of objective reality, and correctly differentiate between right and wrong.*"

The history of our Party indicates that since its foundation up to 1951, we made mistake after mistake; either right or "left" opportunism or both of them at once, and this gave rise to much damage within and harm inflicted upon the Party. But since 1951, that is to say the year in which the central leadership of the Party was renewed, we have not made such serious mistakes any more. And the possibility of making such mistakes was reduced after there was a correct political line, a correct Party programme and a correct Party organisational line as laid down by the Fifth National Congress.

The fact today that the reactionaries are finding it difficult to attack the Party's policy because this policy is so very much at one with the direct economic and political interests of the masses of the people and with national interests. They are also finding it difficult to attack the Party's programme because attacking it means attacking the vital interests of the people and nation.

This is why they are devoting more attention to activities in the ideological sphere where they are quietly smuggling idealistic world outlooks into the explanation of political, legal, cultural and other problems, which cause a chaos in the sphere of ideology. In this way they hope to be able to retard the advancement of the progressive movement, the advancement of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle in general.

In philosophy, the imperialists and their agents together with the domestic bourgeoisie basically make up one front and are actively attacking the fortress of working class philosophy. It is very erroneous to be passive in face of this frontal attack in the sphere of philosophy because this means allowing the fortress of working class philosophy to be infiltrated and disrupted by destructive elements which will have the effect of weakening the activities of the workers' movement and the people's movement generally in all spheres.

It is clear that one of the most important tasks today is to continue with the building of the Party with the stress upon ideological upbuilding. In putting this point forward it does not mean that we may neglect the question of organisational upbuilding. The latter continues to be important but the question of ideological upbuilding is even more important.

If we now place more emphasis upon the Party's ideology, this does not mean to say that up to the present nothing has yet been done in this sphere; the point is that we have not yet done enough or worked sufficiently well to remould the ideology of Party members. In order to improve the Party's work in this sphere, we must in the coming period place more stress upon the teaching of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, the philosophy of dialectical and historical materialism. We must teach it much more to the Party cadres and acquaint the masses of the members with it, both by making it one of the subjects at the Party Schools and Courses and through the various other subjects taught, and also by linking up Marxist-Leninist philosophy with all aspects of life.

Party cadres have, in the recent period, begun to be truly conscious of the importance of ideological upbuilding. It is now better realised that our Party is a Party with an iron discipline, but this discipline is not based upon organisation alone, but must in the first place be based upon the consciousness of the members. This means that the higher the consciousness of the members, the higher their sense of discipline. And too, it is being more and more realised that no Party tasks can be implemented well without ideological preparation and that our Party can only be consolidated if it is based upon

ideological unity. This is why ideology is the general for us Communists. Without a correct ideology, nothing runs well, just as without a good general, no army can win victory.

The idea prevailing among some members that philosophy is the same as mystics is erroneous, as is the case of the opinion that philosophy is difficult to understand and can only be grasped by experts and theoreticians. The elimination of the erroneous ideas is the first condition to be able to expand philosophical teaching in our Party. Studying philosophy is the same as studying other theories of Marxism-Leninism. If philosophy is divorced from reality, then it becomes difficult to understand. But if philosophy is studied as it should be, that is, linked up with the practice of living, with facts, with the documents of the Party, with the general line and the day-to-day policy of the Party, no great difficulties will arise because the problems become concrete.

Up to the present, there are still many Party members who can say that the Party's general line and policy is good and correct but they cannot explain why this is so. Only by understanding Marxist-Leninist philosophy will Party cadres be able to explain why the Party's general line and policy is correct. By understanding philosophy, it will become clear to them that philosophy is the basis of all the tactics, the line, the guiding principles and the policy of the Party, and in this way, the cadres will not only "know" that the Party's political line is correct but they will also "know why".

The political mistakes that the Party is most likely to make since the time a correct political line and a correct Party programme have been drawn up are that we fail to differentiate between the general Party Programme which will be implemented if our Party leads the Government, and the programme of immediate demands or the specific programme for which a struggle must be waged by the Party, which the Party must demand of the present ruling powers.

Because of subjectivism, we may commit the mistake of demanding the full implementation of the General Programme now. An example of a subjectivist mistake is the *Manifesto* adopted by the Fifth National

Congress for the first general elections to Parliament which was subsequently corrected by the Third Plenum of the CC. This mistake did not have very harmful consequences because of the unanimity within the leadership of the Party.

On the other hand, also because of subjectivism, or in other words because prime place is not given to the interests of the vast majority of the people, we may fail to explain the Party's General Programme to the people with the result that the people do not know the difference between our Programme and the programmes of liberal bourgeois parties.

The possibility of making such mistakes of subjectivism was greatly lessened following the Fourth Plenum of the CC at which a clear differentiation was made between the General Programme and the specific programme or the Programme of Immediate Demands, and at which we also clearly indicated the relations between these two. With its General Programme, the Party fills up to completion the tasks and slogans of the August 1945 Revolution. If these tasks and slogans are completed, it will mean the same thing as completing the national and democratic demands of the August Revolution in their entirety. Our programme of immediate demands are demands to the present ruling powers, and these demands can change in accordance with changes and variations in the situation.

In the course of waging a struggle for the specific programme or the Programme of Immediate Demands, we must avoid such phenomena as the bureaucracy which afflicts certain Party functionaries, or in other words not quickly enough giving directives to actions to win the pressing demands of the masses and not giving sufficient thought to the question of how to make these demands become a mass problem and mass activity. We must avert feelings of complacency over having been able to make a statement or deliver a speech at the people's representative councils or elsewhere, complete with all the figures and facts. It is very important to prove everything with figures and facts, but there must not be a single Party functionary who gets stuck at these and does not solve the problem being faced

which would mean arousing, mobilising and organising the masses to carry out the Party's programme of demands in all situations.

In brief, at the present time, the Party is armed with a clear strategy and clear basic tactics so that it is no longer easy to become the prey to leftist thoughts and capitulationist thoughts, it will no longer be easy to be provoked or to loose one's head at times when we win temporary victories.

But it is not enough to understand the strategy and basic tactics alone. Our Party must also always be in complete mastery of the situation or fairly well mastering it, it must determine its attitude towards this situation and decide upon the steps and actions which are advantageous to the people, and push the revolutionary movement forward. In this way, we shall understand not only basic tactics but also everyday tactics. It was very correct for the CC to take a decision on intensifying the investigation and study of various situation and living conditions of the masses, and a decision to the effect that all CC members and other important cadres must "go down" and take an active part in carrying out this investigation and research and take responsibility for the progress of local Party organisations consisting of a number of basic organisations the care of which has been handed over to them. This is one of the guarantees that the leaders of our Party will not become estranged from the masses of the members and from the lives of the masses of the working people.

It should always be remembered that there is still a separation between the correct strategy and basic tactics of the Party or the correct political line of the Party, and its implementation. Even though we may have studied Marxist-Leninist theory, may have tried to get to know the situation and also may have mastered the Party's political line well, the possibility of making mistakes still exists. In order to reduce this possibility, our Party must be armed with an infallible weapon, that is criticism and self-criticism. By seriously but patiently and wisely carrying out criticism, we shall succeed in discovering the mistakes and shortcomings in our work

so that we can thus "*draw the lessons from past mistakes as a warning for the future*" and so that we can also "*treat the disease so as to cure the patient.*"

Within our Party, we must arouse the courage to carry out criticism, especially criticism from below upwards, holding firmly to the line set forth by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, that is "*with the desire to unite as our starting point, and through criticism and self-criticism, to achieve new unity on a new basis.*" If we faithfully carry out criticism and self-criticism, it will mean waging war against subjectivism, and in this way, the possibility of making mistakes will be reduced and the unity within the Party will be further strengthened.

Only by constantly waging war against subjectivism, both in our way of thinking as well as in our method of work, will our Party be able to become an objective and realistic leader, will it be able to stamp out bureaucracy and sectarianism in the course of developing the Party, in building people's unity in all places and in organising mass actions so as to be able to lead and direct the development of the situation. In implementing all this, we must create a style of work which distinguishes our Party from other parties, a Party style of work which can be formulated briefly as follows: *Combine theory with practice, maintain close ties with the masses of the people, and undertake self-criticism.*

4. Continue Working With the Three-Year Plan

The decision adopted by the Fourth Plenum to guide the development of the Party by means of carrying out the First Three-Year Plan on Organisation and Education was a historic decision. This is the first time that we have led the extensive and deep going development of the Party with a Plan covering a rather long period of time, involving all Party organisations and all Party members. This Plan has created a new atmosphere, it has brought freshness and joy to work within the ranks of the Party. This Plan has raised the

Party's mobilising powers. Party members have begun to get accustomed to rational and effective methods of work. The Party functionaries and activists are becoming more trained to carry out "manysided" activities, their attitude is no longer limited to their own particular sphere of work but they can see the connection between their own particular sphere and Party work as a whole. With this Plan, the Party functionaries and activists have been more encouraged to deepen their understanding of their own work, to study the situation in their respective regions and the conditions of the nationalities in their regions better. If they do not carry out all this, the Party functionaries and activists would not be able to take an active part in the implementation of the Party's Three-Year Plan.

As regards the field of education, the Party Schools and Courses are educating revolutionary fighters, to give them a Communist spirit and world outlook, something which will make Party members convinced under all circumstances that the revolutionary path that has been chosen is the most correct path, that it is the path of a new life and for a new society. Based on the Party's Three-Year Plan all Committees take an active part in running the education plan, while those members chosen to follow Party Schools and Courses accept this appointment as a high honour.

The competition undertaken in implementing the Party's First Three-Year Plan has meant that the collective leadership and the mass work of the Party has developed further because the Plan cannot possibly be implemented successfully if there is no collective leadership and mass work. With collective leadership accompanied by criticism and self-criticism, democracy within the Party has developed and this has meant also the growth of the individuality, creative powers and militancy of the Party members. The growth of democracy within the Party strengthens the Party's centralism.

The mass line of the Party is gradually and genuinely becoming the political line, the organisational line and moral line of the Party. It has already become the conviction of our Party that to

achieve success for the Plan and for all Party work and all the Party's mass activities, the Party must be faithful to the principles of collective leadership, to criticism and self-criticism and to the mass line. Only by linking collective leadership with criticism and self-criticism and with a mass line shall we realise a collective leadership that is critical, objective and realistic, that is good, strong collective leadership and that can increase the ability and authority of the Party.

But the revolutionary situation develops very quickly, and is quicker than the development of the Party. The anti-colonial struggle of the Indonesian people is becoming more and more bitter and has entered a new phase, that is, the restoration of the spirit of the August 1945 Revolution together with consciousness on the part of the people of the greatness of their forces, consciousness of the purity and importance of the support of the working people of the entire world and the support of the countries of the Socialist camp. All this is happening on the one hand, while on the other hand the people have become more conscious of the limitation of the strength of imperialism and the strength of the domestic reactionaries. It was in such a situation that the Sixth Plenum of the CC was held which adopted a resolution on the necessity for the leading bodies of the Party to bring themselves into harmony with the rapid development of the revolutionary situation, starting from the CC right down to the lowest Committees. The purpose of all this is that the ties between the Party and the masses can be further strengthened so that all problems of the masses can be answered or solved by the Party. The need to bring the organisation into harmony with the situation is not confined to the leading bodies of the Party alone but concerns too the entire Party and all the revolutionary mass organisations that are under Party leadership.

The central leadership of the Party has been improved with the creation of the Executive Committee of the Political Bureau of the CC; to facilitate the work of the Secretariat of the CC, new bureaus have been set up for the purpose of arranging the affairs of specific regions; in the CC and the lower Committees, Plan Bureaus

have been set up to control the implementation of the Three-Year Plan; new departments and sections have been established; cadre promotion has taken place throughout the Party and cadres have been moved to places suffering an acute shortage of cadres. All this has raised the spirit and the achievements of the Party work.

We could not possibly cope with the rapid development of the revolutionary situation to which reference has been made above if we did not have a Three-Year Plan, or in other words if we did not have experience of working in systematic fashion, and if we did not expand the Party as well as educate the Party members. This is why we continue to work with the Three-Year Plan, and when the first one has been implemented it must be followed up by a second one, and so on. Intensive, systematic and continuous control of the implementation of the Plan must be looked upon as one of the most important activities to ensure the success of the Plan. Apart from this, we must abandon subjectivism in drawing up the Plan.

How about the targets fixed in the First Three-Year Plan? The targets fixed in the sphere of organisation are connected with the expansion of membership and of organisation, the grouping of each member, the promotion of candidate members to the status of members after having completed a period of guided candidature, the activying of the sections set up by the Committees, the convening of conferences and periodic meetings of the Committees and Groups, the problems being faced by all the Committees of equipping Party offices and libraries, the intensification of dues collections and the expansion of donations and productive activities, etc. The implementation of the targets in the organisational field as fixed in the Three-Year Plan have greatly assisted the efforts to expand and consolidate the Party but they have not yet been completely fulfilled which means that they must once again be stressed in the Second Three-Year Plan.

The targets with regard to education include the organisation of Party Schools, Party Courses and Political Schools. A target

was also fixed concerning the number of theoretical conferences that must be held, a target for the campaign to combat illiteracy. And further, provisions were made for the founding of the "People's University" in the capital and in other towns, and there was a target concerning the expansion of publications and the dissemination of Party literature, especially raising the circulation of the "Harian Rakjat" (The Party's daily organ—Tr.).

In general, the targets fixed in the sphere of education have been fulfilled better than those fixed in the sphere of organisation, and in some cases, Committees have even managed to over-fulfil the target fixed concerning the convening of Party Schools and Party Courses. But some important things have not yet been achieved, the most serious of which is the target concerning the circulation of Party literature, especially the "Harian Rakjat".

Party cadres have already a sufficiently clear understanding about the importance of the "Harian Rakjat" in the everyday life of the Party. But there is not yet enough consciousness about the practical work that should be undertaken to improve the distribution. It is not yet sufficiently realised that distribution of the paper is important political work. The broadening of the Party's influence through the "Harian Rakjat" very greatly depends on the size of the paper's circulation and the circulation can only be improved if distribution is expanded and improved. The problems of distribution are problems of taking care to keep up the number of subscribers, accuracy in accounting and correspondence and also regularity in transmitting payments to the paper's administration. These are the things that some Committees are not doing well.

The best thing is for the Party Committee itself to handle all "HR" agencies but at our present stage of organisation, this requires too much energy and thought from the Committee functionaries. This is why it is wrong for a Committee to take over an agency from an agent that is functioning well only for the reason that the agent in question was not appointed as such by the Committee. Such an action may, in the very short run, solve the financial

difficulties of the Committee in question but it can, on the other hand, have serious unfavourable consequences upon the Party politically and organisationally.

Thus, the stress in advancing the "HR" today is on improving distribution. Distribution of the "HR" must be looked upon as important political activity. Only by improving distribution can the circulation of the paper be increased, and only with a wide circulation can the Party's political influence spread by the "HR" reach a broad mass of people. The question of the distribution of the "HR" must become the responsibility of Committee Secretaries and all important Party cadres.

At a time when the entire Party is busy carrying out the Three-Year Plan and bringing the Party organisation into line with the rapidly developing situation, some of our comrades refuse to take cognisance of all this. They are not busy consolidating the Party and the victories of the Party but they are busy "consolidating themselves", that is, "enriching themselves", making themselves "heroes of their family" or getting submerged into the filth of bourgeois morality. As persons who have been given the confidence of the people and the Party to sit in the people's representative councils at the centre or in the regions, in the regional governmental administrations or in other such positions, they do not devote all their energies and thoughts to fulfill the mandate of the people and the Party, but they are busy with their "own affairs". We know that these comrades frequently say to themselves that people in other parties, who are in the same position as they are, are doing much worse things. But we must not take such people who are worse than us as our example.

In the question of ideology, the Party leadership is merciless, but it will not rush into taking measures to expel these comrades but will try patiently to convince them that they are taking a wrong course and to get them back on the right track. The Party leadership always has a deep love for Party members and if there are members who commit mistakes, then the leadership will consistently, patiently

and convincingly try to get them back to the right path as long as the person in question wants to correct himself. But if it becomes clear that things have gone too far and there are no signs that the "patient" is going to get well, and there are even signs that the disease is spreading to other comrades and will slacken unity and discipline within the Party, then there is no other way for the "germ-carrier" than to have disciplinary measures taken against him by expelling him from the Party on the basis of the Party Constitution.

But it should always be borne in mind that ideological weaknesses within the Party cannot possibly be stamped out only by means of expelling the corrupt and immoral elements. It must be surmounted by raising the Marxist-Leninist consciousness throughout the entire Party, and this is why the education section of the Party's Three-Year Plan must always be given prior attention both when drawing up the Plan as well as during its implementation.

In connection with this, in drawing up the Second Three-Year Plan the teaching of the philosophy of Dialectical and Historical Materialism must be made the chief subject in all Party Schools and Courses. Furthermore, the Central Party School and the Major District Committee Schools must guarantee the unity between Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of the Indonesian revolution at the same time as welding together education with research. The Central Party Schools and the Major District Committee Schools also have the task of educating cadres in theoretical work, they must continue to train political and organisational workers and must educate teachers in various subjects for the Major District Committee Schools. In connection with this, the conditions for becoming students must be more closely brought into line with these tasks and the Academy of Social Sciences "Aliarcham" has to play an important role in implementing the above mentioned tasks.

Bearing in mind the experiences we had when the First Three-Year Plan was drawn up and subsequently revised, the drawing

up and fixing of the Second Three-Year Plan must be done more objectively and realistically. For this purpose, detailed, objective reports submitted by the Major District Committees to the CC Plan Bureau are an indispensable condition.

5. Strengthen, Expand and Renew the Party

In coping with the new tasks of the Party which are to be established by the Sixth National Congress, we must make our Party and our mass movement a mighty single entity, that is steadfast and forward-looking, because it has a powerful backbone. The backbone of the Party is its leaders who are already educated and are continually educating themselves in the science of Marxism-Leninism and in the revolutionary struggle. The backbone of the mass movement is our entire Party. With a strong backbone to our Party, we shall make our entire Party the backbone of the mass movement.

The urgent tasks of the Party following the Sixth National Congress are the same as what they were before this Congress, namely building up the united national front in the sense of improving the work in this field, and together with this continuing to build the Party in the sense of consolidating and expanding it. These two tasks are inseparable, one from the other. In view of this, the unity of thought and unanimity of attitude within the Party on the question of the united national front must constantly be welded because the victory or defeat of the Indonesian revolution will be determined by the success or failure of the proletarian class to build up a united national front. But in order to ensure that the Party can be unified with regard to the united national front, there must always be unanimity of ideology, on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and on their application in Indonesia.

Every thought and action which is harmful to the united national front must be regarded as a mistake against the Party, against

the people, against the revolution, and steps to correct it must speedily be taken. Every thought and action harmful to unity within the Party, the foremost condition for having a united national front, must be considered as an infringement of the Party Constitution, and must therefore not be tolerated.

Since March 1958, the work of bringing the Party organisation into line with the fast-developing situation has been begun in an overall way. This means continuously bringing the organisation into line with the requirements of the revolutionary movement so that the contradictions between the organisation and the situation, between the leadership and the members, between the Party and the masses, can be solved speedily and in time. But, even though not a few cadres have been promoted and given more responsible tasks, and even though the division of work and the division of time is being more efficiently arranged, the fact is that the work of each cadre has not become any lighter. In fact, the contrary has happened. This fact proves that before the work of *bringing into line* began, many things that should have been done have not been done, that many problems of the people that should have been solved were not being solved.

Today, now that *bringing into line* has been started, the number of functions being performed by respective cadres has indeed not yet been reduced in general, but we have become more capable of solving all problems and carrying out all the Party and mass work. This work of *bringing the organisation into line* is far from complete and must be speeded up, among other things, by means of expanding the membership of the Party Committees, by organising a more rational division of work and division of working time, by discovering new, more speedy forms of educating and training cadres in the necessary spheres. One thing is certain and that is that since the work of *bringing into line* began, Party cadres in general are working with joyfulness and full of spirit, because all problems being faced by the Party and the masses can be solved and all the work that should be done is being done.

Our responsibility today is to continue in building the Party. Our slogan for this today is to "*strengthen, expand and renew the Party*". Only with such a Party will there be a guarantee of achieving success in improving the work of the united national front in our country.

Strengthening the Party means in the first place consolidating the results of the First Three-Year Plan, drawing up a more objective and realistic Second Three-Year Plan and successfully implementing it, re-examining the entire ranks of the Party to seek out the weaknesses of the Party so that they can be liquidated, and apart from that intensifying the work of guarding the ideological purity of the Party. We must unceasingly intensify the study of Marxist-Leninist theory within the Party, especially among Party leaders at all levels. We must raise the Communist movement that is already large in size into becoming a Communist organisation which is large not only because it includes the entire country and all the nationalities, but also because it is an active organisation which leads all sectors of the people struggling for better conditions and for a better future, including even the smallest sectors. Every Party member must be an active element within his own sector and this means developing the individuality of each member for the purpose of arousing, mobilising and organising the masses.

In brief, strengthening the Party means raising the quality of the Party, raising the quality of all Party organisations, that is the Committees, the Fractions, the Basic Organisations, the Groups and all other Party bodies, and all this means raising the quality of every Party member. With a strengthened Party, not only will the personality and authority of the Party before the people be increased, but together with this, the personality and authority of the Indonesian people will be increased.

Expanding the Party means developing and strengthening the links between the Party and the people of all nationalities throughout the entire country. This means improving the transmission bodies of the Party and increasing them in number, right from the trade union organisations to the scouts', sport, recreation and tourist

organisations, children's movements and children's education, which can link up the Party with the most backward sections among the masses of the inhabitants or with the sections most uninterested in general problems, and which are still today difficult to organise. The mass work of the Party must be further improved, in the first place by thoroughly absorbing the understanding within the Party that there is no difference between the interests of the Party and the interests of the masses. We must continually wage resistance against sectarianism, both which result in estranging the Party from the broad masses of the people and which lead to the Party being isolated. Finally, the expansion of the Party means increasing the number of members and increasing the number of Party organisations. Only with a large number of members each of whom are active, will it be possible to build up a broad and genuinely consolidated united national front. Only with a broad Party organisation will it be possible to create a broad mass movement which is centralised and powerful so as to be able to defend and expand the political rights of the people and to change the balance of forces. Only by expanding the membership and organisations of the Party will rapid development take place, and only in such a way will the Party be capable of centralising the skill of the people of the entire country and turning this into unified determination and disciplined action.

In brief, by increasing the number of Party members and organisations, by further consolidating and expanding the relations between the entire membership and the millions of Indonesian working people, by waging a more resolute struggle to defend the basic interests of the working people and the entire people of Indonesia, the Indonesian Communists will be honourably implementing the tasks that face them in the present era.

Renewing the Party means in the first place renewing the Constitution of the Party, that is including within it the victories that have been achieved since the time of the Fifth National Congress in the political and organisational spheres. The Constitution as

a whole and each clause in it must reflect the truth of the organisational principles of a Party of the Lenin type. The clauses of the Constitution are aimed at increasing the powers of mobilisation, of organisation as well as of leadership of the Party.

Renewing the Party also means that the Party must always work according to a Plan, a Plan which involves the entire Party and the entire country. Furthermore, the Party cadres must not work in spontaneous fashion or on the basis of guess-work, or determine policy of work solely on the basis of sentiments, but they must work on the basis of the result of investigations or work scientifically to improve their practical activities in arousing, mobilising and organising the masses, and especially the masses of the workers and peasants. This means that our Party must accustom itself to working scientifically, to carrying out research, experiments, to recording each development carefully and then thinking it over well. The final thing—and this is frequently forgotten by our comrades—is to draw the conclusions from the research, the experiments, the recordings and the process of thinking things over. Laziness and neglect in doing this means doing things by halves, it means working unseriously and, of course, this does not assist the development of the Party. Only by working scientifically can we prevent ourselves from working like monotonous machines, and we shall be able to solve all questions creatively in accordance with the time and the circumstances, even those questions that appear to be very ordinary and insignificant.

Renewing the Party also means raising the internal life of the Party, and in the first place by remaining faithful to the principle of democratic centralism, and by developing criticism and self-criticism. The Party must always be in a spirit of competition for the implementation of the Plan, of developing the creative powers of each member, and of strengthening Party unity in everything. For this reason, the articles concerning the rights of members must be fully respected and every infringement of these rights must be regarded as a serious mistake.

Renewing the Party in no sense means making a "new Party". Our Party continues to remain a Party of the Lenin type, a Party which constantly renews itself so as to be able always to lead the situation.

Within the framework of renewing the Party, a very important place must be given to organising a campaign to improve the methods of leadership based upon the welding together of the general calls with the concrete demands and the welding together of the leadership with the masses. Such a campaign should be started by higher responsible cadres under the slogan "*the higher cadres set the example to the lower ones*". This improvement in the methods of leadership is aimed in the first place at preventing bureaucratic, sectarian and subjective methods of leadership, in brief, methods that do not consistently follow the mass line. Such improvement will bring the Party more rapidly to a position of consolidation in the political, organisational and ideological fields and will further strengthen its links with the masses of the people as the guarantee for pushing the development of the situation forward more rapidly.

The slogan: "*the higher cadres set the example to the lower ones*" must not be confined to the sphere of political affairs and organisational affairs alone, but gradually the entire everyday life of the upper cadres must be an example, for instance in simple living and wisdom and in upholding Communist morals.

Strengthening, expanding and renewing the Party can only be achieved if there is the guarantee that there is hegemony of proletarian ideology within the Party, if petty bourgeois ideology and bourgeois ideology is constantly being stamped out and purged from the Party, in such a way as to guarantee the purity of the Party, politically, organisationally and ideologically.

The work of strengthening, expanding and renewing the Party is not just some "seasonal activity" but something that we must continually be doing. By so doing, we shall be creating the conditions for the Party to be constantly in the position of taking the initiative and to be constantly militant.

The work of strengthening, expanding and renewing the Party also means that the mistakes which had been made in the past should not be repeated and the source of these mistakes should be carefully studied. Herein lies the importance for Party cadres to make a thorough study of the history of our Party, the history of its mistakes, its failures and its successes. *If new mistakes occur, efforts must be made to localise them and to eliminate them within a short time. If a mistake has been overcome, then it should not be thought that we are already completely cured of this disorder with the result that our vigilance would be reduced.*

The most important thing today in raising vigilance is opposing with all our strength the danger of modern revisionism. This means holding high all the principles of Marxism-Leninism; opposing all the slanders aimed against the foremost fortress of Socialism and peace, the Soviet Union and against the CPSU, and actively to explain the decisive and leading role of the CPSU and the Soviet Union is smashing imperialism completely. Opposing modern revisionism means opposing chauvinism as the greatest enemy of the struggle of the international proletariat for its emancipation, it means holding high the banners of proletarian internationalism and making it the possession not only of the proletariat but also a natural thing for the entire people engaged in the anti-imperialist struggle. Opposing modern revisionism means opposing feelings of complacency which have their source in petty bourgeois subjectivism.

The Communist movement in Indonesia, as is the case with the world Communist movement, is far more consolidated today than it has been in the past. The world Communist movement which is becoming more and more monolithic, has struck decisive blows against modern revisionism. But Marxists-Leninists must not ignore the fact that Tito revisionism still exists and therefore, the struggle against revisionism, the foremost danger threatening the world Communist movement, must not be relaxed.

So as to safeguard vigilance within the Party, we must develop the habit which we started at the Fifth National Congress of under-

taking ideological rectification campaigns. The Party has organised such campaigns a number of times by obliging Party members to study certain theory books or to carry out a particular instruction for this purpose. As an axample, in order to combat leftist thoughts, all cadres have been instructed to study Lenin's book, "*Left-wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*", and to improve the work in the field of the national front, to study Comrade Mao Tse-tung's book, "*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*". To preserve modesty in everyday living and to prevent conceit after the Party emerged as the victor from the three general elections, the Political Bureau issued instructions for a reetification campaign. At the time when the unity of the Communists of the world was attacked by the YCL revisionists, the Political Bureau launched a campaign of ideological rectification so as to strengthen the spirit of patriotism and proletarian internationalism. And so in the future, too, the Party must frequently launch rectification campaigns to raise vigilance and to improve the Party's work.

6. Party Leadership of the Mass Movement

The struggle to strengthen, expand and renew the Party cannot possibly be successful if it is not closely linked up with the struggle for the strengthening and expansion of democracy. Whereas on the other hand, the struggle to strengthen and expand democracy will not succeed well if it is not closely linked up with the Party's leadership of the mass movement against the monopoly capitalists and the landlord monopolists of the land. The present Constitution indeed contains nothing about liquidating capitalist production relations but it does make possible reforms that undermine the backward pre-capitalist structure and reduce or eliminate the most exploitative and parasitic monopolistic structures.

The struggle against the monopoly capitalists and the struggle against the landlord's monopoly of the land so as to bring about

reforms means consolidating and expanding the mass movement under the leadership of the Party based on the policy of the unity of entire masses of the people. This means that the Party must continue with and improve its work of arousing, mobilising and organising the masses, and first and foremost, the workers and the peasants. Continuing the building of the Party cannot be separated from this mass work.

Up to the present time, the mass work of the Party is still not satisfactory. One of the reasons is that not enough attention is being devoted by Party cadres to the practical problems of the masses. Some cadres who are working in the mass organisations belittle day-to-day practical activities because they consider them to be "unimportant" and "not revolutionary". They confine their interest to 'difficult work', such as for example leading mass meetings and demonstrations, leading strikes and other arousing actions. All this is indeed important but this is not everyday work. It is not possible to have mass meetings, demonstrations and strikes every day. Does it mean that if these things are not taking place, there is no work for the Party to do? Of course, this is not the case! The masses have very many everyday problems the solution of which await Party assistance. Take the case of a factory: the young worker wants to do some sports but he does not know how to make use of his free time, the old worker is thinking about his old age, the specialist wants to deepen his knowledge in his subject, others want to set up a co-operative, to take part in recreation activities and so on. All these are the everyday problems of the workers, and the Party must help them with day-to-day mass work.

Thus, Party members working among the masses must help to solve the everyday difficulties of the masses, they must carry out everday work for the masses. Without good everday work, the rousing actions would not be possible.

In order to improve the mass work of the Party, we must be guided by the motto of "*walking on two feet*", that is, combining rousing actions with persevering work. Rousing actions refer to

activities to arouse the spirit of the masses of the people, such as the movement for the abrogation of the Round Table Conference agreement, the campaign against foreign subversion, the campaign for the implementation of President Sukarno's Concept, the campaign for the liberation of West Irian, for the destruction of the "private councils" and for the annihilation of the Darul Islam-T.I.I. and the "R.G.R.I.-Permesta" rebels, the campaign for the proclamation of the 1945 Constitution by decree, and so on. These rousing movements are important because they demonstrate the singleness of purpose and the strength of unity of the people and they make the national independence movement and the movement for democracy, a movement which never stops for a moment, but one which is constantly on the advance with firmer and firmer strides forward.

The rousing campaigns can take place from two directions: in the first place, they can be nation-wide in character right from the start such as is proven by the movements under the slogans "liberate West Irian", "implement President Sukarno's Concept", "issue a decree reinstating the 1945 Constitution", "withdraw the prohibition on political activities", "repeal the Foreign Investments Law", and so on. In the second place, they can begin as local movements and subsequently become nationwide, such as the movements to "stop the tractors of death", "to release Maesuri", and so on. Some rousing actions only involve one field of activity, such as for example the movement to "repeal the Tedjasukmana Emergency Decree". The experience of the Indonesian people proves that rousing actions are extremely important to develop the revolutionary movement. Only the reactionaries are afraid of rousing mass actions and try to obstruct them.

But if these are the only activities carried out, not much will be achieved. This is why it is very necessary to undertake thorough and careful work, work of solving the practical everyday problems of the masses. For example, it is not a difficult thing to shout the slogan "take over the Dutch enterprises", but there are a number of complicated problems involved in its implementation. There

are many problems which have to be solved in order to take over a K.P.M. ship that is out at sea, both before and after the take-over has been carried out. And in the same way, too, it is easy to shout the slogan "liberate West Irian", but many things have to be solved and done in its implementation. Everyday, persevering work includes the attempts to solve all these thousand and one problems and it involves organisational, educational, political and ideological work. Without carefully doing all this everyday work, there is no use expecting that the rousing actions will be disciplined. Only by carrying out persevering work well can the rousing actions achieve the expected results.

Thus, careful, thorough work is very important and must be carried out before the rousing actions take place. All problems must be thought out in their entirety and only then, after making careful investigations, should the Party lay down the line which can give birth to rousing campaigns. Furthermore, when these rousing actions are over, persevering work among the masses must again be resumed so as to further raise the political consciousness and the organisational consciousness of the masses, by seeking out all the shortcomings and also drawing the new lessons from the rousing action that has just taken place. But it needs not always start off with persevering work; the reverse may sometimes happen. The first thing to occur is the rousing action. But the important thing is to combine these two forms of work, so that we are always "*walking on two feet*".

When is it possible to say that the mass work of the Party is good, that the rousing actions as a continuation of the persevering work has had the achievements hoped for? A successful action of a mass organisation is always one that strengthens the unity between the members and also consolidates and expands the basic organisations of that mass organisation. An action can be said to have been successful if it results in a further strengthening of unity among the masses, and if together with that it succeeds in consolidating the Party's influence and succeeds, too, in raising the quality of the Party's method of work and raising the ideological level of the Party activists.

If it does not do all this, it has not been a successful action, and an action that surely will not succeed should not be undertaken.

The mass work of our Party has been successful up to the present because the Party has been able to issue political calls that conform with the desires and sentiments of the broad masses, such as when the Party called for the annihilation of the Darul Islam-TII and the "RGRI-Permesta". The people in the regions concerned and even the people throughout the entire country rose as one man and turned this call into their own call which they themselves would implement. The same is the case, now, with the correct call of the Party concerning the 6:4 demand which fully accords with the wishes and sentiments of the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants of Indonesia. We are convinced that the millions of agricultural labourers and poor peasants throughout the country will rise up and make this Party demand their own demand.

Up to the present, the Party's work among the peasants is still not satisfactory. This must not be allowed to continue. Party members of peasant origin, although they have increased in number by comparison with the time of the Party's Fifth National Congress are not yet comparatively numerous enough. Party cadres in general do not yet properly understand the agrarian relationships. There are still many Party functionaries who evade work in the countryside. All efforts must be exerted to overcome all these shortcomings.

The things that we have already started doing, such as for example sending important members of the Party leadership to the villages to carry out investigations of agrarian relationships and of the living conditions of the peasants, for a considerable period of time, the convening of seminars and conferences on agrarian relationships and on the living conditions of the peasants, this must be continued, in a more regulated and earnest fashion. The work of consolidating and expanding the revolutionary organisation of the peasants must become work of prime importance for the Party. We continue to stand firmly by what was concluded at the Fifth National Congress, namely that "*it is not possible to have a real national front*" and "*it is*

not possible to talk about the leading role of the Party in this front so long as our Party has not been able to organise the broad masses of the peasants."

The movement of "going down to the masses", implementing the "three togethers", has clarified agrarian relations for us, it has clarified the degree to which feudal survivals still dominate in the countryside. The knowledge which we have obtained by these direct means is far more valuable and creates a far deeper impression than the knowledge we could get from reading many books about the same question. This movement has also made it clear that the most fundamental problem in the peasants' movement is the problem of the base and the problem of leadership. Under all circumstances, we must base ourselves upon the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants, and further, only with Communist leadership can the peasants' movement become the close ally of the working class in the struggle against all the enemies of the working people.

The work of consolidating the revolutionary organisation of the peasants must not be considered in the same way as consolidating a trade union. By its very nature, trade union organisation always requires centralisation, up to the national and the international level. On the other hand, however, the target of the revolutionary peasants organisation lies within each village, and each one has its own specialities. In view of this, the methods used in organising factory workers cannot be applied to peasants organisations because this will only make the peasants' movement rigid and difficult to grow.

Another experience that we have gained from the "go down to the masses" movement is that in order to be able to mobilise as many peasants as possible, not only revolutionary peasants organisation and co-operative organisations are required but also numerous other forms of organisation which conform to the actual conditions in the village and to the cultural level of the inhabitants which is generally low. All types of associations, even including those set up just for a particular event or a particular occasion, such as mutual savings groups, funeral societies; in brief all endeavours that

can unite the peasants so as to reduce their sufferings, must be undertaken and encouraged.

Further, the work of improving the Party's work among the peasants cannot be separated from the work of strengthening the ideology of the Party because it is only with unanimity of ideology that there can be full enthusiasm for carrying out the Party's agrarian policy. As has been explained above, the Party's policy of land reforms is not implemented all at once but step by step, and at the present stage, the Party is only bringing forward the demand of "reduce land rents" and small result demands leading to "small achievements" which are by character partial demands.

The implementation of every partial demand requires unanimity of purposes within the leadership of the revolutionary peasants organisation which directly leads the movement and it also requires unanimity of ideology within the Party Committees. As an example, in order to win success on a nation-wide scale for the 6:4 demand, there must not be any contradiction between the personal interests of leading members of the revolutionary peasants organisation and the aim of this campaign. In other words, if the movement is to develop and to be given enthusiastic leadership, there must be no landlord ideology within the leadership.

In order to ensure that complex national movements proceed well, the ideology of the leadership of the movement must always be brought into line with the aim of the movement, if necessary by undertaking changes in the leadership; unity of ideology within the leadership will give birth to enthusiastic actions and vice versa, such actions will consolidate the leadership of the movement. This must not of course be taken as meaning that there must be a change in leadership every time an action is to be launched, and neither should it mean expulsion or isolation of the functionaries that have to be replaced.

The CPI National Peasants Conference which was held in the middle of April, 1959, was an extremely significant part of the efforts to improve the Party's work among the peasants. The conclusions drawn at that Conference were, among others:

The most important task of the Indonesian revolution at the present stage is to overthrow the power of the enemy from without, imperialism, and to overthrow the power of the feudal landlords at home. But it is also stated in the documents of our Party that the primary task is to overthrow imperialism. Thus, there are two basic enemies, imperialism and feudalism, but the basic enemy is imperialism.

In implementing this general line, that is, in implementing these two basic tasks, there are two types of deviation that occur among Party cadres. The first is that of wanting to separate these two tasks, just as if there were no connection between them, while the second is that of making the two tasks identical right from the start. We must oppose both these deviations.

From the point of view of strategy or from the point of view of completing the August 1945 Revolution in its entirety, these two tasks are very closely connected and are inseparable. Our strategy or the completion of the August Revolution in its entirety means overthrowing the power of imperialism and of feudalism.

A further conclusion that was drawn was that:

From the point of view of tactics, the two tasks, the tasks of overthrowing imperialist power and feudalist power, cannot be carried out at one and at the same time. From the point of view of tactics under the specific conditions prevailing at the present time, the spearhead of the revolution must be aimed in the first place at the foreign enemy (imperialism) and the landlords and bourgeoisie *who are the agents of these foreign enemies.*

But these conclusions do not mean that the CPI does not today link up with the peasants in their opposition to the landlords. The CPI continues to be in the foremost ranks today in defending the interests of the peasants and will continue to be so in the future; and in connection with this, the following conclusion was drawn:

Based on the general line as explained above, the CPI's programme of demands does not mention the question of the confiscation of the land of all landlords. The CPI only demands that the land

owned by the foreign imperialist landlords and by the native landlords who side with the Darul Islam-TII and the "RGRI-Permesta" should be confiscated and distributed free of charge to the peasants. This is just and it is a necessity if we want to defeat the terrorist bandit of the DI-TII and the "RGRI-Permesta" totally, because in addition to getting aid from the imperialists, these terrorists also have their supporters among the native landlords.

Based on the above mentioned general line, the CPI's programme of demands only demands a reduction in landrent paid by the cultivators. Whereas in general today, the division of the harvest between the cultivator and the landlord is regulated according to the 5:5 principle, the CPI now demands that the division should be 6:4, or in other words, that the cultivator should get a minimum share of 6 and the landlord a maximum share of 4. The conclusion drawn that the landlord should not get less than 25%, unless he is indeed already getting less than 25%, makes it quite clear that the CPI does not intend to confiscate the land of the landlords who do not side with the imperialists.

Another important conclusion drawn by the National Peasants Conference was concerning the establishment of People's Co-operatives of the working people. The Party has resolved to raise *three banners* of the co-operatives, the *credit co-operative*, the *production co-operative* and the *sales-and-purchase co-operative*, as a means of resisting exploitation and extortion and also in order to improve the living conditions of the working people in the villages.

The conclusion was also drawn that by means of the co-operatives, the Communists must make all efforts to bring about an increase in agricultural production, by raising the five principles of working the land: "*Plough deeply, plant closely, more fertilisers, better seeds and better irrigation*". There are of course, in addition to these principles, other principles that also have to be implemented to guarantee a higher level of agricultural output, such as for example, "*treat the rice fields with devotion and care, exterminate pests, improve agricultural implements, and so on*". In some regions, these five principles proposed

by the Party have been given an enthusiastic reception by the peasants. The peasants have full confidence in the good intentions of the Party and they therefore joyfully welcome the Party Volunteer Brigades which are helping them work their land, within the framework of the movement to welcome the Sixth National Party Congress. We must form as many of these Volunteer Brigades as possible as proof that the Party is indeed genuine in its desire to unite with the peasants, and also as a means of encouraging the development of production co-operatives in the villages.

By earnestly implementing the decisions of the National Peasants Conference which took place in April 1959, the Party is implementing the call of our great teacher, Frederick Engels, that "... *to win political power this party must first go from the towns to the country, must become a power in the countrysides*" (Frederick Engels, "The Peasant Question in France and Germany"). Since Indonesia is an archipelago, going to the country must also mean going to the coasts to arouse, mobilise and organise the millions of fishermen whose conditions are generally the same as those of the peasants. The political and ideological preparation for the campaign of going to the village and to the coasts is now sufficient; what is needed now is that firm strides forward be taken and good organisation be provided as a follow-up of the preparations that have already been made. While the earth brings forth rice and the CPI, the peasants unite, struggle, sing and dance.

As we constantly improve our work among the peasants, this does not mean that we should meanwhile ignore Party work among the workers. On the contrary, the CPI must constantly strengthen its position among the workers and draw the vast majority of the workers over to its side. It is now clear that the implementation of demands on the basis of the "*small achievement*" principle and the principles of "*just, reasonable and within bounds*" has raised the authority of the Party among the workers. This means that the rousing activities undertaken by the Party among the workers have become better and better and the thing that now requires improvement is the

persevering, thorough and careful work among the workers which involves ideological and education work and uniting all the workers.

Based on their own experiences, the Indonesian workers are conscious of the fact that their struggle for social and economic demands cannot be divorced from the political struggle, and it is very necessary to spread this consciousness within the framework of opposing the remains of the disease of "economism" within the trade union movement. In addition to this, every political struggle waged by a trade union, such as demanding the formation of a Gotong-Royong Cabinet and campaigns for the policy of taking over Dutch enterprises, must always be accompanied with a struggle for the improvement of conditions. In the same way, too, the campaign waged by the estate workers for the taking over of Dutch estates cannot be separated from the policy of extended sea transport so as to provide the means for transporting the estate products.

More attention must be given to work in the basic organisations of the trade unions. The economic instability in our country naturally has serious consequences for the everyday living conditions of the people; mass dismissals stil represent a continuous threat, added to which is the efforts being made to restrict the rights of the trade unions. All this can lead to the workers becoming very much disturbed and this can result in measures being taken in desperation or extreme radicalism being resorted to, if correct leadership is not given. This is the reason why more attention must be paid to improving the work in the basic organisations.

The Indonesian trade unions should not hesitate about giving education in Socialism to the mass of their members because there can be no doubt about the fact that the mass of the Indonesian workers regard Socialism as the only way of putting an end for ever to their terrible living conditions.

All types of activities must be created to preserve and strengthen democracy in the basic organisations. The sticking up of progressive newspapers in factories should not just be an incidental affair but should become part of the everyday activities of the trade unions.

All these activities must be welded together with the political and economic demands of the workers in the factory in question. Only in this way the trade unions gradually become schools for Communism.

During the recent years, the Indonesian workers have, together with the entire people, been concentrating on taking part in the campaign to annihilate the counter-revolutionary rebels in various parts of the country. Apart from this, the Indonesian workers have given proof of their dexterity in implementing the policy of taking over the Dutch companies.

The Indonesian workers have given evidence of their ability to participate in solving the economic difficulties being faced in our country. In addition to becoming more and more capable of defending their living conditions, their recognition of their national responsibilities is growing. The trade unions have put forward concrete and practical suggestions for the improvement of transportation, for making the government departments operate more efficiently and for raising the level of production as well as for improving the quality of the things produced. In this connection, it is becoming clear that our work among the transport workers is not yet in conformity with the demands of the situation being faced by the country at the present time. And, too, there must be an improvement in our work among the government employees, to unite them and encourage them into being imbued with the spirit of the August 1945 Revolution so that they can occupy a place of honour as patriotic and loyal government servants, serving the interests of the people and the interests of the revolution.

The workers, the majority of whom today side with the Party, must continually be educated by the Party and their political consciousness must be raised.

Work among the workers and the peasants continues to be the most important and basic form of all CPI activities. The success or otherwise of the national front work greatly depends on the success or otherwise of work among the workers and the peasants. The national front is a united front of the

working people, that is, the working class, the peasants, the rest of the petty bourgeoisie, together with the national bourgeoisie who are exploiters. Without a strong national front between the working people, in particular the working class and the peasants, it is impossible to have a strong and consistently anti-imperialist united national front. A national front without a strong alliance of workers and peasants is a national front without a basis that will stand up to all trials.

Work among the masses of the youth is one of the most important mass activities of the Party. At its Fifth Congress held in November, 1956, the People's Youth adopted the decision that this youth organisation must always strive to be the faithful and trusted assistant of the Party in the implementation of its political tasks. This is a great victory for our Party and the Party must ensure that this declaration of the preparedness of the People's Youth to become the Party's assistant should be accompanied by the preparedness and ability of all Party Committees to give better leadership and education to the People's Youth. This does not mean that the Party only confines itself to working within the People's Youth. The Party must push forward the entire youth movement and make it a faithful servant of the working people, the fatherland and the revolution.

The mass character of the People's Youth must always be guarded but together with this, the People's Youth must be a mass youth organisation that has working class consciousness, the most revolutionary, most militant and most patriotic youth organisation. These good features can only possibly be in the possession of the People's Youth under the leadership of the Communist Party, by studying Marxism-Leninism and by continually strengthening their confidence in and faithfulness to the Communist Party. Theoretical education and revolutionary policy have become an urgent question in the People's Youth which now has a membership of about 1,000,000.

In order to improve the work among the intellectuals, the problem of the intellectuals in Indonesia must be investigated more deeply than has been done in the past. The process of the birth and growth of the intelligentsia in our country cannot be divorced from the

struggle against imperialist colonialism. All the "education" that the colonialists ever gave the Indonesian intellectuals was aimed at serving their interests in exploitation and this is why it was limited to what was needed by the colonial system. Thus, the number of persons receiving middle school or university education was very restricted, and obstacles were always put in the way of activities by Indonesians to promote science. This is why, the Indonesian intellectuals together with the Indonesian people rose up during colonial times to resist oppression and insults, with the result that the patriotic intellectual, imbued with anti-colonialism, was born. The history of the national awakening of the Indonesian people has passed through a number of climaxes, such as the birth of the "*Budi Utomo*" in 1908, the birth of the "*Youth Vow*" in 1928 and the outbreak of the People's Revolution on August 17th, 1945. These three events were also marked by revolutionary activities on the part of Indonesian students. A certain part of them unhesitatingly came over to the side of the people and the revolutionary movement.

The ideals of the August 1945 Revolution brought together and united all the forces that favoured the complete annihilation of colonialism. These ideals united the workers and peasants with the intellectuals and within certain limits brought about a meeting between science and the practice of the people's revolution with the result that science was brought closer to the people and a people's spirit became rooted among the intellectuals.

But after the August 1945 Revolution had experienced defeat and the Indonesian bourgeoisie had been proven to be unable to show the way out of the difficulties being faced by the people and by our country, pessimism began to take hold among the intellectuals. The extremely weak position of the Indonesian bourgeoisie in economic and political affairs which forced them to come to terms with the conditions determined by the imperialists, found a reflection in the ideology of some of the intellectuals who proved to be wavering and inconsistent, a factor of harmful consequence for the world of science. And even the ideology of the diehards had its defenders

among them, such as Prof. Dr. Sumitro and Prof. Drs. Tan Goan Po, who became leading figures in the "RGRI-Permesta" counter-revolutionary rebellion. In the same way too, the attempts made by some intellectuals to oppose the President Sukarno Concept on "scientific" grounds and the organising of open discussions among intellectuals with the purpose of torpedoing the realisation of the idea of making a "return to the 1945 Constitution", did not help to raise the prestige of the intellectuals concerned; on the contrary, it discredited and estranged them from the majority of the people.

While pointing out the bad phenomena, our Party is proud to be able to speak about those intellectuals who are beginning to be born and created by the Indonesian working people, striving to continue the people's traditions of the Indonesian intellectuals.

But it is a fact that the advance made in the Party's work among the intellectuals is still too slow and is not in keeping with the advances made in other sectors. This is why, Party cadres among the intellectuals must work more actively and better and must strive to set an example in enriching and developing science in the interests of the people.

The Party together with the people will continue to accord a place of honour to the progressive-spirited intellectuals such as Dr. A. Rivai, Dr. Tjipto Mangunkusumo and Dr. Ki Hadjar Dewantara, and who are now represented among others by Dr. Ing. Sukarno. The Party must always give assistance and encouragement in uniting the Indonesian intellectuals and help them in their noble efforts to eliminate everything old-fashioned and stale as well as to enrich and raise the level of science in our country.

The scholars and cultural workers who are Party members must, in addition to raising the level of their own understanding of Marxism-Leninism, to extend and deepen their skills and their knowledge so as to be able to help the Party to give the best possible answers to the questions that arise in the field of science and culture or to prepare themselves as well as possible to give the answer to all the problems being faced by the country and the people. The teachers who are

Party members, in addition to striving to become good Marxists, must also become teachers and educators of a new type, expert in their subject and loved by the pupils and the parents of the pupils.

The Party must continue its work among the students and secondary school pupils. As is the case with the mass of the youth, the students and the secondary school pupils, with the exception of those who have fallen victim to the poison of imperialist and landlord ideology, also imbued with a revolutionary spirit and a determination to serve the working people. The successes achieved by the Party in its work among the students and the secondary school pupils during the recent period indicates that the Party has many good friends and devotees in the ranks of the students and the secondary school pupils. The shift leftwards of the entire political life in our country has had an influence on these groups, has opened their eyes to the fact that the right-wing socialists (PSI), the Masjumi and the other reactionaries are not the friends of the people nor the servants of Indonesia's interests. In this connection, it is a very important thing for Party members that are students or school pupils to try hard to become diligent and good students or pupils.

The vast majority of the women suffer from the most severe form of exploitation as a result of the continuous economic crisis that grips our country. They are the first victims of the prevalent unemployment of poverty, backwardness, and of economic and social injustice in our country. Both generally and within the Party itself, the Party has paid special attention to the problems of women.

The convening of Communist women's conferences, both on a regional and on a national scale is an important event in our Party. The Party is educating women Communists to become women whose intellect, will and feelings are developed as much as possible so that they are not only able to expose the shortcomings of present-day society but can also illumine all the problems of the struggle for the emancipation of the women and for a new Indonesia and a new world in all their aspect, so that all these questions can be solved. Together with consolidating and expanding Party membership among

the women, it is also the responsibility of our Party to build a large mass revolutionary women's organisation with millions of members, as an important condition for strengthening the entire women's movement and the movement of the Indonesian working masses in general.

The special activities undertaken by the Party to develop the culture and raise the political consciousness of the nationalities is very important work in view of the fact that our country consists of a large number of nationalities which vary in size and their level of advancement. On this question, the general programme of the Party has made it clear that we favour democratic regional governments and broad autonomy for the nationalities, while the programme of demands of the CPI supports regional autonomy—which is not yet the same thing as autonomy for the nationalities—so long as democratic elections are held for the regional representative councils and the Heads of Districts and regional government administrations are set up on the basis of balanced representation. With Communists sitting in the regional governments, and in some cases of second level of regional government, with Communists occupying the position of Head of District, and with Communists making up an absolute majority of the members of some representative councils, the Party's work among the nationalities has made some progress. Based on the experiences gained, the way to improve the work among the nationalities is in the first place to improve the Party's work among the peasants of each of the nationalities because the peasants comprise the largest group of the inhabitants in each region. Apart from this, the Party must intensify its efforts to develop the culture of the nationalities.

Further, as regards the Party's work among the foreign-born minorities, such as the Arab-born, Chinese-born and European-born, attention should be paid to the fact that the chauvinists are always striving to arouse racial prejudices against foreign-born citizens, making use of all sorts of phrases, such as "*protecting national economic interests*", "*protecting the weak*" and so forth. This dangerous racial policy was originally launched by the "Assaat Movement", the

movement led by Assaat, today one of the leaders of the "RGRI-Permesta" rebellion. But it is now becoming apparent that this policy is also being pursued by certain sections of the middle-of-the-roaders with the result that their attention is not being directed in the first place at our basic national enemy, imperialism. On the contrary, they are calling people 'enemies' who are really not enemies at all.

It is the opinion and the conviction of the Party that foreign-born citizens are in no way different from other citizens and they make up a useful potential in building a democratic New Indonesia. The Party must constantly explain to the people that the real enemy of the Indonesian people is imperialism. We must recognise that the Party is still not working as intensively as it should be among the foreign-born citizens, whereas they are now facing racial and chauvinist attacks and are greatly in need of help. Honest help can only be given by our Party because its patriotism and proletarian internationalism are free of all forms of chauvinism and racialism.

7. Make the Co-operatives, too, a Weapon in the Hands of the Working People

One branch of activity that has received very inadequate attention from the Party up to the present is the work of developing the co-operatives of the working people. This is easy to understand because Party cadres, limited in number as they are, must be put in the most urgently needed mass organisations and must work directly to build the Party itself.

We must remain vigilant all the time and oppose every piece of propaganda from the reactionaries that try to create the impression that with co-operatives alone, we shall be able to put an end to imperialist power, that if the co-operatives are large and extensive, imperialist economy will cease to have any strength "quite automatically". This propaganda of the imperialist agents is carried

out with the intention of misleading the Indonesian people and singing them to sleep with the song of the co-operatives, so as to prevent the Indonesian people from organising and mobilising themselves in a revolutionary way to put an end to imperialist and landlord power. We must also oppose the utilisation of the name "co-operative" by capitalist enterprises with the purpose of evading their responsibilities as capitalist enterprises and of deceiving the people.

But it is a mistake if the Communists do not earnestly make use of the path of co-operation to unite the working people, to lessen the exploitation of the working people by the landlords, money-lenders and capitalists, and in order to raise their level of production.

The slogans of "land to the peasants", "the distribution of the land to the peasants" and "peasants' personal ownership of the land" as well as such demands as "reduce money deposits and interest rates", "raise the wages of the agricultural labourers", etc. are correct slogans and demands. These slogans and demands can unite all the peasants around the Party. The agricultural labourers and the poor peasants enthusiastically welcome these slogans and demands while the middle peasants can support them.

But we should not forget that the middle and poor peasants do possess a little land, and they should like to be free from the grips of the mortgagors and money-lenders immediately, to get a good market for their agricultural products, to be able to buy the things they need at reasonable prices, and we should not forget that they also would like to see their level of production raised. There is no other way for this than for the middle and poor peasants to be organised within co-operatives which can grant credit, which can make efforts to provide a good market for their products, which can buy up consumer goods at reasonable prices and can help them to raise their production of agricultural, dairy and fishing products. *The poor and middle peasants, who can only win their emancipation under the leadership of the proletariat will have much greater confidence in*

the proletariat, if the proletariat can organise and lead them in co-operatives aimed at lightening their present burdens.

The co-operatives can not only become a weapon for the peasants but also for other working people. Handicraft workers and fishermen need co-operative organisations so that they can get the material and the implements they need in a regular way and at reasonable prices, and so that their products do not fall into the hands of middlemen with the result that they get a much lower price. Workers, office workers and the urban poor also need co-operatives so that they can meet their requirements for consumer goods at reasonable prices. Small traders can also be organised within co-operatives so as to be able to reduce the exploitation by capitalists and money-lenders. Yes, and the students and secondary-school pupils can do with co-operatives to help them solve their difficulties of accommodation and books, to make good use of their free time, for recreation activities, and so on.

The Co-operative Law now in force can be used to bring the co-operative movement forward so long as the co-operatives are led by honest people. In order to be successful, the co-operative movement must be an independent movement, with democratic statutes and one that unites the largest possible number of co-operators on a voluntary basis. Voluntariness is an indispensable condition for co-operation. Apart from this, the independent and non-political character of the co-operatives must be strongly guarded.

In the course of building co-operatives we must not forget one fact and that is that the Indonesian working people have for a long time been disappointed by co-operatives because they have been led by persons who are neither honest nor capable, by persons who have established the co-operatives with the deliberate intention of deceiving the people. The Communists must prove that there is a great difference between co-operatives led by Communists and those led by the bourgeoisie. The Party Committees must exert very careful and strict control over Party members who lead the co-operatives and criticise them in time or withdraw them

from the co-operatives if it becomes clear that they have done something to harm the interests of the working people who are members of the co-operative under their leadership. Militant and selfless elements, namely youth elements must be drawn very much into the activities of the co-operatives, as their faithful assistants.

Our Party is convinced that by strengthening and expanding the mass movement, by strengthening and expanding democracy and by strengthening, expanding and renewing the Party, the CPI will achieve greater successes in changing the balance of forces between the imperialists, the landlords and the compradores on the one hand, and the forces of the people on the other. This means our finding a way out of the present situation prevailing in which our country is still not completely independent and in which it is still semi-feudal.

Let us remain united so as to devote all the strength at the disposal of each of us to arousing, mobilising and organising the masses, to implementing the pressing demands of the people and of our Party, namely the expansion of democratic rights and the formation of a government that conforms with the feelings of justice of the people, a Gotong-Royong Cabinet such as is visualised in the President Sukarno Concept. This means that we shall be bringing the Indonesian people closer to the implementation of the demands of the August 1945 Revolution in their entirety, bringing them closer to an Indonesia that is free of all imperialism and free of feudalism, or in other words, a New Indonesia that is completely independent and democratic. This means that we shall be strengthening the anti-colonial and peace-loving international front.

Immediately after the conclusion of this Congress, we shall be setting out for a field of struggle that stretches from Sabang right up to Merauke, where more than 1.5 million Communists are awaiting with fast-beating hearts the results of this historic Congress, where over 88 million Indonesian people are in need more than ever of the selfless service of the Communists, where a thousand

and one complex problems, big and small, are awaiting the thoughts and efforts of the Communists to get a correct solution. As long as we always apply mighty Marxism-Leninism as our guide to action, as long as we always creatively implement the results of this Congress, we shall be able to overcome all this, and with the CPI in the vanguard, the Indonesian people will definitely be able to seize victories, one by one.

Long live the Indonesian people and the Communist Party of Indonesia!

Long live national unity and the Republic of Indonesia!

Long live the Communist Parties throughout the world, the Leninist Parties that are the inspirers and organisers of the working people for a new world, a world of peace and Socialism!

FOR DEMOCRACY, UNITY AND MOBILISATION

This Seventh National Congress is an Extraordinary Congress which we have had to convene in connection with the necessity to bring the Constitution (the Statutes and the Bye-Laws) and the Programme of the CPI into line with the provisions of Presidential Decree (Penpres) No. 7/1959 and Presidential Regulation (Perpres) No. 13/1960.

As you know, according to the Decision of the President of the Republic of Indonesia No. 128/1961, the CPI has been accorded recognition as a party that meets the provisions of these regulations. This is a victory for the revolutionary and democratic movement in our country, especially if it is connected with the fact that, based on these same regulations, the diehard parties, the Masjumi and the PSI, are prohibited.

We call this Congress an Extraordinary Congress because it is being held before the expiration of the time fixed in the Party Constitution, that is, five years, and because its purpose is limited. The limitation of purpose explains why we have not invited delegations from fraternal Parties, except those Parties that are directly connected with the struggle for the liberation of West Irian. In our midst, there is a delegation of the Communist Party of Japan led by Comrade *K. Kurahara* and a delegation of the Communist Party of Australia led by Comrade *Laurie Aarons*. On behalf of all Congress participants, on behalf of all the members of the CPI and on behalf of the Indonesian people who are now engaged in a most bitter struggle for the liberation of West Irian, I welcome

and thank these honoured guests of ours, I thank their Parties and their peoples who are genuinely and militantly supporting our just struggle. We also sent an invitation to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Netherlands (CPN) but because of pressure of work in the Netherlands itself, including intense activities in storming the Dutch colonialists in their own den, the CPN has been prevented from sending a delegation. Nevertheless, this in no way lessens our gratitude to the CPN and the workers of the Netherlands for all their assistance to the struggle of the Indonesian people in the fight against the Dutch colonialists. We also express our thanks to all those Communist and Workers' Parties which have sent written messages to this Congress. And our deepest thanks go to all those at home who have contributed and given assistance and have sent our Congress good wishes.

The period between the Sixth National Congress which was held in September, 1959, and this Seventh Congress, a period of about two-and-a-half years, has been a period full of events, both at home and abroad, both within the Party as well as outside it. We must, of course, review all this and evaluate it. Moreover, we would not be able to understand thoroughly the correctness of the Party's policy in accepting the provisions of Penpres No. 7/1959 and Perpres No. 13/1960, we would not be able to understand the significance of the CPI's recognition on the basis of these regulations, were we not to connect it with the developments that have taken place since this political attitude was adopted.

This General Report is not aimed at giving an account of the implementation of the tasks set by the Sixth National Congress. Neither is it aimed at setting new basic tasks because, as regards this, the decisions of the Sixth National Congress still apply in full. This is why the decisions of the Sixth National Congress must still be continuously studied and implemented doggedly and resolutely by all Party members.

Experiences during the past two-and-a-half years proves that the more faithfully, resolutely and skillfully we implement the

decisions of the Sixth National Congress, the greater are the successes won by the Party and the people in the struggle against all their enemies and in strengthening their political position.

This General Report is aimed at making an evaluation where necessary of developments at home and abroad, within and outside the Party, since the Sixth National Congress and, based on this evaluation, to establish some new urgent tasks. Introductions regarding changes in the Constitution and changes in the Party Programme will be given by Comrade *M. H. Lukman* and Comrade *Njoto* respectively.

The Sixth National Congress was a historic Congress, a Congress of great significance for Party life and for political life in our country, and it cannot possibly and must not be relegated in importance by this Extraordinary Congress. The beacon for Indonesian Communists in all their activities is the instructions and directives established by the Sixth National Congress.

Experience during this past two-and-a-half years shows that the Sixth National Congress greatly increased the ability of the Party and that it reinforced the position of initiative of the Party. The confidence of the masses of the people in the Party is continuously increasing, and however difficult and complicated the political situation may be, the masses of working people understand the policy and tactics of the Party.

The progressive forces have developed further and become more consolidated and their role is assuming an ever more decisive influence on the political life of the country. The unity between the progressive forces and the middle-of-the-road forces, and especially with its left-wing, has become stronger. The role of the left-wing of the middle-of-the-road forces and their courage in opposing the diehards have grown. The festering boils of the diehards have become more and more exposed and, within a relatively short period, in only about two years, the new rightists have ceased to be new. They have bared themselves with their deeds which harm the people, their foulness and criminality are already well-known by the broad

masses, and they have begun to get very intimate in their unity with the old rightists, including former big-shots of the RGRI-Permesta and DI-TII, though some of them are still very coy about it. But the efforts of the new rightists to unite with the old rightists have given rise to new contradictions within the ranks of the rightists which are becoming deeper with every passing day.

Communist-phobia is not only detested by the working people but is also condemned by President Sukarno as an act of persons who are not in their right minds. The appointment of two Communist leaders and leaders of other NASAKOM parties as Ministers in the new-style Kerdja Cabinet on March 9th, 1962, is a hammer blow at the heads of these mentally-defeated Communist phobs, it demonstrates the obsolescence of the political concepts of the rightists at home and the imperialists, it is a resounding blow against the "cold war" campaigners.

During the period between the Sixth National Congress and this Seventh National Congress, the Central Committee has held four Plenums and one National Conference has been held. These meetings examined the execution of the tasks set by the Sixth National Congress and fixed the most urgent tasks in connection with the development of the situation.

As part of the implementation of the General Line of the Party, the Second Plenum of the Central Committee decided to raise the "*Three Banners of the Party*", the banner of the *national front*, the banner of the *building-the-Party*, and the banner of the *August 1945 Revolution*, and it also gave the answer to a number of *cadre problems*, especially the question of cadre policy and of the *way of handling cadres*.

The Third Plenum of the CC once again solidified and strengthened the stand regarding the basic tactics of the Party and solidified the resolve of Indonesian Communists in implementing the Tri-Command of the People to seize West Irian as well as in facing the emergence of a passing phenomenon, a difference of opinion within the world Communist movement. It stressed the necessity

to further strengthen national unity and Communist unity. Based on the decisions of the Third Plenum of the CC, our Party has raised high the "*Three Banners of the Nation*", that is, the banner of *democracy*, the banner of *unity*, and the banner of *mobilisation*, the three most pressing problems for the Indonesian people in the struggle against imperialism, especially in the struggle to expel colonial power from West Irian and to overcome the food-and-clothing crisis. For this, the Party has also put forward the slogan which expresses the fighting determination of the people, "*to hold a rifle in one hand and a spade in the other*" or "*to struggle with rifle and spade in hand*". In fulfilment of this slogan, our Party has encouraged the youth, especially the Communist youth in the Pemuda Rakjat (People's Youth), to enter volunteers' Training Centres and to launch the "1,001 Movement" for an increase in the production of foodstuffs.

Experiences during this past two-and-a-half years prove that the four basic slogans raised by the Sixth National Congress have inspired all Party activities. These slogans are: "*With the CPI in the fore, continue the people's struggle for a fully independent and democratic Indonesia*", "*Improve the work of the national front, further isolate the diehards*", "*Strengthen the international anti-colonial and peace-loving front*" and "*Continue to build a Party throughout the country that is closely linked with the masses, that is consolidated ideologically, politically and organisationally*". These slogans will continue to inspire and guide our Party's activities in the future.

This Congress is being held in an extremely favourable international situation which is distinguished by the victories of the new emerging forces over the old established forces, which is distinguished by the mighty successes of the national independence struggle and by the construction of Socialism in all the Socialist countries crowned by the construction of Communism in the Soviet Union.

This Congress of ours is being held just as the Kerdja Cabinet is about to complete three years of implementation of its Three-Point Programme. The entire people hope for changes in the political

system and in political freedoms for the people, so that this good Three-Point Programme can be fully implemented, and so that the corruptors of State property and the economic and financial difficulties of the country, as well as the sufferings of the people, should not continue to intensify as is the case at the moment.

This Congress of ours is being held in a situation in which Marxist-Leninist unity within our Party is getting more and more steeled, in which our Party is becoming more and more consolidated, politically, organisationally and ideologically, in which the spirit of service and devotion to the people is becoming higher and higher. Recently, efforts have been made to split our unity from within by sending round anonymous letters which are made to look as if they come from Communists. After we investigated this, it became clear that they came not from Communists but from outsiders, and there were even some that were sent from abroad.

During the period between the Sixth National Congress and the Seventh National Congress, we have lost a number of comrades at home and abroad whose fidelity and staunchness in raising high the banners of independence and Communism have been well tested. At home, we have lost, among others, the Deputy Secretary of the CPI Djakarta Raya Committee, Comrade Hutomo and some other leaders of the CPI and the workers movement. Abroad, we have lost comrades whose names are renown in the ranks of the Communists and the world working class movement, such as Comrade Harry Pollit, Chairman of the Communist Party of Great Britain, Comrade Wilhelm Pick, foremost leader of German Communists, Comrade Sean Murray, Chairman of the Communist Party of Northern Ireland, Comrade Farajallah Helou, Secretary of the Communist Party of the Lebanon, Comrade William Z. Foster, Honorary Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States of America, Comrade Ajoy Khumar Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, Comrade Elias Lafferte, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Peru, Comrade Ir. S. J. Rutgers,

member of the Communist Party of the Netherlands and expert on Indonesia and Comrade Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States of America.

Let us all stand up, bow our heads in mourning and pay tribute to these best sons of their fatherland and people, to those both whose names I have mentioned as well as those whose names I have not mentioned, who gave everything they had for the mighty cause of independence and Communism.

PART I

THE DOMESTIC SITUATION

The period we are now reviewing is a period of bitter struggle between the pro-Manipol* and the anti-Manipol group. The pro-Manipol group are the Indonesian people, that is, the workers, the peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia and the national bourgeoisie. The anti-Manipol group are the imperialists, the landlords, the compradores and the bureaucrat capitalists. This struggle is being waged in the political, economic, military, scientific and cultural fields, and one by one, the pro-Manipol side has scored victories. Everywhere the strongholds of the reactionaries have been thrown into disarray by the Manipol offensive.

Victory for the Manipolists means expanding and consolidating the progressive forces and national unity. This struggle will continue just as long as the demands of the August 1945 Revolution have not been implemented in their entirety, just as long as there are still imperialists, landlords, compradores and bureaucrat capitalists as well as their defenders in Indonesia.

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* "Manipol" is the abbreviation for Political Manifesto of the Republic of Indonesia—Tr.

1. Continue the Advance for Democracy and for a Gotong Royong Cabinet

The basic demand of the Sixth National Congress of our Party is: *Democracy and a Gotong Royong Cabinet.* Under the influence of these demands, the struggle of the people to complete the demands of the August 1945 Revolution has accomplished certain results during the last two-and-a-half years.

The demands which were put forward by the Sixth National Congress, the demand for democracy and a Gotong Royong Cabinet, are in line with the demand for the consistent implementation of the Manipol, of Decisions No. I and II of the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly (MPRS), that is, the Broad Lines of State Policy and the Broad Lines of the Construction Plan. The fact that, at the demand and under the pressure of the people, the people's demands have become the political line and programme of the Government, is an important victory for the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people.

But, so long as no democratic changes have taken place in the political system fully reflecting national gotong-royong in keeping with President Sukarno's Concept (his speech of February 21st, 1957), the implementation of which the people have been demanding for more than five years, then, the realisation of all these things so well formulated in laws and in lines of policy as well as in the Government's programme, will not only not proceed smoothly but will definitely meet with failure. State organs, such as the Supreme Advisory Council (DPA), the Gotong Royong People's Legislative Assembly (DPRGR), the National Planning Council (Depernas), the MPRS and some of the Regional Legislative Councils and Regional Administrations, as well as the recent regrouping of the Kerdja Cabinet and the establishment of a Consultative State Leadership (MPN), are indeed efforts aimed at *bringing about democratic changes in the political system* in conformity with the demands of the masses of the people. But all are efforts which must be continued

because the Government and the State apparatus have not undergone any major changes such as is desired by President Sukarno's Concept, the Political Manifesto, the Djarek*, the President's Message on Construction and the Re-so-pim-speech**. The Re-so-pim categorically demands a retooling of the State apparatus. Thus, there is still no guarantee that the Eight-Year development Plan, the Three-Point Programme of the Cabinet, and the Tri-Command of the People will not meet with serious obstructions, both from within and outside the State apparatus, there is still no guarantee that firm and correct steps will be taken against imperialism and feudalism, against those who deviate from and sabotage the implementation of the MPRS Decisions, the Three-Point Programme and the Tri-Command of the People.

Practice has reaffirmed once again what the Sixth Congress pointed out, as follows:

"The people have had the experience that although, since the Round Table Conference agreement, cabinets have changed frequently, there has not yet been a cabinet which has been strong enough to solve the difficulties being borne by the country and the people. The people have had experience of anti-Communist cabinets such as the Hatta, Natsir, Sukiman and Burhanuddin Cabinets. These cabinets were not only incapable of solving the pressing problems of the people but they also dragged Indonesia more deeply into economic crisis and national disruption. The non-Communist cabinets, cabinets in which Communists have not participated but which have been supported by the Communists, such as the Wilopo Cabinet, the first and the second Ali Sastroamidjojo Cabinets and the Djuanda Cabinet, were also incapable of pulling Indonesia out of crisis. Reflecting these experiences and guided by the ideas contained in the President Sukarno Concept, it is correct and just for the people to demand, within the framework of the

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* Speech delivered by President Sukarno on August 17th, 1960. — Tr.
** Speech delivered by President Sukarno on August 17th. 1961, — Tr.

implementation of the 1945 Constitution, that a Gotong Royong Cabinet be established under the leadership of President Sukarno, in which should be represented all parties and functional groups who genuinely favour the implementation of the ideals of the August 1945 Revolution which is national and democratic in character. Only with a Gotong Royong Cabinet, a Cabinet which includes Communists, can all national forces be aroused and mobilised on a large scale to overcome all the difficulties whatsoever that are being faced by our country and people, including the possibility to overcome the protracted economic crisis".

The demand for the formation of a Gotong Royong Cabinet is becoming more and more vociferous with every passing day. In the ranks of the middle-of-the-roaders, too, the element agreeing with the formation of a Gotong Royong Cabinet is becoming stronger. Resisting this progressive development, the reactionaries, and in particular the diehards, are striving as hard as they can to split national unity with NASAKOM* as its axis, they are striving to implant the spirit of Communist-phobia among the middle-of-the-roaders. The reactionaries are trying hard to draw the middle-of-the-roaders over to their side, and the right-wing is their main target in order to destroy the national forces.

In face of such a situation, the Party is preventing splits and is continuously strengthening NASAKOM co-operation as the axis of national unity. Without the NASAKOM axis, the wheel of national unity cannot go round. In conformity with the Decisions of the MPRS, the Party is continuing to demand a retooling of the State apparatus. President Sukarno's idea expressed in the Re-so-pim speech, calling upon his assistants to step aside or be removed if it becomes apparent that they are no longer capable of implementing the Three-Point Programme of the Cabinet, should be put into practice. Only by doing this and by forming a Gotong Royong Cabinet will it be possible to make efforts to ensure that

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* NAS = Nationalists; A = religious groups; KOM = Communists.

the sufferings of the people in their everyday living conditions will not drag on endlessly. Having a Gotong Royong Cabinet means uniting the entire potentials from above and this will make unity below easier.

Holding firmly to the line of consolidating the national front and lessening the sufferings of the people, the Party made it clear at the "Harian Rakjat" tenth anniversary meeting on January 10th, 1961, that "*the formation of a Gotong Royong Cabinet is not in the first place for the interests of the Communists but for strengthening national unity so as to be able to implement the Three-Point Programme of the Kerdja Cabinet and the First Eight Year National Development Plan. If it depends on the Communists, what is demanded at the present time is only that changes should be made in the structure and personalia of the Cabinet... The question of Communists being included in the Cabinet may or may not be raised at the present moment*". It was possible, with this policy, to mobilise greater forces for the introduction of changes in the political system and in political liberties for the people.

At the beginning of March this year, President Sukarno made changes in the Kerdja Cabinet which were in the nature of a regrouping. In connection with this regrouping, not only was the question of Communists not disregarded but in fact they were brought into the Cabinet. The structure of the Cabinet underwent some changes but the persons occupying the important positions remain unchanged. This is why the regrouping does not alter the Kerdja Cabinet in essence.

The Manipol says among other things: "Although the Political Manifesto is extremely important... its realisation depends upon the persons entrusted with the task of its implementation" (last paragraph of the Elucidation of the Manipol). In the last resort it is the man that is decisive, as Bung Karno has frequently said. Thus, the question of personalia is the decisive factor in implementing the Cabinet's programme. The personalia represents groups or classes in society. The progressive Cabinet programme can only be executed by a Cabinet the personalia of which is also progressive.

This makes it clear why the regrouping was not enthusiastically welcomed by the people. Naturally, the reactionaries were quick to draw political advantage from this fact, so as to set the people against Bung Karno, to spread cynicism, apathy and defeatism. But is the situation so bad as the reactionaries depict, is it so that the regrouping is politically harmful to the Indonesian people?

No! If the people's welcome for the Cabinet regrouping was not enthusiastic, this was not because the political situation became worse than before the regrouping but because the people saw no sign that with a regrouping of this kind, living conditions would get better.

The political situation did not get worse as a result of the regrouping. And so, it is not like what some rightists depicted in order to arouse the improper fury of the people. Other rightists tried to create the impression that the regrouping was a victory for them, that President Sukarno sided with them, and in this way tried to destroy the dwi-umvirate of Sukarno-and-the-people. But they slipped up here because, thanks to the shrewdness of the people in drawing lessons from their experiences and because of their increasing sufferings caused by the rightists, their political consciousness is much higher than they reckoned with.

One thing is clear and that is that, with this regrouping, all the nonsense talked in the past by Masjumi and anti-Communist Front leaders about the "sinfulness" and "heresy" for Moslems to be in a cabinet together with Communists, has evaporated, like dew evaporates under the rays of the morning sun. As I explained earlier in this report, this fact is a hammer blow at the hard-heads of the reactionaries who disseminate Communist-phobia in order to split the unity of the Indonesian people. This is a blow for the followers of van der Plas* and Co. In this way, an important weapon of the imperialists in the "cold war" campaign, anti-Communism, has been rendered powerless, even though there still

* A Dutch Governor notorious for his splitting activities during the revolution.

are diehards who would like to make use of it. In this connection, the regrouping of the Kerdja Cabinet is positive and should be well received.

It is also clear that the appointment of political party leaders as ministers who sit in the Consultative State Leadership indicates a tendency towards democratisation of the system of government, towards the implementation of an important part of the Re-so-pim speech—the implementation in practice of the "two elements" of Guided Democracy, the "element of democracy and the element of guidance", the implementation of the fact that Guided Democracy "must also be directed at protecting and increasing the rights of the people..." The participation of Nationalist, Religious and Communist political party leaders signifies the participation of the broad masses, it signifies that there is a trend towards the democratisation of the system of government.

Another thing no less clear is that, in regrouping the Kerdja Cabinet, President Sukarno has not yet pushed aside but has pulled down a step some of his assistants who stubbornly refused to heed the criticism of the people and who are incompetent. It is appropriate for our Congress to express its appreciation for President Sukarno who did, within limits, heed the people's criticism including the Communist's criticism, of those of his minister-assistants who are incompetent. This proves yet again that the demand of the people expressed through letters, petitions, statements, delegations and the like will definitely succeed if they are reasonable and are continuously expressed. This time, it was a partial success, another time the success will be complete! A resolute people will definitely be victorious, but the reactionaries, however "resolute" they may be, will definitely fail! This is a law and we revolutionaries must help make this law operate well.

Some reactionary leaders, after seeing that they were powerless to prevent Communists from becoming ministers, said: "Now, just see, Communists have become ministers and this means that CPI is partially responsible for all the actions taken by the government, and this includes responsibility for rising prices, for the soaring

of the price of rice, for the disappearance of sugar, cooking oil, soap and the like from the market", or "Now, just see, a NASAKOM Cabinet, a Gotong Royong Cabinet has already been formed because leaders of the Partai Nasional Indonesia, the Nahdlatul Ulama and the CPI are now in the Cabinet".

Communists are not persons who like to evade responsibility for all matters involving the interests of the people. The joys and sorrows of the people are the joys and sorrows of the Communists. The fate of the people is the fate of the Communists. Yes, the very fact of becoming a Communist already means courageously taking responsibility for everything which concerns the affairs of the people. This is why, too, it is the duty of Communists to stand in the foremost ranks, regardless of the risks, in defence of the social, economic, political and cultural demands of the people.

But if one is to be considered as being responsible for all the actions taken by the Government, then this question must first be answered: Do the Communists get the opportunity to take part in deciding upon the policy and in implementing the programme of the Government?

There is one principle accepted by all classes and groups and that is that: a class or group cannot be regarded as being responsible, that is to say, too, it cannot be blamed, for measures taken by a government if that class or group does not hold governmental power. This principle is accepted both by the bourgeoisie and by the proletariat. The bourgeoisie would not want to be considered responsible for measure taken by a government in which they do not govern. And in the same way, too, there is no the slightest grounds for blaming the proletariat for the measures of a government in which the proletariat does not hold government power. On the contrary, the proletariat and the entire working people, as the exploited and oppressed, are entitled to criticise government measures that are harmful to the people.

We Communists have already struggled and will continue to struggle for an improvement in the living conditions of the people

or at the least, in order to prevent their deterioration. If we, in fact and according to our inner-conscience, have done everything within the confines of our ability, and yet the situation fails to mark any improvement for the people, then the people must be given the understanding that the basic cause of all this is that there is not yet a *concentration of national forces in which the workers and the peasants are really a basic force of the revolution and must become the pillar of society.* (Manipol)

As regards the re-grouped Kerdja Cabinet, President Sukarno has never referred to it as a Gotong Royong Cabinet or a NASAKOM Cabinet. This is very correct, because it is indeed not so. In the "Government Statement on Re-grouping of the Kerdja Cabinet" which was made to the DPRGR on March 19th, 1962, by the First Deputy First Minister, Dr. J. Leimena, it was stated among other things that:

> "Government power is wielded by the President with the assistance of the First Minister and the Deputy First Ministers in accordance with Article 4, paragraph 1, Article 5 and Article 7 of the Constitution" (Special Publication of Department of Information No. 201, page 7); "and in the performance of the Government's tasks, the First Minister may hold a "*cabinet consultative session*", that is, a meeting with all the Deputy First Ministers, or a "*cabinet working session*", that is, a meeting with one or several Deputy Prime Ministers concerned, if necessary, requesting a Minister or Ministers or other persons involved to attend" (cf, page 8).

This Government Statement makes it quite clear where State power lies, namely in the *cabinet consultative session* and in the *cabinet working session*, and the Communists and leaders of other political parties are not even included there let alone fittingly and justly represented. It is herein that lies the appropriateness of the term, re-grouping, used by the President, and not re-tooling. This means that the struggle of the Indonesian people for the implementation of the President Sukarno Concept (the February 21st, 1957 speech)

is no sense over, the struggle for a Gotong Royong Cabinet, a cabinet that has a just composition or, in the words of President Sukarno in his Concept, "*the number of members in Parliament shall determine the number of ministers in the Cabinet.*"

A Gotong Royong Cabinet is a cabinet based upon balanced and just representation, in conformity with the confidence which has been placed by the people. The demand for a Gotong Royong Cabinet is fully in keeping with the MPRS Decision which desires "*retooling of the executive, judical and legislative organs, from the top to the bottom, in keeping with the spirit of the "March of our Revolution" (Djarek), for the creation of a government, that* a*) is stable and authoritative;* b*) reflects the wishes of the people;* c*) is revolutionary; and* d*) is Gotong Royong*". (MPRS Decision II, Appendix A, Government and Security/Defense Affairs).

In the Government Statement referred to above, it is also explained that the leaders of the Supreme State Organs, namely the MPRS (empowered to decide upon the broad lines of State policy), the DPRGR (empowered to legislate), the DPA (empowered to advise), and the DEPERNAS (empowered to plan) take part in cabinet consultations "not as representatives of the organs which they lead", but as assistants of the President "to continue with and safeguard the Government's policy in the organs which they lead". The Statement "not as representatives of the organs which they lead" is very important indeed because it means that these organs are not made subordinate to the Cabinet. As regards the statement "to continue and safeguard the Government's policy in the organs which they lead", this will not raise any problems so long as the Government pursues a policy that conforms with the Constitution and the MPRS Decisions.

The Consultative State Leadership includes persons who have the strong support of the people, that is to say, in addition to President Sukarno himself, the ministers who are leaders of the CPI, the NU and the PNI who enter this body by virtue of their position as leaders of the MPRS and the DPRGR. It is the President himself who

leads this Consultative State Leadership, and the matters to be discussed by it are adequately clear, namely, "questions regarding the national and international policy pursued or regarding the general leadership of the State of the Republic of Indonesia", naturally within the framework of the implementation of the MPRS Decisions. But the extent to which this Supreme Leading Organ will be effective and useful to the people depends very much upon the frequency of its meetings, and in particular, upon the extent to which those of its decisions which are beneficial to the people are put into practice by the cabinet consultative session and the cabinet working session, in which, in actual fact, all executive power is concentrated.

Even though the CPI is not responsible for all the measures taken by the Government, this does not mean that the Communists take a passive and pensive attitude when they see how deterioration and difficulties in economic and financial affairs get worse and worse. No, the Communists actively make friendly criticism together with constructive proposals regarding the entire work of the cabinet or regarding the Departments one by one. Communists who sit in state organs,both at the centre (MPRS, DPRGR, DPA, Depernas) as well as in the regions (Regional Legislative Councils) are the most active in making constructive proposals to overcome the difficulties in economic and financial affairs. Not only that, the Communists have launched various campaigns including *Volunteer Work Brigades* and the *1,001 Movement* to increase the production of foodstuffs. The trade unions, particularly those led by Communists are very busily pressing for the establishment of Enterprise Councils to ensure that production increases, that thefts of state property, corruption and bureaucracy are stopped or reduced. The peasants, youth and women's organisations that are led by Communists are actively working to surmount the food and clothing difficulties and to restore security.

Why is it that the Communists voluntarily take part in the efforts to surmount the difficulties of the people in their living conditions? *Firstly*, because the Communists cannot stand by and tolerate the

mounting sufferings of the people as a result of incompetence, insincerity and corruption. *Secondly*, because the Indonesian Government, and particularly President Sukarno as the head of the Government, opposes imperialism, that is the enemy number one of the Indonesian Communists and people. Since the Government opposes imperialism, we must help it when it faces difficulties.

But all the efforts undertaken by the Communists as outlined above are limited in possibility since every proposal may or may not be accepted or carried out by the government, and every action taken may or may not be agreed upon, prohibited and obstructed by those in authority. Such prohibitions and obstructions are strange indeed because, if Communists co-operate to build a bridge or plant rice, the result is nothing other than a bridge or rice. And especially now with the State of Emergency still in force, there are great limitations as to what the Communists and people can do, even though these actions may be aimed at assisting and controlling the implementation of the Government's own programme. Volunteer Work Brigades and the 1,001 Movement which are organised by the CPI and which are clearly aimed at increasing the production of foodstuffs meet with not a few obstructions on the part of local authorities though on the other hand, there are local authorities who do not obstruct the initiative taken by the people. And there are even some local authorities who are prepared to help the 1,001 Movement with spades.

2. Hold High the Three Banners of the Nation!

Speaking of the bankruptcy of the system of liberal democracy, the General Report to the Sixth National Congress said among other things that "the speed with which liberal democracy became bankrupt in Indonesia was due to two processes: *firstly*, the process of the consciousness of the Indonesian people themselves based on their own experiences when they saw that liberal democracy

is identical with corruption, bureaucracy and inability to solve the basic and important problems of the Indonesian people; *secondly*, because of the anti-Parliament agitation, in essence, agitation against democratic life, carried out by promotors of a military junta and other fascist elements".

It is now almost three years since a beginning was made to implement the concept of Guided Democracy. But the experiences of the people during these three years prove that corruption and bureaucracy have not been overcome; in fact, they have become worse. And we are not yet talking about solving the basic and important problems of the people. All this is understandable because, in fact, it is impossible to overcome corruption and bureaucracy correctly and speedily, to increase the ability to solve the basic and important problems of the people systematically and successfully, without people's power in which the workers and peasants hold the leading role.

But, as has also been explained in the General Report to the Sixth National Congress, "the bankruptcy of the liberal democratic system in the eyes of the Indonesian people has not taken place in a situation in which the balance of forces between the Indonesian people on the one hand and the imperialists and the landlords on the other, is such as to make it possible for the Indonesian people to overcome this crisis in the political system by setting up people's power, that is, political power in which sovereignty is completely vested in the hands of the people and in which the enemies of the people are completely deprived of their political rights."

In such a situation, the Party has established a correct political line based on the balance of forces, namely to devlope all positive ideas and aspects of President Sukarno's Concept of Guided Democracy. To win victory for all the positive ideas and aspects of the Guided Democracy concept, first and foremost mobilising all progressive and revolutionary forces for the correct implementation of this concept on the one hand, while on the other hand resisting all reactionary forces that want to distort this concept in the direction

of what are in essence fascist methods practised in the name of and in the wrapping of Guided Democracy.

During these three years or so the people have witnessed how the concept of Guided Democracy has developed. At the centre, in so far as the implementation is directly in the hands of the creator of the concept himself, President Sukarno, we see that, despite many obstacles, there is an endeavour to implement *democracy* that is guided.

These gratifying developments at the centre were correctly described by President Sukarno in his Resopim speech as evidence of progress in political affairs. He said: "We see growth in the DPRGR. We see growth in the MPRS. We see correctness of the system of consultation in the DPA. We see the extremely valuable results of the Depernas".

In his Re-so-pim speech President Sukarno correctly did not speak appreciatively of the development of Guided Democracy and Gotong Royong in the regions. It is certain that it was not a case of the President forgetting to mention the regions as gratifying examples.

The intention is to implement Guided Democracy and Gotong Royong in the region through Penpres No. 6, 1959 and Perpres No. 5, 1960. In practice it is quite apparent that, as a result of Penpres No. 6, 1959, the concept of Guided Democracy has been deprived of the "democracy" part and only the "guided" part is left, with the result that in a number of regions we witness a situation as if power were in the hands of only one person, and even if there is a Standing Committee (BPH), this Committee is only advisory. As a result of Penpres No. 5/1960, most of the Gotong Royong Regional Legislative Councils (DPRDGR) are not in line with the DPRGR that has been established, but are in fact DPRD's (old style) minus progressive elements with reactionary elements smuggled in. The Chairman is the Chief of District himself, and in cases where this Chief of District is not democratic, where he is a person who likes to rule on his own, the Regional Council is not

convened periodically and what meetings there are, are only convened to listen to what the Chief of District has to say and what decisions he has adopted, after which the meeting may express its agreement and then go home.

From the very start, the people bitterly opposed distorted implementation of Guided Democracy and Gotong Royong attempting to bring about the formation of Regional Administrations and Regional Legislative Councils along unjust and undemocratic lines. Finally, the President was compelled to intervene in order to make alterations in these two Regulations. But even so, the facts up to the present show that both Penpres No. 6/1959 (rectified) and Penpres No. 5/1960 (rectified) are still implemented in such a way that fails to correct the causes which led to the campaign waged by the people which was the stimulus for the revisions made at the President's intervention.

These facts cannot but prove that the concept of Guided Democracy and the concept of Gotong Royong are not yet proceeding in the manner they should, particularly in the regions. We frequently experience the fact today in the regions that there is a tendency to utilise the concept of Guided Democracy and the concept of Gotong Royong in a way that not only ignores but in fact deliberately abandons democracy and gotong royong.

In the Re-so-pim, President Sukarno said: "...Our Guided Democracy very clearly contains two elements: the element of "democracy" and the element of "guidance". We must not see only one of these elements, just democracy alone or just guidance alone. These elements are inseparable, irrevocably linked together, a two-in-one. Democracy alone can distort to liberalism, guidance alone can distort to fascist distatorship". This fact, this clear warning applies fully for the centre, but in particular for the regions.

This warning of the President at one and the same time proves that the reactionaries who have collapsed together with the bankruptcy of the system of liberal democracy, with the outlawing of the Masjumi and the PSI and the smashing of the RGRI-Permesta, are

striving to rehabilitate themselves by using progressive slogans, falsifying the contents, with the result that in some places phenomena have appeared that are even worse than the situation before the implementation of the Guided Democracy concept began. Whereas formerly liberal democracy was identical with corruption and bureauracy, now with only the "guidance" part, Guided Democracy, is frequently identical with dictatorship of one-man bureaucrat-capitalist who is even more corrupt and shameless than ever.

The reactionaries have to some extent succeeded in misusing the State of Emergency, regarding which a warning was made in the General Report to the Sixth Congress when it said, discussing the CPI's attitude towards the Sukarno-Djuanda Cabinet: "Military power has displayed positive elements, particularly in the regions of unrest. But there are not a few negative elements, and if these are not speedily stopped, they can go on endlessly and can smother the positive elements of military power".

Formerly, the State of Emergency was needed in order to deal with the RGRI-Permesta counter-revolutionary rebellion. The President in his message of December 16th, 1959, stated quite clearly that implementation of the State of War must not ignore the consultative element as one of the foremost principles and characteristics of Guided Democracy, that it is not the intention to place power over the situation in the hands of the military, and that with the simplification of the party system and the improvements made in the Regional Military Commands, this State of War would eventually operate in such a way as to interfere as little as possible in democracy and to hurt as little as possible the inner-most feelings of the common people.

Due to the good co-operation between the people and the Armed Forces, and due also to the wisdom of President Sukarno, it is already some time now that the RGRI-Permesta rebellion was basically smashed, and that today the remnants have almost all surrendered. This point of the Government's Three-Point Programme has been implemented succesfully not as a result of this fellow here or that

fellow there; it is the collective success of the entire people and the entire Armed Forces under the leadership of President Sukarno.

But we cannot sit back and relax now that the RGRI-Permesta have surrendered. In the Re-so-pim speech, President Sukarno clearly stated that "when they launched their rebellion, the rebels had a basic outlook that was very different indeed from our basic outlook, very different indeed from the original purpose and strivings of our Revolution, . . . they rebelled, among other things, precisely in order to oppose the re-ordering that we were at that time setting forth and are now busily putting into practice, developing, consolidating."

It is thus clear that, if, in one or several regions the State of Emergency is utilised to paralyse the implementation of Guided Democracy and Gotong Royong, to foster one-man dictatorship and bureaucrat capitalism, to persecute the progressives and outlaw the activities of the CPI and the revolutionary mass organisations, this is completely out of keeping with the purpose for which the State of Emergency was declared. To borrow the words of President Sukarno: this is solely because the "gun" wants to lead the "Manipol", and not the "Manipol" lead the "gun".

Regional governments should be established in line with the MPRS Decisions which states: that only one Basic Law on Regional Government should speedily be introduced repealing and replacing Law No. 1—1957, Penpres No. 6—1959 and Penpres No. 5—1960; that the Law on Proportional Division of Finances should be revised; that autonomy must be made as broad and real as possible; that the entire territory of the Republic of Indonesia should be divided up into three stages of Regional Governments, stage I, stage II and stage III; that village administration should be renovated and democratic village governments formed, abolishing all colonial laws and regulations such as the IGO and the IGOB; that all special districts should be abolished; that Pamongpradja (local government officials operating directly under the central Government, Tr.) system should be liquidated and the system of Residents and Residencies abolished, and the provisions of Penpres No. 6—1959 which

gives over general government authority to the regions be strictly implemented; that the demarcation of regions should be reviewed; that general elections for the MPR (Consultative People's Assembly), the DPR (People's Legislative Assembly) and the DPRD (Regional Legislative Councils) should be held simultaneously, and so on. All this conforms with the demands of the people for a broadening of democratic rights as required by Guided Democracy.

The success in implementing the lines correctly laid down by the MPRS depends of course also upon the struggle of the people and the development in the balance of forces. And even if a rather progressive law as desired by the MPRS is indeed introduced, the implementation will still depend on the ministers in question and also on the people's struggle and the balance of forces in society.

But however that may be, the introduction of a progressive law can, if skillfully used, if used to the maximum, help to facilitate actions by the people and co-operation between the people and the state apparatus. We must wage a hard struggle for the implementation of progressive laws.

As regards general elections, the Government has promised to hold them at the end of 1962. Today, the end of 1962 gets nearer and nearer but there is still no sign yet of preparations for these general elections. And yet, according to the MPRS, the elections for the member of the MPR, the DPR and the DPRD should be held simultaneously. The only thing there so far is a Draft Law which has evoked opposition from the majority of the Indonesian people because it provides that only one-third of the members of the DPR to be elected while the other two-thirds are to be appointed.

There is still up to the present day no law on general elections to replace the existing General Election Law which, it is said, no longer conforms with the spirit of Guided Democracy. This is the result of the efforts of anti-democratic groups who fear the voice of the people like the plague. They realise only too well that the people know them well enough and therefore do not like them.

And this is also the basic reason why the majority of the members of the MPR, the DPR and the DPRD are not to be elected but appointed and, as usual, they are hiding behind President Sukarno.

Another extremely vital condition for general elections is the existence of broad democratic liberties or rights instead of the extremely limited rights as at present with the continuance in force of the State of Emergency.

The people hope for the realisation of Re-so-pim in which President Sukarno stated: "*But nevertheless, with the good results achieved in restoring security in a number of regions, it is no longer necessary to preserve in its entirety the state of war as declared on March 14th, 1957, at the time of the rebellion, for the entire territory of the Republic of Indonesia*". It is sufficient for "the state of war" to remain in force only in those regions where there are still large number of remnant bandits, but for other regions it should be lifted altogether. Only in conditions of democracy can the concept of Guided Democracy possibly proceed normally. Without democracy, the concept of Guided Democracy cannot proceed normally. In their efforts to reach this state of normalcy, the people of Jogjakarta, led by the NASAKOM parties, have demanded that the state of war in that region be withdrawn. This demand has been approved and welcomed by Sultan Hamengku Buwono, Chief of District of the Special District of Jogjakarta. This demand is also the demand of the people in other regions although, for certain reasons, it has not been expressed as is the case in Jogjakarta.

Today the struggle for the liberation of West Irian from the stranglehold of Dutch imperialism is rising to new peaks. The Tri-Command of the People was already issued by President-Supreme Commander Sukarno on December 19th, 1961, volunteer troops have already begun to be sent to the frontier regions, armed fighting has already taken place and lives have already been lost as happened in the battle of the Aru Isles. But Dutch capital in the mixed companies is still safely able to exploit the people, to drain off Indonesia's national resources and is carrying out economic sabotage and cheat-

ing the Government. The CPI holds the opinion that a firm attitude must also mean putting an end once and for all to Dutch capital in mixed companies such as BPM-SHELL, Unilever and the like, by confiscating the Dutch capital in these companies. The status of Dutch companies which have been taken over and nationalised must be changed into confiscation. Having made a declaration of confiscation, it will mean that there will be no more question of any payment to the Dutch.

The indispensable condition for success in the struggle for the liberation of West Irian is the guarantee of *democracy* for the people. Anti-Monopol people need not be given democracy, but people who struggle for the Manipol must be given democracy. If there is democracy for the people and not for the enemies of the people, it will be possible to further strengthen anti-imperialist *national unity* with NASAKOM as the axis, will it be possible to *mobilise* all the national potentials. This is why the entire nation must raise high these three banners and must wage a resolute struggle: *a rifle in one hand and a spade in the other*, which means: *ready to fight and ready also to strengthen the home front.*

Our national unity which is growing stronger day by day has basically three forms: 1) political co-operation which takes the form of NASAKOM; 2) political co-operation between political parties, mass organisations and individuals within the organisation of the National Front; and 3) the alliance of the workers and peasants which is the basis of national unity. We must continuously strengthen these three forms of national unity, with the emphasis upon strengthening the alliance of workers and peasants.

The experiences of our revolutionary struggle show that a national front or national unity can only be consolidated by means of mobilising the people. And the people can only be mobilised on a large scale if there is democracy. This is why the paramount political question in our country today is to raise the Three-Banners of the Nation, *democracy*, *unity* and *mobilisation*, to lead to *consistent democratic changes in the political system and in the field of political freedoms*

for the people. Concretely, to lead to: *the formation of a Gotong Royong Cabinet and the lifting of the state of emergency, together with a review of the Law on the State of Emergency now in force.*

Regarding negotiations with the Dutch, this can only possibly be justified if the basis is the surrender of power in West Irian to the Republic of Indonesia without granting any special rights in economic affairs to the Dutch or to the United States which is trying, in the course of the Indonesian-Dutch dispute, to replace the Dutch economic position in Indonesia. Negotiations between Indonesia and the Dutch must be bilateral without any third party, they must be open negotiations, and during the negotiations, the implementation of the Tri-Command of the People must go on.

It is a fact that, in the struggle to incorporate West Irian into the sovereign territory of the Republic of Indonesia, our Party has succeeded in drawing the attention and support of Communist and Workers' Parties in the five continents. In the same way, too, our people's revolutionary organisations have succeeded in drawing the sympathy and support of the progressive international mass organisations for the struggle to liberate West Irian. It is appropriate for this Congress of ours to express our most fervent tribute to the Communist Party and workers of the Netherlands, the Communist Party and workers of Japan, the Communist Party and workers of Australia as well as the Communist Parties and workers of other countries that have sincerely and militantly expressed their solidarity with and help for the Indonesian people in the struggle to expel Dutch colonialism from West Irian. Especially to the Communists and workers of the Netherlands we express our gratitude for demonstrations that have been held in the Netherlands to oppose the sending of Dutch soldiers to West Irian. Especially to the Communists and workers of Japan we express our gratitude for having protested against the visit of the warship Karel Doorman to Japan and for opposition to the Haneda Aerodrome being utilised by the KLM for the transportation of soldiers to West Irian. Especially to the Communists and workers of Australia we express our gratitude

in connection with their attitude of firmly rejecting the entry of the Dutch warship "Karel Doorman" into the port of Freemantle. All this is a manifestation of the unity of the struggle of the Indonesian people with the struggle of the people in other countries, in conformity with what President Sukarno declared at the Council Meeting of Asian-African People's Solidarity on April 10th, 1961, in Bandung, that "imperialism can be smashed by united international solidarity".

3. Continue the Struggle for Economic Independence

The stand taken by the Sixth Congress to the effect that economic crisis still strangulates Indonesia, is still valid and is now becoming more serious. The deterioration in almost all vital sectors of the economy is having worse and worse consequences for the everyday living conditions of the people. The prices of essential food and clothing are soaring day by day and, by comparison with the time when the Sixth Congress was held, the prices of consumer goods in January 1962 had risen by 248 per cent. This is clear from the index price figures of the Central Bureau of Statistics which are as follows:

(19 foodstuffs in Djakarta)

	1953 =	100
	1959 =	311
December,	1960 =	388
December,	1961 =	760
January,	1962 =	1,083

This continuous increase in prices which has resulted in the cost of living going up from day to day and has let to a decline in the purchasing power of the working people, has aroused movements by the masses to defend themselves from the difficulties which are becoming more insurmountable with every passing day.

Demands for wage increases and for the implementation of the Law on the Division of the Product have achieved certain successes. But even though there have been some victories in the struggle for increase in earnings, the purchasing power of the working people is still declining.

The productive sector cannot operate at full capacity for a number of reasons. As fas as the supply of materials and fuels for domestic production is concerned, the capacity of production, low as it was, fell in 1960 by 45% compared with 1959 and in 1961, this trend downwards became more and more apparent. This is clear from the supply of fuel and materials which have become less and less. The Government's statistics regarding this are as follows:

Imports of fuels/materials:
1959 = 3.2 million tons
1960 = 1.7 million tons
up to May 1961 = 1.2 million tons

As a result of the squandering of a large amount of foreign exchange in 1961 for the import of non-productive goods, it is estimated that in 1962, the import of fuels and materials for productive purposes will be at the most 30 per cent of indispensable requirements for a normalisation of domestic production, that is, if there is no change in the orientation and motive of foreign trade.

With the exception of oil, the export of major products fell by about 20 per cent by comparison with 1961, according to Government statistics. The result of this decline inevitably means that the ability to import goods vital to domestic production and to meet the basic requirements of society for the most essential food and clothing which cannot be supplied by domestic production, is getting less and less. Domestic enterprises will on an average be able to work at a capacity of something less than 40 per cent. This means that many national businessmen especially in the field of production, have already closed down or will have to close down, and the danger of unemployment is becoming greater and more widespread.

The task of maintaining the existing vital sectors of the economy and of carrying out national overall planned construction will meet with even greater difficulties if important changes are not rapidly made in the economic field. At the present time, the conclusion drawn by the Sixth Congress regarding the economic crisis in Indonesia is still valid and it should receive greater attention. The Sixth Congress stated:

"Our economic crisis has its source in the colonial nature of the economy, an economy that is still greatly dependent upon the world capitalist economy".

From the developments since the Sixth Congress it can be said that the unfavourable consequences of the capitalist economic crisis for Indonesia have become more widespread. *This is because no fundamental changes have been made in the economy in the direction of Indonesia's economic independence*, because there still are responsible people in the government apparatus who are not acting in conformity with the demands of the August 1945 Revolution, with the Manipol. So long as the economic measures taken are only in the nature of patchwork as is the case at present, confined for example to measures of a purely financial-monetary nature—what's more, if they are incorrect financial-monetary measures—then of course Indonesia's economy will continue to be caught up in serious economic crisis.

The patchwork financial-monetary measures taken so far are measures based only upon a view of economic problems which is limited to filling the state coffers in the easiest way possible, that is by increasing direct and indirect taxes, by pulling down the value of the rupiah through various devaluations, by raising official prices and the price ceiling in the free market, by the mere introduction of regulations without following them up with consistent and positive action. These measures preserve the Indonesian economy's dependence upon the imperialist states.

The state budget still depends for more than 60 per cent directly or indirectly upon the ups and downs of foreign trade which rises and falls with the market fluctuations in the capitalist world. Even

though there have recently been some improvements in trade with the Socialist countries—an increase from 10 per cent to 13 per cent—the possibilities opened by the Socialist countries have not been used to the maximum and have only been used under compulsion of circumstances when relations with the capitalist countries have become *too* difficult. The pretext utilised by certain officials is that "the traditional markets should not be destroyed". It is this colonial tradition that they want to continue, whereas what we must be developing are good national traditions. The traditional market today is essentially the world capitalist market which has long been in a state of disruption and which is getting worse and worse as a result of continual economic and financial crises. Even the Government, in its statement before the DPRGR on July 5, 1961, recognised that the continuous fall in the prices of Indonesia's exports and in transportation costs, was due mainly to the influence of fluctuations in the United States and West Europe which were faced with economic recession.

Thus, the question of economic independence in foreign trade is a question of whether there is sincerity or not, of whether or not deeds are in conformity with the Manipol, with the Government's independent and active foreign policy. Preserving the onesided nature of foreign trade, that is, dependence upon the markets of the capitalist countries, means allowing the Indonesian economy to remain in the mesh of the world monopoly capitalists, with all the great harm it does to Indonesia. Every Indonesian patriot who wants economic independence for his country must struggle against this one-sidedness in foreign trade.

In the question of international payments, too, and Indonesia's own financial system, Indonesia is still under the control of the world monopoly capitalists, particularly the United States. As is known as a consequence of Dutch membership of the IMF, Indonesia was compelled, by virtue of the Round Table Conference agreement, to practise a financial system based on the Bretton Woods system. Bretton Woods is the name of a place in the United States where

a conference of countries allied in the Second World War took place in May, 1944, and at which the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) were established.

As a financing organ side by side with the IMF, the World Bank pursues a definite policy. The basis of the World Bank's policy is that countries with under-developed economies *should construct such projects as will guarantee facilities for the investment of private capital, particularly foreign private capital.*

In view of this, it is not surprising if the World Bank has refused a request from Indonesia for a loan and the President insulted a high personage of the Republic of Indonesia, as indeed happened recently. This happened not only because they side with the Dutch on the question of West Irian but also as a result of the general policy of the American monopoly capitalists who control the World Bank. The correct and fitting attitude for Indonesia is to protest against this insulting treatment of the President Director of the World Bank and to withdraw from the Bank. The World Bank's policy of encouraging foreign capital investment is contrary to the Broad Lines of the State Policy of Indonesia, that is, the Manipol and the various guidances of its implementation, based on the economic power of the state sector. Since the World Bank is at one with the policy of the IMF in accordance with the spirit of the Bretton Woods Conference, an end should be put to Indonesia's membership of the IMF.

The contradictions in economic and financial affairs between Indonesia and the imperialists are becoming more and more extensive and open. But, too, the contradictions between the people and the survivals of feudalism in agrarian relations are becoming more and more apparent and are impelling the peasant's movement forward. Even though what we have so far is only a limited land-reform which is not the land-reform as demanded by the CPI in its General Programme regarding agrarian affairs, it does within limits undermine landlords' power and can be of benefit to the peasants.

But, as was pointed out by the CPI Second National Peasants' Conference in July, 1961, the even development of the peasants' movement is more and more drawing the attention of all classes and groups on the peasants question, with each putting forward its own programme for the peasants. Some years ago it was only the Communists who spoke about land-reform, but now virtually everyone speaks about land-reform. This is good. This variety of programmes can open the eyes of the peasants as to who is the enemy that must be the target of their actions and who is the friend who must be drawn over to their side. This is why, for every CPI cadre, the task of working harder and more systematically among the peasants must also mean continuously explaining why the CPI can support the limited land-reform and, together with this, explaining the CPI's General Programme in agrarian affairs to the masses of the peasants. If these two things are not explained, the peasants will not be able to understand the CPI's attitude.

As is the case with the implementation of the Law on the Division of the Harvest, so too with the Basic Agrarian Law, implementation will not proceed smoothly and deviations will appear which conflict with the provisions of the Law itself, to the detriment of the peasants. Only a powerful and militant peasants' mass movement can prevent and stamp out these distortions.

The thing to which attention must be paid at the present in the implementation of land-reform is the distribution of land to the agricultural labourers and poor peasants in a way that is simple and not burdensome for them. In view of the financial position of the State, government payments to the landlords should not be made at one go and it should be made in the form of a loan to the State by compelling the landlords to purchase government bonds. In this way, the installments paid in by the peasants can be utilised by the Government for the construction fund, to raise the productivity of the peasants. An increase in the productivity of the peasants will directly help the efforts towards attaining self-sufficiency in food and clothing.

The efforts towards self-sufficiency in food and clothing, especially rice, cannot possibly be successful just by flinging around commands in the field of production and distribution. Flinging commands around, which in practice means playing at compulsion, in the field of rice production, has already led to deviations, such as we have encountered in the practices of the Komando Operasi Gerakan Makmur (KOGM-Operation Command for Prosperity Campaign) which have not had the result of facilitating efforts towards self-sufficiency in rice. The *padi centra* (rice centres) and other bodies dealing with the peasants in connection with rice such as the Pamongpradja, the Rice Purchasing Bodies and the KOGM for self-sufficiency in rice, the Co-operative, Peasants' and Fishermen's Bank, the Food Council and the like, are not the way to increase rice production. The key to raising rice production lies in arousing the enthusiasm and creativeness of the peasants as the productive force. It is the peasants who plant the rice but they are frequently ignored. The peasants have problems which must be solved in order to be able to increase their productive powers. They encounter various obstacles as a result of the continuation of feudal exploitation and the way some local officials order them about with regard to the purchasing of rice and the cultivation of food crops, with the result that the peasants do not have the freedom to till their land in accordance with their own requirements and to control the products they produce. So, the key is: *free the peasants from the survivals of feudal exploitation, distribute the landlords' land to the agricultural labourers and poor peasants and, in connection with the campaign to raise agricultural production, invite them to join in negotiations in their position as masters in this country.* I emphasise this because there are people who do not want to negotiate but want to exert compulsion on the peasants. Such people can get a good beating from the peasants.

It is clear that there are still a number of economic phenomena indicative of colonial economy and of the continued prevalence of survivals of feudalism, and many serious barriers are still being encountered in the process of breaking this up.

The task of achieving Indonesian economic independence is an important basic task today. The bases for freeing Indonesia's economy in fact already exist if only the State really holds a position that accords with the demands of the people today, in keeping with the decisions of the MPRS.

The foundations for breaking up the colonial economy and for giving the state economic sector a commanding position are already powerful following the nationalisation of the majority of enterprises which were owned by the Dutch colonialists. The state economic sector in Indonesia can in fact today play a progressive role in the struggle for the economic independence of the country. *But the state economic sector can also play a role which is not progressive, it can in fact be reactionary in its practices if the state enterprises and the state apparatus are not cleansed of bureaucrat-capitalists or the corruptors of state property in the state enterprises and the state apparatus.*

The bureaucrat-capitalists will continue to have a basis in the state economic sector as long as the economic policy pursued by the Government continues to be the same as was inherited from the foreign imperialists. The follow-up of nationalisation of the Dutch enterprises is not merely a matter of establishing status, but it must be a retooling of personalia and the establishment of a new orientation in management inspired by the Manipol, the March of the Revolution, and the Re-so-pim, and bureaucracy, waste and corruption must be stamped out indiscriminately.

There must be good management. The leadership of enterprises must consist of persons who are patriotic, capable, democratic and believers in Socialism.

Following the take-over of the Dutch enterprises, practically the whole vital sector of the economy is in the hands of the state, such as land, sea and air transportation, estate and agricultural production, a rather large part of the industrial sector and mining, the wholesale domestic and foreign trade sector. But why is it that these foundations which are so favourable for controlling the entire economic life of the country have not succeeded in overcoming the stagna-

tion, as is the case today? The reason is the shortcomings in management, the failure to draw the workers and other working people into the control, and the actions of the bureaucrat-capitalists who corrupt state property, who spread phobia against the trade unions, against the Communists, against the NASAKOM, and so on. So far it has become clear that it is indeed so that bureaucracy is at one with and inseparable from the bureaucrat-capitalist, who are squandering rather than managing state wealth, who are giving greater importance to their own shadow enterprises, to their relatives and cronies. It is not only the state enterprises that suffer as a result of these conspiracies of the bureaucrat-capitalists, but, in addition, the national businessmen are finding their development obstructed.

President Sukarno was very correct when he said in his Re-so-pim speech:

"Therefore, I repeat again,—resolve all problems on the basis of a social concept leading towards Socialism, a social concept which is consciously directed towards a Socialist Society!

"*First:* Draw all workers into sharing the responsibility for production and means of production. Do not behave like bosses! The participation of the workers will facilitate and increase production. Land-reform and the division of the product between tenant-farmers and landlords must really and truly be put into practice. Land-reform and the division of the product will also facilitate and increase production. Please, remember, production, economy, this is the 'stomach of the State'. It is therefore quite natural for the reactionaries to concentrate their sabotage on this 'stomach of the State'. Besides this, the people newly put in charge are often not capable enough, or they know nothing about the Concept; or some of these people are afflicted by the 'three si's—*tjari promosi, birokrasi, korupsi*' (seeking promotion, bureaucracy, and corruption). You may say: 'Pak, why on earth do we use such people?' Yes, that's right, it would be better as a matter of fact if such people got out of the way, or to be firmer, it would be better to push such people aside!

"*Second:* Carry out continuously—frappez, frappez toujours—mental retooling and organisational retooling in line with Manipol-USDEK.

"*Third:* Let the principles of RIL or Re-so-pim penetrate into the farthest corners of the country, into the villages, into the mountain regions. Socialism must become the flesh and blood of all the Indonesian people, Manipol-USDEK must become the nerves and marrow of all Indonesian citizens, the leaders and the civil servants, the young people and the old people, the workers and the farmers, the common people and 'their excellencies, the cabinet ministers', the civilians and the military people. Yes, the military people, too! The State and the people have accepted Manipol together with the MPRS decision on it; therefore, all citizens must now be guided by Manipol. The people are guided by the Manipol. *It is not the military or the weapons which guide the Manipol, but the Manipol which guides the military and the weapons*!"

Socialism and the Manipol must become the flesh and blood of the entire people. In order to fulfil this hope of Bung Karno's, there must be democracy so as to be able to make clarification to the people.

This warning made by President Sukarno in his Re-so-pim speech proves clearly that there are still many obstacles to the realisation of the Manipol in practice. Even though the basis already exists for the development of a state economic sector leading to economic independence for the country, *the bureaucrat-capitalists* constitute a major barrier in converting the colonial economy into a national economy and in facilitating the food-and-clothing programme. The state sector of the economy, which must hold a commanding position in the entire economy of the country, can be completely destroyed as a result of the domination of the bureaucrat-capitalists.

Based upon the experiences during the past few years, the conclusion can be drawn that the bureaucrat capitalists are *those who have become capitalists by utilising their position in the controlling apparatus or in state enterprises or thanks to their connections with high officials in*

the controlling apparatus or in the state enterprises. They utilise bureaucracy and today in particular, they utilise the state of emergency as a shield to attain and strengthen their position as capitalists. In the same way as the compradores (agents of foreign capital), they are anti-democracy, anti-people's organisations, anti-national unity (anti-NASAKOM, anti-Gotong Royong, anti-Communist), they are striving to strengthen the economic, political and military ties with imperialist countries and they collaborate with the landlords to oppress the peasants.

In a situation in which they are quite powerless to oppose the principle of strengthening the state economic sector, the bureaucrat-capitalists are cunningly not opposing it, in fact they are utilising their positions in the Government to throw away money extravagantly so as to build up the state enterprises, the purpose being to make them bankrupt at some time in the future and, on the pretext of "unprofitableness", to hand them over to private enterprises and give them to their cronies according to prearranged schemes. *This is why we must strongly resist the handing over of state enterprises to private enterprises because if this becomes a general thing it will open the door wide to the bureaucrat-capitalists and the subversive elements to paralyse the state economy.* If the state enterprises are not running properly, they should not be handed to private interests but the people managing them must be asked to answer for this and they must be retooled.

In the present situation, there are also bureaucrat-capitalists who are still in a state of growth and who do not yet visibly possess all the basic features as described above.

4. Democratise the Implementation of the Eight-Year Plan!

In keeping with the conclusion drawn by the Second Plenum of the CC at the end of December 1960, the Party adopted the stand of supporting the MPRS Decisions and called for the *MPRS*

Decisions to become a programme of unity of the entire people and which should be made successful through mass actions.

All good decisions of state organs as well as good laws which are beneficial to the people must immediately be welcomed by the people and their implementation demanded. They must not be allowed to remain on paper. Mass action is the way indicated by the Broad Lines of State Policy as was declared by President Sukarno in the Manipol, in which he said:

"Yes, whether we like it or not, we must participate! And participate on a mass scale! In this twentieth century, with its high level of technique of communications, every revolution is a people's revolution, a revolution of the masses, not as in past centuries, when the revolutions were very often of the small upper-class only—the revolution of the ruling few. In the booklet 'Mentjapai Indonesia Merdeka'—almost thirty years ago, I said: "In the recent history of this world there has been no great change which has not been brought through mass action. Mass action always becomes the forerunner at the time when an old society is transformed into a new society. Mass action has always been the midwife at the moment when the pregnant old society gives birth to a new society". And so, those peoples, who don't agree to mass action, are wrong.

The MPRS decisions No. I and No. II together with the appendices cater for many of the demands of the people in social, economic, political and cultural affairs, demands for which the masses of the people are struggling through revolutionary mass actions. Thus, the present mass actions are nothing more nor less than the implementation of the Broad Lines of State Policy (Manipol) and the Broad Lines of the Development Plan, within the framework of strengthening the efforts to complete the demands of the August 1945 Revolution.

The mass actions of the workers, peasants, women, youth and students during the recent period are mass actions which are more in the nature of self defence against the terror of rising prices and rates, against dismissals and the decline in real wages, to preserve

the right of the peasants to live on a piece of land in face of the threat of being tractored down by the reactionaries, and so on. These actions not only don't conflict with, but in fact are completely in line with the political and military struggle for the liberation of West Irian. These actions are reasonable if considered from the point of view of the working people themselves and if considered from the point of view of national interests, to create and maintain the enthusiasm of the working people. These actions can be prevented if the Government strives to fulfil the just demands of the working people, before the actions take place. By means of economic pressures and disturbances, the reactionaries wound the feeling of the people and it becomes impossible to create and preserve the enthusiasm of the working people in all national affairs.

The first year of the Eight-Year Plan has already elapsed. Economic and financial trends are still on the decline. Without serious efforts to rectify all the causes for stagnation, it will not be possible to overcome the present economic crisis and the Eight-Year Plan will fail. It now depends upon all the progressive forces to frustrate the schemes of the reactionaries who are striving to sabotage the implementation of the Eight-Year Plan.

Why is it in the interests of the reactionaries to frustrate the Eight-Year Plan? *Firstly*, because the Eight-Year Plan is a joint programme of national unity with NASAKOM as the axis, with the Manipol and the President's anti-imperialist and anti-feudal Message on Construction as the foundations. *Secondly*, because the success of the Eight-Year Plan will mean attaining self-sufficiency in food and clothing and the commencement of industrial construction. This means very much reducing the dependence of Indonesia's economy upon the imperialist states, it means weakening imperialism, the prop of the compradore bourgeoisie.

The stand of the Party towards the Eight-Year Plan is clear: support it because it is a joint programme of the entire nation for the consolidation of all progressive forces in order to improve the material conditions of the working people and complete the demands

of the August 1945 Revolution. Though the Party's stand towards the MPRS decisions is a positive one, we must not close our eyes to the weaknesses, deviations and obstructions encountered in its implementation.

The chief obstacle, according to experience so far, is the continued prevalence of reactionary elements, especially bureaucrat-capitalists, in the state apparatus. To use President Sukarno's expression, it is first and foremost because there still are officials, both civil and military, who corrupt state property, who don't devote themselves to the Message of the Sufferings of the People.

One of the weaknesses of our Eight-Year Plan at the present is that the Plan is not drawn up on the basis of concrete plans from below in accordance with the capacities of the apparatus, the forces and the capital available. Therefore it is very necessary to have a detailed annual plan based on definite priorities and the organisation of implementation. The nature of planning is not yet possessed right down to the lowest units, both enterprises and regions. There are still many responsible persons who are not working in accordance with the directives of the Eight-Year Plan. There are even people who talk about MPRS Decision No. 11 whereas it should be No. II.

Another big problem of development which has not yet been solved is the problem of *effective co-ordination* between various sectors with the result that there is a very great deal of working at cross-purposes in the distribution of authority among government bodies. To this is added the continuance of military authority under the state of emergency which has penetrated deeply into the economic sectors.

Control ought to be exerted through a system that guarantees democracy in the implementation of development, in accord with the President's Message on Construction. *Democratisation in the implementation of development has not been put into practice, with the result that intensive control from below, that is, from the masses, and from above, that is, from the competent government bodies, is not guaranteed.* Without democratisation of the implementation of the Eight-Year Plan the

way will be open for the bureaucrat-capitalists to carry out various manipulations to the detriment of the State and people.

Another important condition for success of national construction is enthusiasm of the working people for construction by meeting the necessary material conditions. Today the working people must wage a life and death struggle to be able to buy rice, sugar and other everyday essentials. Whether they like it or not, the workers and peasants must turn their thoughts more to household problems rather than thinking about and paying attention to construction.

It is only possible to raise the production of rice at home within the framework of the plan to attain self-sufficiency in rice, in keeping with the MPRS Decision, if the orientation is towards the peasants and towards providing the material conditions for raising the productive powers of the peasants. In the present difficult economic and financial situation it is a mistake to consider that the way out of the rice crisis is to raise the prices of essential goods, or even worse, to increase official government prices and increase direct and indirect taxes. Doing such a thing is a foolish as "slaying the hen that lays the golden egg": the source of the gold is destroyed and the only gained thing is the chicken meat which does not amount so much. The question is how to make the peasants very productive so that production is high.

Practices that are hostile to the peasants, by adopting an attitude of hostility to their organisations, and by continuing to intensify the burdens being borne by the peasants, will not only frustrate the programme for self-sufficiency in rice but will also frustrate the Eight-Year Plan. This is really so, because we hold the opinion that the Eight-Year Plan can only be successful if the people are active in its implementation. Peasants who are continually antagonised and whose burdens are continuously been intensified while the landlords and the bureaucrat-capitalists wallow in luxury cannot possibly be active in the implementation of the Eight-Year Plan. This means a major part of the people not being active.

And it's not only so with the peasants. The workers at the enterprises too are, in contravention of the State Policy, being antagonised by means of hostility towards and attempts to liquidate the representative trade unions which have been established by the workers themselves. The just struggle of the workers through trade union activities to defend their living rights by defending wages and social facilities that have already been won, or by demanding higher wages, against dismissals and in defence of the independence of trade unions, are being suppressed by force with the arrest of trade union activists.

When the trade unions and peasant unions offer to enter into negotiations, the bureaucrat-capitalists or their agents reject these offers. The reactionaries are quick to accuse the workers and the peasants of disturbing the food-and-clothing programme without in the slightest degree speaking of the obstinacy of the employers and the landlords in face of the offers made by the workers and peasants to negotiate. They close their eyes to the sufferings of the workers and the peasants as a result of the ever heavier economic pressures.

Many victims have already fallen in the peasants struggle to reduce the burdens in their lives or to defend the tiny plot of land they till which they obtained as a result of the Revolution. This has also happened in the struggle of the workers against the terror of rising prices, in protecting the level of real wages from continuous decline, and in the struggle for rather decent social facilities. Women and young girls are taking an active part in the struggles of the workers and peasants. The youth and students are not standing back either. Victims have fallen not only because some of them have been imprisoned, but some of them have even lost their lives. Within the framework of struggle against feudal taxes, a prominent Party member in Nusatenggara Timur, Comrade Isak Tufu, died on September 15th, 1961. But thanks to their struggle, the feudal taxes have been abolished. To these courageous persons, especially to those who have given up their lives, the Seventh National Congress

of the CPI expresses its most fervent salutations and regards them as models for all genuine revolutionaries.

The problem of population density, which is often alleged to be the cause of impoverishment, cannot be solved by means of the old type of re-settlement programme. In order to prevent re-settlement from being merely a removal of poverty from a densely populated region to a sparsely populated region, it must be combined with industrial construction, with the opening up of agricultural, fishing and cattle-breeding projects, mining projects with guaranteed land property rights in accordance with the Basic Agrarian Law, with the implementation of the Law on the Division of the Product and other regulations beneficial to the peasants who till, especially the agricultural labourers and poor peasants. In order to be able to combine re-settlement with economic construction activities, there must be conditions regarding the location of projects in regions taking into account the question of urgency of the project, the natural conditions, communications and the supply of labour.

In face of the present economic difficulties, especially in view of the constantly intensifying food difficulties, our Party has launched the *1,001 Movement*, that is, a movement of a thousand-and-one-ways to strive to raise the production of food in order to lessen the sufferings of the people at the present time. In addition to carrying out actions to struggle for pressing demands, our Party is, with this movement, encouraging its members and the people to do something, to undertake something which is reasonable and practical in order to lessen the burdens and sufferings with which they themselves are now afflicted.

One other important question as regards the implementation of the Eight-Year Plan is the question of financing. The Manipol points to the need to mobilise all funds and forces to surmount the present financing problem. This mobilisation of funds and forces must be achieved by revolutionary means, that is, based upon the development of the existing state economic sectors, developing labour productivity in a way which is not burdensome to the working

people, that is, by improving living conditions and the means of production, by processing our own natural resources without foreign capital in any form whatsoever, by mobilising the capital of the national capitalists and domestic capital, that is, foreign capital that is already resident and that possesses no transfer rights. All foreign monopoly capital still remaining here, especially in oil, plantations and industry, must be continually undermined up to a point where it ceases to exist altogether in Indonesia.

It is thus clear that without relieving the burdens of living of the people which are becoming worse and worse, that without firm measures being taken against bureaucrat-capitalists or against swindlers of state property, without effective co-ordination and social control and without fighting imperialism in the economic field, it will not be possible to arouse the enthusiasm of the people, and to win social support for the Eight-Year Plan. In essence, all the source of stagnation in the implementation of the Eight-Year Plan lies in the political power at the centre and in the regions. Retooling in political and economic affairs, democratisation in the implementation of construction by the establishment of Enterprise Councils, Agricultural Production Councils, Councils for the Control of Distribution, and Regional Construction Councils by drawing in representatives of the people's organisations, stabilisation of the economy by preventing declines in production and increases in prices as well as improving the purchasing power of the people, these are the basic conditions for achieving success in the implementation of the Eight-Year Plan. All obstacles to construction, including misuse of powers because of the continuance in force of the state of emergency, must seriously be removed. In fact, the most urgent thing for creating a climate favourable to construction, a climate that is free from force and pressure, is the restoration of security and the lifting of the state of emergency. Without doing all this, the key to solving all the difficulties we are facing in economic, social and political affairs will not be obtained. Doing all this will at the same time mean strengthening the home front within the framework of the liberation of West Irian and the struggle against imperialism in general.

PART II

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

1. The Further Decay of Imperialism

Every time we make an overall review of the international situation we clearly see the process of disintegration which holds the body of capitalism in its grip, both its economic as well as its state system, both its politics as well as its ideology. The development of the history of man, its contents, direction and basic features, is determined by Socialism, by the forces that oppose imperialism and that are aimed at the creation of a new world that is independent, a new world free from the exploitation of man by man. The process of the development of this era is taking place at a high and concentrated speed. All this shows that imperialism is decaying more and more and that the struggle against imperialism is becoming sharper and more bitter.

The basic political task at the present time is to defeat the opposition of imperialism, now in a process of disintegration, to the development and progress of Socialism. This opposition comes in the first place from US imperialism, the most powerful imperialist country but the country which has the most enemies in the world. In this struggle to defeat imperialism, Socialism, which has already become a world system today, will be able to grow rapidly. And the same is true as regards the struggle for complete national independence of the peoples, the struggle for security and world peace.

Colonial policy and war policy is the foremost manifestation of imperialism, the policy being pursued by the old established forces, which are in disintegration and which are unsuccessfully opposing the march of history.

Anti-colonial policy and the policy of friendship and peace is the foremost manifestation of the Socialist countries and the anti-imperialist non-bloc countries together with the masses of democratic

and peace-loving people in all countries of the world. This is the policy which is pursued by the new emerging forces that are awakening and developing in keeping with the march of history.

The failure of the imperialists to prevent the collapse of colonialism and to obstruct the expansion of Socialism throughout the world and also to hold back the ever intensifying independence movement, convinces the people even more than ever of the correctness of the law of history that the liberation of the nations and the victory of Socialism cannot be evaded.

The Statement of the representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in November 1960, which is an extremely important historic document for the world Communist movement, already made it clear that "The time has now come for the Socialist countries, having formed a world system, to become an international force that has a mighty influence upon world developments". International events and the international situation at the present time clearly prove that there is no international problem that can be solved without the participation of the Socialist camp. The question of the threat of nuclear war or the question of nuclear weapon tests, the question of South Vietnam or the question of Algeria, the question of Laos or the question of Cuba, the question of Germany or the question of West Irian as well as other international questions cannot be solved by ignoring the role of the Socialist camp. We would encounter greater difficulties if there was no concrete assistance from the Socialist states in the West Irian question.

The construction of Communism which is now taking place in the Soviet Union is having an extremely wide international influence. No trick of the imperialists can succeed in concealing the astounding facts about the results of the construction of a new world in the Soviet Union. The feats performed by spacemen Yuri Gagarin and German Titov are a symbol of the superiority of science and technology under the Socialist system.

The US war economy is the main source of the imperialist policy to unleash nuclear war and local wars. The US Government's programme today lays it down that, in order for the US economy to find a way out of the ever deepening crisis, the production of conventional weapons must be increased and must go on together with the expansion in the production of guided missiles and other non-conventional weapons. For this purpose, US policy must be directed towards the extension of local wars in order, subsequently, to bring about the threat of a nuclear war. President Kennedy frankly stated that US re-armament "must not be bound by limitations" and that the US "must be able to pay, whatever the cost". No less than $ 72,800 million, or 80 per cent of the total US budget for 1962, is allocated to direct or indirect military expenditures. This is the highest war budget ever in a time of peace!

It is quite clear that the US imperialist policy today not only does not differ from that of the time of Eisenhower, but it is even more aggressive and more criminal. The anti-democratic Eisenhower government did not go to the extent of outlawing the Communist Party of the United States as the present US Government has done. The cunningness of the US Government under the Democratic Party is that, side by side with the aggressive policy of war, it also pursues a so-called "strategy of peace" with the aim of gaining more time and opportunity to restore America's prestige which had declined as a result of the Eisenhower-Dulles policy. Perhaps the new US regime did at first succeed in deceiving certain circles in the newly independent countries, but now more and more people can see the real face of the present US Government. Experience has proven that, in face of this cunningness of the US and the other imperialists, the most correct policy is to answer all their actions in the same language: negotiation should be answered by negotiation and force should be answered by force. Only in this way can the reactionary nature of imperialism be exposed. This means strengthening the position of the new emerging forces.

Everywhere the US Government is confronted by the peace policy of the Socialist camp and the national independence movement of the nations. The US imperialists are being more and more openly unmasked, and their prestige is declining further, a prestige that had already reached a low point at the time of the Eisenhower-Dulles Government. Now it is not Hagerthy but three Kennedys that must directly face demonstrations of the people wherever they go. John Kennedy, the US President, has had to face it in America itself; Robert Kennedy, the US Attorney General, had to experience it in Japan and Indonesia; and another of John Kennedy's younger brothers, Edward Kennedy, had bad eggs thrown at him on a trip to the Middle East and Europe.

Kennedy's rejection of the proposal of the Soviet Union that the 18-Nations Disarmament Conference at Geneva held at a Foreign Ministers level should be converted into a Summit Conference shows what the US "strategy of peace" is in reality.

And long before all these events, at the Non-Bloc Summit Conference held in September 1961, the failure of this "strategy of peace" was demonstrated. The US not only failed to split the independence movement and the non-bloc countries from the Socialist camp, but it also failed to isolate the Soviet Union by slanders because it re-commenced nuclear testing. It is quite clear that the anti-imperialist spirit cannot be slackened by US "strategy of peace" lyrics. In this connection, respects and tribute must be paid to President Sukarno who, in his speech at the Non-Bloc Summit Conference, gave the Conference a correct political line and in this way turned the Conference into an international anti-imperialist and peace-loving manifestation. The Non-Bloc Summit Conference ended in conformity with what President Sukarno had stated in his speech, namely, "our Conference is not in competition with the Asian-African Conference, but must supplement it".

In the framework of the policy of uniting all revolutionary forces that oppose this oppression and exploitation by imperialism, thought must be given to the convening of a Second Asian-African Conference

which should be extended to include the countries of Latin America. Indonesia, which has a good international name at the present time, possesses the necessary conditions to act as the initiator for the convening of an Asian-African-Latin American Conference.

2. The Struggle Against Neo-Colonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America

Some events in Asia, especially in our neighbouring countries, need to have the special attention of the Government and people of Indonesia, in particular since there are various forms of neo-colonialism that have to be opposed.

"The United States is the mainstay of colonialism today", declared the Moscow Statement in 1960. "The imperialists, headed by the USA make desperate efforts to preserve colonial exploitation of the peoples of the former colonies by new methods and in new forms. The monopolies try to retain their hold on the levers of economic control and political influence in Asian, African and Latin American countries. These efforts are aimed at preserving their position in the economy of the countries which have gained freedom, and at capturing new positions under the guise of economic "aid", drawing them into military blocs, implanting military dictatorships and setting up war bases there".

The Conference on the Question of Neo-Colonialism held at Leipzig in 1961 described neo-colonialism as "*the typical and principal form of the colonial policy of imperialism in the historical conditions of the period of transition from capitalism to Socialism, especially the period of the open collapse and destruction of the direct colonial system*". The Asian-African People's Solidarity Council which held a session in Bandung in April, 1961, said among other things that "*neo-colonialism is a new form of imperialism, especially American imperialism*" and that neo-colonialism "*is a form of indirect power which must proceed via political, economic, social, military, and technical affairs*". As distinct from "classical"

colonialism, neo-colonialism is not a sign of strength; it is a sign of the weakness and disintegration of the imperialist system, both economically and practically.

These observations are fully borne out by the events taking place in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

It is a fact that in the struggle against neo-colonialism, an important role is played by the organisations of the peoples of Asia-Africa-Latin America. In various international conferences such as the sessions of the Asian-African People's Solidarity Council in Bandung and Gaza, the Conference of the Peoples of Latin America for National Sovereignty, Economic Emancipation and Peace in Mexico, the Conference of Asian-African Writers in Cairo and other conferences, it has become very clearly apparent that the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are very much aware of how great the danger of neo-colonialism is, particularly US, British, West German and French neo-colonialism. The spirit of opposition to neo-colonialism is constantly increasing in these three continents.

In 1961, 29 colonial countries achieved political independence in the African continent, the last bastion of colonialism. This fact shows just how impossible it is to prevent the destruction of imperialism. However, these 29 states do not all have the same measure of independence, there are still many who get caught up in the trap of "French Community" neo-colonialism. Nevertheless, the African people themselves will certainly be able to use this initial independence to continue the struggle to completely expel the colonialists as we see happening in Mali and Guinea.

The most blatant example of US neo-colonialism can be seen clearly in the Congo, the country of the great hero Patrice Lumumba. Making use of the worse dregs of Congolese society such as Tsombe, Mobutu and Kasavubu and utilising the name of UNO, the US neo-colonialists are endeavouring to thrust aside their competitors, the Belgian and the British imperialists, in order to grab the extraordinarily rich natural resources of the Congo. This neo-colonialism

is very criminal indeed because it masks its filthy play with sweet words and conceals its crimes by making champions of the native "heroes of separatism".

Patrice Lumunba, the Prime Minister of the Congo, rose up courageously and opposed the neo-colonialism which was being forced upon his country. This struggle, waged together with the people of his country, a staunch-hearted and unwavering struggle in face of despotism of the neo-colonialists and their paid slaves, has made Patrice Lumumba a symbol of the awakening of Africa. The poet Anantaguna very correctly expressed the resolve and sentiments of the entire Indonesian people, yes, of all the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, when he said: *We all are Lumumba!* Patrice Lumumba is the clearest proof that neo-colonialism is no less criminal than classical colonialism, that neo-colonialism too is also a murderer. In the person of Patrice Lumumba is reflected the finest aspirations of the oppressed peoples, the aspirations for independence and peace. Let us for a moment stand in remembrance to honour this great hero, the beloved son of the African people and beloved by all progressive mankind.

Patrice Lumumba is not the only victim of US neo-colonialism. In their efforts to re-inforce their infiltration and their aspirations, the neo-colonialists have been working hard to suppress the democratic and patriotic groups and to unite the rebels and the separatists with the rightists who came to power after Lumumba was murdered. Moise Tsombe and Mobutu have been closely co-operating with the Leopoldsville Government which is headed by Adoula and Joseph Ileo, an important servant of the neo-colonialists. Antoine Gizenga, the Deputy Prime Minister of the Congo, loyal supporter of Patrice Lumumba's policy of national unity, is now facing the same fate as was experienced by Patrice Lumumba. Together with progressive mankind throughout the world, we demand that Antoine Gizenga who is now in prison and being tortured be released and restored to office.

The events in the Congo during the course of last year and at the present

prove just how the US imperialists can still misuse the United Nations Organisation for its neo-colonial purposes, as it did in Korea some years ago. This should constantly have our full attention and vigilance in face of the offers of "good offices" being made by the US and the UNO to settle the West Irian question.

In connection with the opposition to neo-colonialism in Africa the Party is happy and proud to send its most fervent salutations to the courageous people of Algeria; thanks to their struggle, thanks to the moral and material assistance and support of all progressive mankind, the Algerian patriots have been able to force the de Gaulle Government to conclude a cease-fire. This is a great victory for the entire people of Asia and Africa and proves once again that imperialism must be opposed by every means, both by war as well as by negotiations. The cease-fire indeed does not yet signify peace and the Algerian people must still wage a bitter and difficult struggle to consolidate the victories they have scored so far in their struggle for national independence. It is fitting for our Republic to establish diplomatic relations with the Republic of Algeria. This will strengthen the position of the Algerian representatives in the negotiations still to be held with France and it will also strengthen the position of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria on the international arena.

The Syrian independence movement, basing itself on broad national unity, was rapidly able to liberate Syria from "Egyptianisation". Besides succeeding in overthrowing the corrupt Farouk regime, the Egyptian military junta also succeeded in militarising practically all state political organs and economic organs in Egypt. The army officers who were placed in the economic bodies emerged eventually as bureaucrat-capitalists and only add consumptive and parasitical burdens to the Egyptian economy. In order to overcome these burdens, a "way out" was found by incorporating Syria into the territory under Egyptian rule. But events have proved that this could not last long because the Syrian people waged bitter resistance against Egypt which clung like a leech to the body of

Syria. The Syrian people rose up in revolt and kicked the Egyptians out.

In our neighbouring countries, attention should be paid to the role of the compradores who are being pushed to the fore by the imperialists, dressed up and offered as "national" leaders.

Prime Minister Tengku Abdulrahman of Malaya is now busily working for the formation of Malaysia, a federation that will include Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei. By means of this federation, Britain not only feels that it will be in a better position to continue its colonial domination over the peoples of these countries, but it also hopes to play an influential role in South-East Asia, such as being attempted through the ASA (Association of South-East Asia) project. They even cherish the dream that Indonesia eventually will become a member of ASA!

The Statement of the Party and the Resolution of the Third Plenum of the CC exposing the rottenness of the Malaysian scheme and warning of the danger of this scheme, also for Indonesia, put the neo-colonialists and their supporters into a panic, like a thief caught red-handed. They are frantic and desperately busy over the righteous opposition of the peoples of these five countries who are demanding independence, not the continuance of colonialism—even of the new variety as is intended by this Malaysian scheme.

The Indonesian people too must pay close attention to the tricks of the imperialists who are trying to practice neo-colonialism by making use of native hands, as is the case in Malaya, and must be very vigilant of this because it is clearly aimed at defending the position of the old established forces in South-East Asia.

Total defeat for Ngo Dinh Diem is approaching in South Vietnam even though he gets the assistance of all sorts of generals from the Pentagon (US Department of Defence). The present situation in South Vietnam and Laos proves very clearly just how dangerous are the old established forces headed by the US in their desperation to suppress the liberation struggle of the peoples of South East Asia. The US imperialists have shamelessly torn to shreds and

flouted the 1954 Geneva Agreement in which the US itself participated. The US imperialists are inundating the puppet Ngo Dinh Diem with weapons, military planes, "military advisers", military pilots and paratroopers who are already actively taking part in the attacks against the people's guerillas. The United States are taking an active part in the "*undeclared war*" against the people of South Vietnam who want democracy, national peace, a neutral policy and the re-unification of their country. In this way the US has created a grave situation there and is placing the situation in South-East Asia in jeopardy. In fact, thirsting for a continuation of Ngo Dinh Diem's despotic regime, Robert Kennedy once said that "the US will remain in South Vietnam until the victory". The US imperialists are repeating the crimes which they perpetrated in the Korean War and are beginning to use chemical weapons to crush the partisans and people of South Vietnam who are gaining day by day in the struggle to liberate their country from the dictator, Ngo Dinh Diem. The anti-Ngo Dinh Diem and the anti-US national front is getting broader and broader. The French daily "Aux Ecoutes" wrote on March 2nd, 1962, that the people participating in this anti-Ngo Dinh Diem movement include intellectuals, workers and military officers, anti-Communists from the upper strata of society, persons who once helped Diem to come to power but who were subsequently disillusioned by his filthy practices.

The conflict between the old established forces and the new emerging forces is raging in Laos. There too, once again, it is the US imperialists who are supporting and upholding the most reactionary and conservative forces, the Boun Oum-Nosavan clique, in order to break the struggle of the Laotian people who oppose the attempts to drag their country into the SEATO pact and who want to see the Zurich and Hin Hop agreement realised.

The Indonesian people still retain fresh memories of how the SEATO officials in Bangkok, South Vietnam and Laos jumped with joy when their agents in Indonesia launched the anti-Republic rebellion in 1958. For this reason, it is not correct for Indonesia,

the country which correctly formulated the political concept about the struggle between the old established forces and the new emerging forces and who is renown for its opposition to SEATO, to have remained passively "neutral" over the question of South Vietnam and Laos which are in fact problems for Indonesia.

A "good-neighbour policy" does not only mean that Indonesia must adopt a good attitude towards its neighbours but also that its neighbours must adopt a good attitude towards Indonesia. If there is a neighbour who adopts a bad attitude towards Indonesia, it is Indonesia's responsibility to adopt a similar and corrective attitude. Passive neutrality is even more incorrect at the present time when the old established forces are openly supporting with all their power all the subversive forces in South-East Asia in order to prevent Indonesia from liberating West Irian. The US policy in South Vietnam and in Laos is aimed at nothing other than intensifying the pressures being exerted upon Indonesia whose territory, West Irian, has been declared by the Admiral of the US Seventh Fleet, Kroech, as being within the "SEATO region". The time has come for the executors of Indonesia's foreign policy to abandon this passive "neutrality" and assist the newly born forces inside these two countries which are our neighbours, in the interests of our own struggle to liberate West Irian. Our foreign policy is active and independent, not neutral and passive.

The Indonesian Government must display the utmost vigilance against Japan which, together with the US and other imperialists, is conniving with the Dutch to preserve colonial power in West Irian. The Indonesian people have expressed their protests against the hostile attitude adopted by Japan and the US in the question of West Irian. It has been proven that Japan and the US are not only delivering weapons to the colonialists in South Vietnam and Laos, but that they are also providing services and assistance for Dutch army logistics in West Irian.

The Japanese people are now developing a struggle against the remilitarisation and re-fascistisation of their country which the US

imperialists and domestic monopolists are trying to force upon them. We express our full and fervent solidarity with the heroic Japanese people who are now waging a struggle for a People's Japan.

The people of South-East Asia know well and have experienced themselves just how SEATO is the centre of attraction for all the most reactionary forces in the countries of South-East Asia, including Indonesia. The failure of SEATO in engineering the RGRI-Permesta rebellion and other subversive activities in Indonesia does not mean that SEATO will not continue with its subversive activities. As the representative of the imperialists in this part of the world, SEATO cannot but be a force of attraction and the main pillar for all reactionary policies and forces in Indonesia and the other countries of South-East Asia. It is not impossible that SEATO will go on creating new clowns and players in order to carry out its subversive tricks, even though these clowns are fit for nothing but dustbin, such as Chiang Kai-shek, Ngo Dinh Diem, Pak Jung Heui and their ilk. Even the journalist Anton Zischa wrote that the US has "a unique talent for always backing the wrong horse". The problem, I think, is that they cannot make use of the other "horses", the good ones. That which remains is that "wrong horse", that hopeless horse.

SEATO is not compact as is evidenced by the fact that 4 out of its 8 members, that is the US, Thailand, the Philippines, and Australia, decided to "wage war against Communist aggression without waiting for unanimous agreement of all the members of the alliance". This new aspect shows that there is no unanimity among the SEATO members and it is the beginning of further splits. Even so SEATO still remains a danger. SEATO must continuously be opposed and it must be defeated and forced to dissolve. This in the first place means to fight with might and main against SEATO subversive activities in our country.

In Latin America, the US has launched its neo-colonialist scheme called the "Alliance for Progress" (Allianza Para Progresso) aimed

at subordinating Latin America to the interests of US monopolies. This plan which, it is alleged, will give aid in various fields to Latin American countries and "their entire populations", is in essence nothing but an attempt to carry out large-scale US capital investments in Latin America. The US Government has requested Congress to agree to a sum of $ 500 million to begin with the implementation of this plan. This US plan is meeting with fierce resistance from the side of the Latin American people and never has the struggle against Yankee imperialism been so fierce as at present since the plan has been put into practice. The defeat of the shameless landing of US mercenaries on Giron Beach in Cuba one year ago has further encouraged the armed struggle of the peoples of Venezuela, Guatemala, Bolivia, and other Latin American countries.

The failure of the US to draw the Latin American countries over to its side at the Punta del Este Conference in facing heroic Cuba, the first liberated state in Latin America which is now embarking on the road of Socialist construction, clearly shows that the position of the USA in its own "backyard" is far from being solid and stable.

3. Sharpening of Contradictions Among the Imperialists

The growing weakness of the imperialist camp is not only marked by its failure in Asia, Africa and Latin America but also from the sharpening of contradictions within the imperialist camp itself. These contradictions hasten the process of the disintegration of imperialism.

The most recent example of how far this process of contradictions has gone is Canada. Canada is normally considered by the US imperialists as being "their own property", as a full partner about whose loyalty there can be no doubt. And now this very Canada is beginning openly to oppose the domination of its elder brother.

Despite the US prohibition, Canada has not stopped its trade with Cuba. Prime Minister Diefenbaker's rejection of the US request to

store US nuclear warheads in Canada means that the position of the US in its own "front garden" is not so sound as the Pentagon thought.

In West Europe, the US imperialists are facing sharpening resistance from the imperialist countries there.

Britain, who has for centuries played the leading role in Europe, is becoming less and less happy over US policies which champion the West German imperialist-militarists. Even though Great Britain has succumbed to US pressure to enter the European Common Market, the British imperialists are not stopping their activities against the US within NATO in order to preserve their position of leadership in Europe. This resistance has also become apparent over the question of West Berlin where, on the one hand, Britain is carrying out the US line while on the other hand they are inclined towards a settlement of the West Berlin question through negotiations with the Soviet Union.

De Gaulle, who is also yearning for a return to France's "greatness" of bygone days, is striving hard to seize the leading position in West Europe. Having forgotten the two German imperialist attacks against France in a period of less than half a century, de Gaulle, in an attempt to satisfy his passions, does not hesitate to work in co-operation with the West German militarists in order to push the British out. Despite opposition from the USA, de Gaulle is continuing with his plans to manufacture his own nuclear weapons in order to stregthen France's position which, he hopes, he will be able to utilise in his bargaining with the USA.

On the other hand, West Germany is striving hard to make NATO the "fourth nuclear power" which in everyday language means forcing Britain and France to abandon their supervision over nuclear weapons and surrender them to the NATO leadership which consists for the large part of former Nazi generals. On the other hand, Britain wants to preserve joint US-British control but is also prepared to recognise France as an atomic power, calculating that it can break the de Gaulle-Adenauer co-operation and keep West Germany in the position of a second class nuclear power.

Such is the international situation at the present time, a situation that is very favourable to the people's movement, to the democratic movement, the movement for national independence, peace and progress.

This situation shows that everywhere the position of the world imperialists, headed by the US, is on the decline and becoming weaker while the revolutionary people's movement and the Communist Parties are making continual progress and occupying a position of growing political importance. In general elections held recently, both in Asia—in India and Japan, as well as in West Wurope—the Netherlands, in Northern Europe—Finland, and also in Latin America—in Chile and Argentina, the Communist Parties have made progress.

This does not mean that imperialism is already powerless. The truth is that the imperialists, who are fast approaching their doom, can become even more desperate and cunning in their efforts to prolong their life. But it is also equally true, as the events and developments described above prove, that if resisted the imperialists also retreat. This is why the new emerging forces in this country, while intensifying their blows against imperialism, must also redouble their national vigilance so as not to be lulled by the flatteries and coaxings of the imperialists. This is why, above all, we must safeguard anti-imperialist unity as the apple of our eyes.

4. There Must Be No Dualism!

It's quite clear that Indonesia is experiencing an international situation that is favourable to its national struggle.

If Indonesia is now respected by other nations, this is because of its anti-imperialist and peace-loving policy, not non-committed and not anti-Socialist camp, but together with the Socialist camp against imperialism and colonialism.

The concept regarding the struggle between the new emerging for-

ces and the old established forces which was born by the Republic of Indonesia is an extremely important achievement and accomplishment in the development of the foreign policy of the Republic of Indonesia since our Sixth National Congress.

In view of the progressiveness of Indonesia's foreign policy today, it is quite proper for Indonesia and various Socialist countries to have reached common agreement regarding a number of international problems, such as is expressed in the Joint Statement of President Sukarno and President Zavadsky of Poland which was signed in Djakarta on October 10th, 1961. The two Presidents reached agreement and a common stand regarding imperialism as the basic source of all international tensions, regarding the question of Germany and West Berlin, regarding West Irian, regarding the United Nations and China's membership in that body and regarding other important international questions.

This foreign policy has placed Indonesia on the international arena in a position of sufficient influence among the non-bloc countries. The developments in Indonesia's foreign policy at the present time bear out the correctness of what the Sixth National Party Congress held two-and-a-half years ago said to the effect that "co-operation with the Socialist countries in the international front for peace and anti-colonialism guarantee safety, progress and a better future for the Republic of Indonesia" and that "Indonesia should place itself as an active participant in this front", that is, the international anti-colonial and peace-loving front.

In keeping with the true foreign policy, the Foreign Minister, Dr. Subandrio, has expressed his approval for the expanded formation of Indonesian Peace Committees and has already stated his sympathy for and assistance to conferences of progressive international mass organisations held in Indonesia. This attitude is in keeping with Indonesia's anti-imperialist and peace-loving active and independent foreign policy, its foreign policy which sides with and aims at strengthening the new emerging forces. The strange thing is that in all parts of Indonesia with the exception of a few towns, there is still a ban

on the establishments of Leagues of Friendship and Leagues of Cultural Relations with foreign countries. This is an obstacle to the development of the political consciousness of the people in support of Indonesia's foreign policy, in strengthening the friendship between the Indonesian people and other peoples. This prohibition, which aims at shutting the Indonesian people up in a shell, should be lifted immediately and the feelings of friendship of the Indonesian people for the peoples of other countries should be allowed to grow and develop, to beautify and strengthen the international tree of friendship that has already grown up on fertile Indonesian soil.

Indonesia's foreign policy today is clear enough and has been objectively formulated by President Sukarno, particularly in his speech *To Build the World Anew* and the speech at the Conference of Non-Bloc Countries. The question now is the implementation or more concretely the *apparatus of implementation*. Experience shows that as long as President Sukarno himself directly and actively leads the activities of the Republic of Indonesia in international politics, there is unity, there is no dualism, between concept and implementation.

The fact that, up to the present, an ambassador to Cuba has not yet been appointed, that diplomatic relations have not yet been established with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, with the Korean People's Democratic Republic and with the German Democratic Republic, while in the field of sport, Indonesia still maintains normal relations with Taiwan, as well as other facts show that, in its implementation, Indonesia's foreign policy is not yet fully in accord with and at one in spirit with the line that has been laid down. It is very keenly felt that the persons implementing Indonesia's foreign policy, in particular Indonesia's diplomats, not only require indoctrination regarding the lines of policy of the State, the Manipol, but they also need, in the first place, thorough indoctrination about the implementation of this line of state policy in the sphere of foreign affairs, about the essence and the spirit of President Sukarno's foreign policy, especially about the struggle of the new emerging forces in the world today against the old established forces.

It is the responsibility of every Indonesian patriot to make sure that there is unity between the formulation and the implementation of foreign policy, to prevent dualism from appearing between the political concept drawn up and the implementation in practice, so that the Manipol is fully practiced in the field of our Republic's foreign policy.

5. The CPI and the International Communist Movement

While speaking about the international situation, I feel that it is necessary to speak about the CPI's relations with the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world, the CPI's relations with the international workers' movement and the international Communist movement.

The Sixth National Congress stated among other things that "Our Party's relations with fraternal parties is getting closer everyday, both through studying the experiences of the fraternal Parties as well as through attending their congresses or through personal contacts between the leaders of our Party and the leaders of fraternal Parties". Our Party continues to strive to strengthen further its relations with fraternal Parties. The difference of opinion that has arisen in the international Communist movement, particularly since the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at the end of last year, has not only not led to a slackening of these relations with fraternal Parties but has made us work harder to strengthen these relations. This is in the interests of the international working class and in the interests of the Indonesian people themselves because there can be no doubt that the kernel of the new emerging forces in each country is the working class and its Party.

The difference of opinion in the international Communist movement is only a passing phenomenon. All Marxist-Leninist Parties pursue the same final objective, that is, by revolutionary means to put an end to the exploitation of man by man, to create a new

world, a world of Socialism and Communism, in which all men live in peace and happiness. Only we must not forget that there are now about 90 Marxist-Leninist Parties in the world and more than 42 million Communists led by thousands of Central Committee members not all of whom possess or fully possess the characteristics of Marx, Engels and Lenin. This is why we should not be surprised if there still are people among the Communist leaders who like to exaggerate the difference of opinion rather than stressing the unity of opinion, who do not give prime place to primary things, who cannot restrain themselves if there is another Communist Party that holds a different view regarding non-basic or less basic problems, or problems which are basic but the solution of which can be postponed.

As has been the case throughout, our Party has, in face of the phenomenon that has appeared during and since the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, continued to place prime importance upon the unity of the world Communist movement, giving prime place to the primary thing. This was stated in the decision of the Plenum of the CC which was held during the last days of last year. The basis for world Communist unity is very strong indeed because, in addition to the theory of Marxism-Leninism, we also have the 1957 "*Declaration*" which was made complete by the 1960 "*Statement*".

The Statement of the 81 Parties in Moscow in Novemebr 1960 was proclaimed in a situation which, according to the words of the "Statement" itself, "demands the further consolidation of all the revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism, for national independence and for Socialism".

In the history of the international Communist movement, we have known the First Internationale which was founded and led by Marx and Engels, the Comintern which was founded and led by Lenin and the friendly meetings without any form of organisational ties, such as the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960. The First Internationale had its documents, the Comintern had its documents, while

the 1957 meeting gave birth to the "Declaration" and the 1960 meeting gave birth to the "Statement". These documents alone are valid as international documents, as the platform for all Communist Parties.

As was stated by the Third Plenum of the CC of our Party, we have carried out widespread and intensive propaganda to popularise the "Statement", to make it the possession of the masses.

What are the basic contents of the 1960 "Statement"?

* That the foremost feature of our present era is that the Socialist world system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society;

* That US imperialism has become the greatest international exploiter, the foremost bulwark of reaction and the international gendarmerie as well as the main force of aggression and war, that US imperialism is the enemy of the peoples of the whole world;

* That a new stage has begun in the development of the general crisis of capitalism and that the conflict between the productive forces and the relations of production in the capitalist countries has never been so acute;

* That a new stage has also begun in the development of the world Socialist system, that Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the People's Republic of China, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, together with the great Soviet Union, form the mighty Socialist camp and have made outstanding advances, that this camp has proven its unflagging strength;

* That today the restoration of capitalism has been rendered impossible socially and economically, not only in the Soviet Union but also in the other Socialist countries;

* That the inviolable law of mutual relations between the Socialist countries is to abide firmly by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and Socialist internationalism, that every country in the Socialist camp is guaranteed equal rights and genuine independence;

* That the question of peace and war is the most burning question of our times, that imperialism brings serious dangers for all mankind, that the peoples must now be more vigilant than ever before, that as long as imperialism exists, there is fertile soil for aggressive war;

* That the implementation of the programme of general and complete disarmament put forward by the Soviet Union will be of historic importance for mankind; that the realisation of this programme is not an easy matter because of the stubborn resistance of the imperialists, and that therefore it is absolutely necessary for an active and bitter struggle to be waged to oppose the aggressive imperialist forces;

* That the five principles put forward jointly by the Chinese People's Republic and the Republic of India and the principles adopted by the Bandung Conference are in conformity with the interests of peace and the peace-loving people;

* That the aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed, that real forces have been created which are capable of foiling their aggressive schemes, that world war can be prevented by the joint efforts of the world Socialist camp, the international working class, the national independence movement, all countries that oppose war and all peace-loving forces;

* That the broadest possible united front of the supporters of peace, fighters against the policy of aggression and war inspired by US imperialism is indispensably necessary for the preservation of peace, that the intrigues of the war-mongers must be untiringly exposed, that this struggle must be strengthened with every passing day, that if any crazy imperialist were to unleash war the peoples would smash and bury capitalism;

* That the destruction of colonialism is absolutely unavoidable, that from the point of view of its historic significance, the disintegration of the colonial system of slavery as a result of the blows of the national liberation movement is the second most important development after the formation of the world Socialist system;

* That the Great October Socialist Revolution awakened the East, draw the colonial peoples into the general tide of the world revolutionary movement. The victory of the Soviet Union in the Second World War, the establishment of the system of People's Democracy in some countries of Europe and Asia, the victory of the Socialist revolution in China, the formation of the world Socialist system, have greatly speeded up this process;

* That the face of Asia has changed radically, that in Africa the colonial system is in the process of disintegration, that a front of active struggle against imperialism has opened up in Latin America;

* That the bulwark of modern colonialism is the USA, that the imperialists headed by the US are striving desperately by new methods and new forms to preserve the colonial exploitation of the peoples of the former colonial countries;

* That colonial oppression can only be defeated by a resolute struggle against imperialism and the survivals of feudalism, by means of uniting all the patriotic forces of the nation in a democratic national united front;

* That it is the working class that plays an especial role in this struggle, that without radical agrarian reforms it is not possible to solve the problem of food, to destroy all the survivals of the middle ages; that the alliance of workers and peasants is the most important and basic force in the national front; that the extent to which the national bourgeoisie participates in this front depends to a considerable degree upon the strength and might of this alliance;

* That reactionary groups, under the banner of "anti-Communism", strive to destroy the national front, to isolate the Communists as the vanguard of the liberation movement, that anti-people and anti-democratic actions must be actively opposed;

* That the Communist Parties actively struggle for the consistent completion of the democratic anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution, that is to say, for the consistent completion of the national democratic revolution; that Communists will always recognise the

revolutionary and progressive significance of wars of national liberation and they are the most active fighters for national independence;

* That the favourable conditions exist for rallying the forces that can be rallied, that unity can be achieved on the basis of the struggle for national independence, peace and democracy, including radical agrarian reforms, and that the most important responsibility of the working class is to lead the economic and political struggle of the people for democratic reforms;

* That the Communists regard the struggle for democracy as a part of the struggle for Socialism, that above all else, everything must be done to eliminate splits in the national front, that united actions must be developed for the growth of democracy and resistance to the danger of fascism;

* That the behest of the great Lenin—to go deeper among the masses, to work wherever there are masses, to strengthen the ties with the masses in order to lead them—must become the major task of every Communist Party;

* That the Socialist revolution cannot be imported, and it cannot be forced upon people from outside, that the Communists always oppose the export of revolution but that they also resolutely struggle to oppose the export of counter-revolution by the imperialists, and that it is the international duty of the people everywhere firmly to prevent or beat back imperialist interference in the affairs of any people who have risen in revolution;

* That in every country, the actual possibilities of the one or the other way of transition to Socialism depend on the concrete historical conditions, and that whatever the transition, this will only be possible by broad and ceaseless development of the class struggle by the workers, the peasant masses and the urban middle strata against reaction;

* That the world Communist movement has become the most influential political force of our times, a most important factor for the progress of mankind;

* That international opportunism of the Yugoslav type, modern revisionism, in addition to betraying Marxism-Leninism, also wages subversive activities against the Socialist camp and the world Communist movement, and that therefore further exposure, the active struggle against the Yugoslav revisionism which is now in a position of dependence upon US imperialist "aid", remains an essential task of Marxist-Leninist Parties;

* That a determined struggle must be waged, both against revisionism which remains the main danger, as well as against dogmatism and sectarianism;

* That under conditions in which imperialist reaction is joining forces to fight Communism, it is particularly necessary to unite the world Communist movement with all our strength, to continuously consolidate this unity as the indispensable condition for victory, that all Marxist-Leninist Parties are independent and have equal rights, that they shape their policies themselves in keeping with Marxism-Leninism and support each other, that violations of these principles would impair the forces of Communism, that if questions arise between Communist Parties that have to be cleared up they hold meetings and consultations as the effective form and collective effort to elaborate a common attitude in the struggle for common objectives;

* That the CPSU has been and remains the universally-recognised vanguard of the world Communist movement and that its Twentieth Congress is of great significance not only for the CPSU and for Communist construction in the USSR;

* That ideological issues are of especial significance, that it is the task of all Communists to struggle to free the people from all forms of bourgeois spiritual bondage, to develop Party work on a very broad and varied scale, to undertake Communist education of the masses, and

* That Communist and Workers' Parties contribute to the great theory of Marxism-Leninism; that mutual assistance and support in relations between all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties is the

application in practice of the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism; that the further consolidation of the Communist and Workers' Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the primary condition for the unification of all working class, democratic and progressive forces, as a guarantee for new victories of the world Communist and working class movement.

Such are some of the basic points in the Statement of 81 Parties. This is our guide in our efforts unceasingly and unflaggingly to strengthen the relations with fraternal Parties. We are convinced that, guided by the Declaration and the Statement, the divergencies in the world Communist movement will be overcome within a very short period. This conviction of ours is reinforced by the fact that all the *signatories of the Declaration and the Statement have declared that they remain loyal to these documents.*

We are Indonesian Marxist-Leninists, we are Indonesian Communists. We hold high the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and together with this we have to creatively shape the policy, tactics, forms of struggle and organisation of our Party based on the concrete situation obtaining in our country. Our Marxism-Leninism is Marxism-Leninism applied to Indonesia. Indonesianized Marxism-Leninism is not dogmatic but creative.

As the Statement points out, our Party is independent and has equal rights, shapes its own policy according to the concrete conditions in our country and supports other Marxist-Leninist Parties, while enjoying their support. Our Party is responsible to the Indonesian working class and working people, to the world working class and Communist movement.

That is why it is our duty to continuously work to strengthen the world Communist movement. This means that we strengthen the movement for independence, democracy, peace, Socialism and Communism. We don't want the enemies of the people and the enemies of the working class to gain advantage from any split however small in the world Communist movement.

PART III

THE PARTY

1. Ever forward to Fulfil the Target of the Second Three Year Plan

Our glorious Sixth National Congress issued clear directives greatly inspired and helped to mobilise us in carrying out the task to continue to build the Party. These directives were among other things that in order to strengthen Party unity, evenly disseminated Party education must be undertaken, that a constant fight against subjectivism should be waged, that every Party member must know Marxism-Leninism and know the situation, that the entire work of the Party should be guided by a realistically drawn up Plan, that the Party must be strengthened, expanded and renewed uninterruptedly and that we should incessantly strengthen the unity with the masses and lead the masses in a correct and bold way.

We have elaborated these tasks in detail in the Second Three-Year Plan for Education and Organisation while putting the emphasis on education.

As was the case with the implementation of the First Three-Year Plan, this Second Three-Year Plan too is meeting with many obstacles, especially from the side of those inflicted with Communist-phobia, both at the centre as well as in the regions.

As we all know, the reactionary diehards at first wanted to dissolve all political parties since they looked upon political parties as obstacles to their arbitrary actions. However, in spite of all their efforts to have the parties dissolved, the people continue to have confidence in and stand behind the parties which, throughout the struggle for national independence, democracy and improved living standards, have demonstrated the positive role they play. The people reject those political adventurers who sided more with the colonialists than with the revolutionary struggle of the people during the colonial

era. The harder they tried to press the parties, the stronger the parties resisted and the more closely united the parties became with the people. This cannot be otherwise since blows aimed at revolutionary parties are blows against the revolutionary people themselves, in particular against the political rights and liberties of the people.

The people know full well who their leaders are. The ability to lead cannot be bought, it cannot be imposed and there is no school for it. It can be acquired only in the very struggle for the people's interests. That is why self-styled leaders appear on the scene one after the other but then one by one they leave it again without so much as a by-your-leave.

The main target in dealing blows against political parties is of course the Communist Party since they calculate that after having crushed the CPI it will not be too difficult anymore to dissolve the other parties.

After having failed to dissolve the parties by slandering and attacking the parties simultaneously, they changed their tactics, that is, they themselves are now reinforcing one of the parties in which the bureaucrat-capitalists have settled down and are concentrating their attacks against the CPI. Their "theory" is as follows: "first destroy the CPI, the other parties are an easy affair, it is quite easy to break their necks". Yet it is difficult to put this theory into practice. *Firstly* because of the resistance put up by the Communists and the working people, and *secondly*, because the other democratic parties and their followers feel that what is being done against the CPI is but an initial step to cut the throat of all parties. In some places success was achieved in compelling some of the other parties to join in backing a ban on the CPI, but in general those parties which have democratic traditions have refused to become tools with which to beat the CPI.

In concentrating their attacks against the CPI, the reactionaries also make use of the *Pantja Sila*, alleging that the foundations of the state do not accord with the CPI and that therefore the CPI must

be eliminated. By so doing, they seek to separate the CPI from the other parties so as then to be able to get their hands on it. However this attempt also failed, the people put up stiff resistance, the other parties did not respond and President Sukarno termed this attempt as being the action of madmen. In his Re-so-pim speech President Sukarno said among other things: "The Pantja Sila is an instrument of unity. It is not a splitter. With the Pantja Sila we also unite the three great trends we call NASAKOM... Don't use the Pantja Sila to split NASAKOM, to set the Nationalists against the Religious people, to set the Religious people against the Communists, the Nationalists against the Communists. Whoever plays around with the Pantja Sila with the intention of instigating one against the other—is one who does not understand the Pantja Sila at all, is a traitor to the Pantja Sila, is a... madman". The CPI accepts the Pantja Sila as the state foundation of the Republic of Indonesia since it is an instrument to unite the people in the struggle for a democratic New Indonesia with Socialism as its future. Hence there is nothing unclear as to why the CPI accepts the Pantja Sila as the foundation of the state.

In the framework of the efforts to smash the CPI, the "experiment of the 3 Souths"—South Sumatera, South Kalimantan and South Sulawesi—was carried out with the intention, if successful, of spreading it to other regions. Various provocations were launched against the CPI in these three regions. It is necessary to note here that President Sukarno who understands the function of parties, in particular the function of the CPI in pushing forward developments in the political life in our country, particularly in implementing the idea of Guided Democracy, directly interfered in putting an end to the "experiment of the 3 Souths".

After this attempt at dissolving the CPI had also failed and the "experiment of the 3 Souths" only further exposed the diehard attitude of the reactionaries, they still wanted to abolish the role of parties by attempting to convert the National Front organisation into a state party. But this, too, failed.

In short, ever since the Sixth National Congress, blows have been directed against our Party. And if there is such a thing as the greatest achievement of the revolutionary and democratic movement during the period under review, then this is: *The CPI stands ever erect and has become greater!* The Indonesian proletariat and working people put up an all-out defence of their Party and continued to expand it!

Of course, as long as there are reactionaries, the CPI will meet with obstructions and blows. That is why we Communists must be prepared at any moment to face up to the obstructions and blows of the reactionaries. At times these obstructions and blows are light and at times they are heavy.

Communists who think that the Party and that they themselves will not be disturbed by the reactionaries, are unrealistic Communists who do not know what they are, and such Communist will complain, despair and retreat, get startled and panicky when they encounter obstacles. Yet these obstructions are in the way of things since, according to both our own Party programme as well as the Political Manifesto and all the guides to its implementation, we as revolutionaries have the duty to fight the imperialists, feudalists and the other reactionaries. That is why we have done something praiseworthy; we did not complain and did not retreat in face of the obstruction and blows of the reactionaries. We have put up fierce resistance.

All obstructions have failed to slacken Party activities. The reverse is true; they have steeled us. In Indonesia there are still imperialists and their agents and that is why we must always be ready to face them, warded off their blows and strike back at them. It is fitting for me to salute from this rostrum the cadres and Party members in South Sumatera, South Kalimantan and South Sulawesi who struggled against and succeeded in foiling the "experiment of the 3 Souths". Their experiences, as well as the experiences of comrades in Sumatera and Sulawesi in general in combating the RGRI-Permesta, of comrades in West Java against the Kartosuwirjo gangs; and our other experiences, teach us that the reactionaries will definitely

retreat if resisted. And this demands courage and once more courage, demands skill and once again skill!

Defeat the reactionaries; this is the way to win victory for the Manipol. We must fight for Manipol, we must make sacrifices for Manipol. Those who shout hurrah for the Manipol but who don't fight the reactionaries, or even take the reactionaries to their bosoms, are fake Manipolists. As Communists we are genuine Manipolists, revolutionary Manipolists. This is the reason why the reactionaries and these fake Manipolists don't like us, obstruct and attack us. This is an honour for us; we are on the right road. What will happen if the reactionaries don't beat us. This is only possible if we do nothing or if we follow on the trail of the reactionaries.

And now too the reactionaries are still obstructing us, aimed both directly against the CPI as well as indirectly by prohibiting the activities and arresting cadres of the mass organisations.

Up till now 7 magazines published under the guidance of the CC and some Party publications in the regions are not allowed to appear since the responsible authorities have not yet issued a permit, whereas the *Harian Rakjat* has been suspended many times during the period under review and is still prohibited from circulation in South Sumatra and Djambi. The Central Committee will continue to fight for the publication of these magazines because we recognise the truth of Marx's words that the struggle for the freedom of the press forms a most important part of the struggle for Socialism. Of course, it is freedom for the revolutionary press that Marx had in mind. The struggle for the freedom of the press must be constantly intensified since this is in conformity with Article 28 of the 1945 Constitution which guarantees "freedom to organise and to assemble, to express opinions orally and in written form, etc.", and with the Manipol which guarantees "freedom to express opinions" or "those rights which are usually called democracy".

In short, in facing the diehard reactionaries we must fight in a bolder way, more skillfully, more vigilantly, more tenaciously and more painstakingly. We must carry out the "*Five More's*":

more courageously, more skillfully, more vigilantly, more tenaciously and more painstakingly".

In spite of many difficulties, the Second Three-Year Plan is in the main proceeding well. We have given pride of place to the upbuilding of ideology, to the education of Marxism-Leninism in the Second Three-Year Plan, without, of course, for a moment forgetting the work to continue the upbuilding of the Party such as increasing Party membership and expanding the revolutionary mass organisations, promoting candidate-members to full members, intensifying collection of Party dues and intensively looking after Party Committees, sections, fractions and groups.

The further intensification of Marxist-Leninist education in the Party and the even dissemination of the study of philosophy have led to Party ideology being greatly strengthened.

With the increasing strength of Party ideology, Party discipline has strengthened too, it has become possible to avoid deviations from the mass line in the political fields, to resists the tendency to put one's own interest above the interests of the people and the Party. And the national front policy, too, has become more deeply understood by the Party cadres, there has been greater flexibility in fighting for revolutionary outlooks and opinions and in guarding the independence of the Party.

This increased strength in Party ideology is also apparent from the fact that Party unity has gained in strength and that contradictions within Party Committees, resulting from differences in views on policy, have been reduced. Every political line and tactic decided upon by the Central Committee, after having been explained, is immediately understood by Party cadres both at the centre and the regions.

One can feel throughout the Party that the cadres are enthusiastically studying theory. Not only at the centre but also in many regions we have a corps of cadres possessing theory. Such a corps of theoretically-educated cadres is important equipment for the Committees, both the Central Committee and the Major

District Committees, so that Party Committees, in this case their Standing Committees, have two greatly needed hands, the *Committee's Secretariat* and *corps of theoretically-educated cadres*. In this way the daily work of the Party is continuously being illumined by Marxist-Leninist theory, while theoretical work develops because it is being fertilized by practice.

The things requiring early solution in our efforts to intensify Marxist-Leninist education in the Party are in the first place: the question of *tutors* by holding more Tutors' Schools at all Committee levels concerned; and the continued *shortage of textbooks* by solving the question of compiling and printing them. It may be more effective for various regions if textbooks for Political Schools were printed in the local language.

There are some comrades who think that the difficulties encounted in fulfilling the targets of the plan are due mainly to two factors: *democratic rights are too limited* and *life is too difficult*. Though they don't say so, the conclusion can be drawn that plan targets can be realised only if democratic rights are broader and conditions of life better. Of course there is connection between implementing the plan, and democratic rights and living conditions. But it should not be fotgotten that if the Party is weak no one else will give us democracy, and nobody will come and bring us food to our house. A life-and-death struggle must be waged both for democracy and improvements in living conditions, and this can only be successful if the Party and the masses of the people are a mighty political force.

So, don't put the cart before the horse. It is not a question of democracy and improvements in living conditions first, and only then will it be possible for the implementation of the Plan to run smoothly. The contrary is true. Implementing the Plan, strengthening the Party and the revolutionary movement are a must in order to obtain democracy and improved living conditions.

Facts show that in those regions where the problem is put upside down—which means nothing but passivity in ideology—the Plan does not proceed smoothly and difficulties can only be over-

come slowly. In some regions, however, where cadres have a correct, active and offensive attitude in ideology, that is, struggling for the implementation of the Plan and at the same time struggling against difficulties, both those due to the limited nature of democracy as well as those due to the severety of living conditions, there we see that the Plan proceeds well and that difficulties can be overcome in good time.

Hence, precisely in order to obtain expansion of democratic rights and improvements in living conditions, we should struggle might and main to fulfil the targets of the plan.

The limitations in democratic rights must become an impetus to implement the Plan with greater enthusiasm since our Plan is precisely in order to expand and strengthen democracy. Difficult living conditions must become an impetus to implement the Plan with greater enthusiasm because our Plan is precisely in order to hold still higher the banner of the August 1945 Revolution and the banner of the Manipol. We are all of the same opinion that only by consistent implementation of the demands of the August 1945 Revolution and of the Manipol will it be possible to bring about improvements in living conditions in the real sense of the term.

As is the case with the execution of other Party tasks, too, shortcomings in implementing the Plan are due to the lack of ability and of skill in connecting one problem with another and carrying out several jobs at the same time. Constant leadership and control are needed to increase ability. Through constant leadership and control it will be possible to maintain a high spirit among the cadres, to help create initiative and to give directives and rectify mistakes in time. Competition in implementing the Plan should be linked with helping weaker Committees and organisations, it should be done by launching brief campaigns at certain times, e.g. it should be connected with historic days, and by adhering to the line "go down to help to lower organisations".

The method of giving leadership as outlined by the Sixth Congress that is, welding general appeals with concrete directives and welding

leadership with the masses, is decisive, and should therefore be strictly adhered to. This method of leadership should be earnestly put into practice and, in addition to becoming material for discussion in the Committees, should be taught in Party Schools at all levels. Viewed from this angle, the necessity is felt for each regions to have its own *concrete plan* drafted on the basis of local concrete realities and the Programme of Demands, and inspired by the General Programme of the CPI. The method of giving leadership should always be linked up with a correct style of work, that is welding theory to practice, having close ties with the masses of the people and self-criticism.

In our efforts to fulfil or overfulfil the targets of the Second Three-Year Plan, special attention should be given to increase the number of Political Schools and People's Courses, to promoting candidate members to full membership, to expanding Party membership and membership of the revolutionary mass organisations, and to intensifying collection of Party dues. In short, we must carry out a special campaign for implementation of the last part of the Second Three-Year Plan, that is the *Four Increases Movement:* (1) increase the number of Political Schools and People's Courses; (2) increase the membership of the Party and of the mass organisations; (3) increase the number of candidate members becoming full members; (4) increase the collection of Party dues. But the most important thing, or the key of all keys, is the even spread out of Political Schools and People's Courses meaning that we continue to lay emphasis on *education* in the last year of the Second Three-Year Plan.

A corps of functionaries should be organised at each Committee level in order to implement the "Four Increases Movement". These functionaries should be sent to lower Committees down to the groups. This large-scale movement of going down should be undertaken in the first place by cadres from the Section and Sub-Section Committee level, and together with the functionaries of the Sub-Section Committees, cadres from the Section Committees

should go down to the Basic Committees and, if necessary, down to the groups. As is the case with all other campaigns, the key problem to success for the Four Increases Movement lies in activising and increasing the ability of the Sub-Section Committees to give leadership. Without doing this, it will be impossible to make the movement a success and, moreover, to consolidate the results already achieved in this movement.

The life in the basic organisations of the Party depends on the Sub-Section Committees. From this the conclusion can be drawn that it is of extreme importance to intensify the Section Party Schools and the Section Tutor Schools which train cadres from the Sub-Section Committees.

2. Ever Forward to Weld the Unity of the Party with the Masses of the People

In order to improve the mass work of the Party, the Sixth National Congress issued the guidance "walking on two feet", that is, we should always combine *stirring work* with *painstaking work*, combine the work of arousing enthusiasm with the daily, practical, thorough and conscientious work covering the field of organisation, education, politics and ideology.

Without stirring work, there will be no mobilisation and expression of the firm resolve of the masses, and without painstaking work, good preparations for stirring actions will be impossible and it will be likewise impossible to consolidate the results achieved in stirring actions. It is only through adhering to "walking on two feet" that our mass actions will achieve success and that the militancy of the masses will increase. Successful actions are those actions which consolidate the unity of the masses, enhance the political consciousness of the masses and strengthen the Party.

The necessity of combining stirring work and painstaking work is widely understood by Party cadres, and in many places this

guide has indeed been put into practice. The implementation of this principle is, however, not well balanced, since in general, painstaking work is still not being done well enough with the result that the basis for well-lead stirring actions is not strong and achievements already obtained by stirring work cannot be well consolidated. This lack in painstaking work is the reason why Party Committees are not able enough to maintain continuity in their work, and they don't know the social and economic situation, the organisational and political consciousness of the masses well.

This is why we must lay stronger emphasis in our future work on painstaking work among the masses, this is why we must educate and train more cadres for such work and we must carry out a more suitable policy of employing cadres within the framework of bringing the Party organisation into line with the rapidly developing situation. We must look for forms of activities which at the same time link painstaking activities with stirring activities, which at the same time link educational work with organisational work. These activities, however, must be such as to enable the most backward member to carry them out, as by way of example the 1,001 Movement, the campaign to collect signatures for a reduction in prices, the movement to collect spoonfuls of rice, visiting each other's homes and discussing simple subjects or making use of leaflets and so on.

The successes and failures in carrying out painstaking work should be collected and analysed in order to draw conclusions that enable us to draft better guides for this kind of work.

The presence in the leadership of mass organisations at the highest and lowest levels of one or more comrades who are doing painstaking work, as we can observe now, is of course very gratifying and should be expanded. But still there is the question whether these comrades really devote their entire attention to the work entrusted to them so that they have really taken full responsibility for conscientious and thorough practical daily work related to the life of the masses, and covering the fields of organisation, politics and ideology. This is a big job and demands very many cadres because this type of

work cannot possibly be carried out by a cadre who already has some other jobs to do.

In this Congress we should therefore remind those Party Committees which have not yet earnestly carried out the cadre policy and the *way of looking after cadres* laid down by the Second Plenum of the CC in December 1960. We have a clear yardstick concerning cadre policy and the way of looking after cadres. By strictly adhering this policy and way, Party Committees at all levels as well as those comrades working in mass organisations *must be bolder in promoting cadres.*

We cannot talk about "cultivating a great number of capable and charactered people", reducing the number of jobs done by one comrade and bringing the organisation into line with the rapidly developing situation, if there is still anxiety over or lack of confidence in cadres at lower levels who can in fact only progress if they are given greater responsibility.

There is no such a thing as stupid cadres or bad cadres as long as they are given good leadership and are treated justly. They are revolutionaries who joined the revolutionary ranks without being ordered or even compelled to. They are children of the revolution. Give them, therefore, a proper place in the revolutionary ranks. This also means developing the "new emerging forces".

It is thus clear that improving painstaking work is also of great importance for the efforts to create many cadres. We should carry out painstaking work while putting into practice the guide of "walking on two feet". We have, in the main, put this guide into practice. Yet we feel and it is indeed so, that there are still many shortcomings especially as far as painstaking work is concerned.

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The Sixth National Congress of the Party entrusted us with the task of continuously strengthening the position of the Party among the *workers* and to draw the majority of the mass of the workers to the side of the Party. This task has been carried out

among others by extensive activities on the part of the Party members through actions for social and economic improvements. The results of the struggle for social and economic improvements are among others: an average 25 per cent wage increase annually and improvement in the distribution of rice and other daily necessities. For government employees in particular, success has been achieved by securing the improved Regulation concerning Allowances of Government Employees and, thanks to the policy of former Minister Sudjono and the pressure exerted by the trade unions in respect of the distribution of rice for government employees, the amount has been raised to 8 kg a month for each member of the family. Rice distribution has not yet spread out to cover all government workers. The struggle for a Basic Act on Government Employees has also been successfully carried out. Success has also been achieved in the defence of workers' rights in state enterprises, formerly belonging to the Dutch, rights which bureaucrat-capitalists or the thieving elements have been trying to curb or to annul, especially the rights to obtain rations, allowances for Festive Days and bonuses. Apart from that the struggle for wage increase for this category of workers has met with success too. After tenacious resistance had been offered, dismissal and mass dismissals have on the whole been successfully combatted. A struggle which still continues to be carried out is for the withdrawal of the Act on Dismissals, a legacy from the Dutch colonial government.

The biggest achievement of the struggle of the Indonesian trade union movement in recent years is the fact that the *revolutionary trade union centre SOBSI has become bigger and that the efforts to dissolve the trade union centres which was tried by way of OPPI and PTK has failed.* The success in the establishment of the Joint Secretariat of Co-operation among Trade Union Centres within the framework of the implementation of the People's Tri-Command for the liberation of West Irian also constitutes an important achievement. This is also the case with the promulgation of the Law on the Establishment of Enterprise Councils which is now in the stage of struggle for genuine

implementation. The correct implementation of this Law means realising the principle of Gotong Royong in the management of enterprises.

With ever mounting prices of daily necessities and the increase in the number of unemployed as a result of the closedown of enterprises, it can be predicted that in the days to come the reactionaries will continue their efforts to shift the burden of the present crisis and inflation completely onto the shoulders of the working people, especially the workers and the peasants. In such circumstances, there is no way out but for the Indonesian workers to come forward as champions and serve as a model in two kinds of struggles. *Firstly*, the struggle against one-sided imposition of the burdens of inflation and economic crisis; *secondly*, the struggle for democratic changes in the political system and in political liberties for the people.

Consequently the Indonesian workers should incessantly strengthen their organisation and class unity, create a greater number of revolutionary and tested trade union cadres who possess a high level of political consciousness, who have trade union skill and are revolutionary upholders of the Manipol and who know 1,001 devices to realise 1,001 kinds of actions.

In conformity with their own tradition, the Indonesian workers should hold high the banner of patriotism, should ever remain staunch fighters in the struggle to bring West Irian under the authority of the Republic of Indonesia and to surmount the crisis in food and clothing, especially by raising production in state enterprises while preventing bankruptcy of patriotic private enterprises.

As a matter of course the Indonesian workers should also remain in the forefront in matters of friendship between nations, in efforts for the liquidation of colonialism from the face of the earth and in the defence of world peace.

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During the period under review important advances have been made in work among the *peasants*, a circumstance mainly caused

by the fact that Party cadres have already in greater number carried out research in the villages and assisted in organising the peasants, creating and educating cadres from among the peasants themselves. These advances have enabled the revolutionary peasant organisation BTI, which now has a membership of 4.5 million to develop extensively in realising the most actual demands such as the implementation of the Law on the Division of the Product and the Basic Agrarian Law, demands for reduction of prices of daily necessities, demands for the extension of democratic rights, the termination of the state of emergency and the restoration of security.

On account of the strong pressures generated by peasants' actions assisted by democratic groups in Parliament, several demands have within certain limits attained success, such as demands for alleviating the difficult living conditions of the peasants such as the demand for the reduction of interest on credits obtained from the Padi Centra (Rice Centres) from 25 to 12 per cent a year, for the abolition of the regulation on the compulsory sale of sugar-cane to state sugar enterprises and for the freedom to mill their own sugar-cane so as to produce sugar cubes, to secure by means of negotiation, a reasonable rent for land used for the cultivation of cane, tobacco and rosella, to seat representatives of peasant organisations in certain Enterprise Councils, to secure the enactment of implementary regulations of the Basic Agrarian Law favourable to the peasants. This is mainly due to the fact that the anti-feudal peasants united front with the revolutionary peasant organisation as the backbone has become ever broader and stronger, that the co-operation of peasant organisations has been strengthened as reflected in the Consultative Body of the Peasant Functional Group and in the National Front Peasant Consultations and the co-operation of representatives of peasant groups in various state institutions. The Second CPI Peasant National Conference in July 1961 correctly drew the conclusion that "the peasant movement against various forms of exploitation by the landlords and usurers is now developing and is beginning to expand throughout the country". The develop-

ment of the peasant movement in the eastern part of our country during the recent period is a cause of great joy.

The revolutionary peasant movement today pivots round the Movement of Six Goods, which includes the 1,001 Movement for raising food production. The Movement of Six Goods is the movement for 1) lower land rent; 2) reduction of interest on money borrowed; 3) wage increase for agricultural workers; 4) raising agricultural production; 5) raising the cultural level of the peasants; and 6) heightening the political consciousness of the peasants. The Movement of Six Goods in essence also applies to the fishermen.

The 1,001 Movement is not something separated from the Movement of Six Goods because the 1,001 Movement has been launched for no other reason than to raise agricultural production. Both the Movement of Six Goods and the 1,001 Movement have been warmly welcomed by the peasants and have aroused joy and enthusiasm in the revolutionary peasant movement. As part of the Movement of Six Goods, the 1,001 Movement should continue to be intensified in connection with the food crisis and the serious drought faced by the Indonesian people at present. The 1,001 Movement should not only be carried out by the peasants, but also by the workers, the city poor and others.

The movement for rent reduction or *the 6:4 movement* is being carried on mainly in the form of demanding the implementation of the Law on the Division of the Product. This movement has succeeded in mobilising the peasants in a broad front against the landlords. The movement for rent reduction has aroused the energy of the peasants which will be of great significance in the struggle for demanding the implementation of the Basic Agrarian Law, a law which, if fully implemented on the insistence of the peasants, will constitute the realisation of limited land reform.

The movement for rent reduction can run smoothly if there is unity of thought among Committee members and other Party cadres in the countryside. The process of attaining unity of thought can be speeded up if the peasants are aroused to demand rent re-

duction. Cadres responsible for directly leading this movement should be cadres who are full of spirit and are genuinely convinced that the peasant masses can be aroused to throw off the burden of oppression from their shoulders, and are prepared to go into the villages among the poor peasants and the agricultural labourers, steadfastly carrying on research on the forms of feudal exploitation in the villages, and arousing those exploited to demand the implementation of the Law on the Division of the Product. In short, the principle "the peasants emancipate themselves" should be adhered to strictly by cadres working in the countryside. Cleansing the revolutionary peasant organisations and the Party in the countryside from the influence of landlords and rich peasants is an absolute condition for making the movement for rent reduction a success, for the consistent implementation of the Law on the Division of the Product.

The movement for interest reduction is a movement directed against usurers whose function is usually also performed concurrently by the landlords. Consequently, the movement for interest reduction is in general also a movement against the landlords. Within the framework of this movement there should also be actions to fight for the exemption of land mortgages and easing the redemption of land in accordance with Law No. 56, Prp. 1960, Article 7.

The movement for wage increases for spadework, planting, cropping, weeding, cattle-tending, husking of rice, transportation of agricultural product, picking of coconuts etc., is carried on in a way which differentiates between those who are being dealt with. The course taken is negotiation based on the line: demands against the middle peasants are lower than against the rich peasants, and demands against the rich peasants are lower than against the landlords. Negotiations with the middle peasants and the rich peasants should be more patiently carried on than with the landlords.

The movement for wage increases strengthens the movement for rent reduction, and if the two kinds of movements are strong and well co-ordinated, then the revolutionary peasant movement

will be placed in a position of initiative and the landlords in an isolated and defensive position.

The movement for increased production is carried on by putting forward demands, such as the demand to carry out effective reafforestation, to use reserve plots and uncultivated estate lands, to raise "tumpangsari" (the growing of secondary crops) on the forestry service and estate lands, to demand the immediate setting up of Committees of Irrigation and Councils of Agricultural Production by enlisting the participation of revolutionary mass organisations etc. Mutual Aid Teams (MAT) have also been formed and propaganda carried out on an ever broader scale concerning the "5 principles" and the "8 principles" for raising agricultural production. The movement for increased production should be intensified by launching the 1,001 Movement.

The movement for higher cultural levels is directed in the first place towards the elimination of illiteracy among the peasants and the activities of organisations of people's art among the peasants.

The movement for higher political consciousness is carried on by educating more political cadres from among the peasants, by setting up more Political Schools and People's Courses where the basic problems of the revolution are explained to the peasants in a simple and easily understandable manner, that our revolution is essentially a peasant revolution, that the question of the liberation of West Irian is also a question for the peasants, that democracy-unity-mobilisation is an absolute condition for the liberation of West Irian, for the improvement of the lot of the peasants, to defeat the landlords and for the establishment of a Gotong Royong Cabinet.

In carrying out the Movement of Six Goods and 1,001 Movement, prime attention should be given to the interests of the agricultural workers and the poor peasants while not neglecting the interests of the middle peasants who also constitute an important driving force of the revolution. To secure its implementation, the revolutionary peasant organisation should be made into a mass organisation cleansed from landlords and rich peasants and whose

membership mainly consists of agricultural labourers and poor peasants; while the middle peasants should be mainly organised in working people's co-operative which are closely linked with the revolutionary peasant organisation in the struggle against the landlords and usurers. As corruption is still a disease afflicting co-operatives, particularly co-operatives imposed from above, Party Committees should take firm and timely action against any manifestation of fraud in co-operative management where Party cadres are involved. Party Committees should train more cadres for working people's co-operative who are equipped with a strong ideology and have the ability to manage co-operatives so as to become loyal and trusted cadres in holding high the three banners of the working people's co-operatives.

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Simultaneously with the advance of the revolutionary and progressive movement during the period under review, we register notable progress in the movement of the *youth, university students* and *high-school students*. The revolutionary spirit among these young people has heightened especially after the People's Tri-Command for the liberation of West Irian was issued. They have quickly responded to the movements of the imperialists, whether Dutch, American, Belgian, French, British or the Japanese militarist-imperialists. The youth front is becoming more consolidated, co-operation among university student organisations is getting better and better and the patriotic and revolutionary spirit among high school students is rapidly heightening. The revolutionary organisations of university and high school students and sports organisations are already working in the direction of raising achievements in study, and they already constitute a force in the fight against subversive and reactionary activities in schools and universities, and in creating educated people, adherents of the Manipol.

The delegation of Indonesian youth and students to international gatherings in recent years, convened both in the West and in the

East, have always shown themselves to be united compactly, and firmly defending and upholding the principles of the Manipol and taking the side of the new emerging forces. In this way they have rendered an important contribution to the cause of strengthening the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist and peace-loving unity for the youth and students of the world.

Indonesian students abroad, too, do not want to be left out in the implementation of the Tri-Command of the People. Everywhere they have aroused the spirit of anti-Dutch and American imperialism. In various countries our students have staged heroic anti-Dutch actions and demonstrations.

Under the slogan "*Make Pemuda Rakjat (People's Youth) a big and consolidated organisation*", great activities have been carried by cadres of the Pemuda Rakjat to expand its organisation and membership as well as to educate its ranks in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Pemuda Rakjat which now has a membership of 1,250,000 has more and more perfected itself as a loyal and trusted assistant of the CPI, as conscious and spirited executors of the Manipol and the Tri-Command of the People. Within the framework of implementing the Tri-Command of the People, the Pemuda Rakjat stands in the forefront in carrying out the people's will to fight: "*A rifle in one hand and a spade in the other*", which means being ready for the battle-field for the liberation of West Irian and ready also to strengthen the home-front. Members of Pemuda Rakjat sent to the war front should become active, courageous, tough and selfless volunteers. Those who have not yet been sent or will not be sent, should become active elements in the struggle of the workers and peasants, in assisting the trade unions and in carrying on the Movement of Six Goods in the countryside, in assisting the working people's co-operatives, the security of village and campong and so on.

However, the tasks to be confronted by the progressive movement in the days to come are much more numerous and heavier. Consequently, the cadres of Pemuda Rakjat should be more steadfast

and zealous to make their organisation spread out throughout the country and consolidated politically, organisationally and ideologically. Its membership should not only be increased, but its composition should also be improved; more young workers and peasants should be taken up in the leading bodies and the number of girl members should be raised because at present it has only reached 87,000 or 7 per cent of the whole membership.

The *women's* movement has also achieved important progress during this period. A strong anti-imperialist and broad united front of women has been built in the capital. The situation in the regions is not the same as that in the capital; there are regions where co-operation is better than that in the capital, but there are also regions where co-operation is still very poor or completely non-existent. The co-operation of women's organisations in the regions will be better if there is more active assistance from the co-operation organisation existing in the capital.

In recent years the GERWANI achieved important progress in expanding its organisation and membership as well as in consolidation. This development will be better if Party Committees in the regions give more attention to looking after Party fractions and Party cadres working in the revolutionary mass women's organisations in the regions. Special efforts should be made to find quick and correct ways of solving any contradictions that exist within the fraction. The revolutionary women's mass organisation has shown its militancy in demanding a decrease in prices of daily necessities and in other activities to lessen the burden of household difficulties, such as organising joint shopping, actively participating in co-operatives of the working people, participating in the 1,001 Movement, etc. All these activities have their influence on the women's movement in general.

In the villages the women should be actively drawn into the Movement of Six Goods, because without this there will be no broad mass movement in the countryside.

A good step taken by the leadership, which should be more evenly

followed by the regions is the National Seminar of Peasant Women organised by the Gerwani in December 1960, and the National Seminar of Women Workers organised by SOBSI in May 1961. These seminars have been of great assistance to the women cadres who work in the peasants' and workers' movements. But there are still many regional committees that do not yet master the decisions of these seminars, and are even quite uninterested in them with the result that they cannot assist in developing the results of these important seminars. Therefore, all regional committees must master the results of these two seminars and help better to develop the revolutionary women's movement in their own localities, especially the movement among the peasant women and the women workers. In order to improve the work among the young women, where there are still many shortcomings, it is necessary to hold a National Seminar of Young Women which will be preceded by regional seminars.

One question that is not yet in accord with the line of the Sixth National Congress is that the percentage of women members in the Party has not only not increased but in fact it has declined. This is because Party membership is constantly increasing, whereas the increase in the number of women members does not keep up with the overall increase in membership. This must be rectified, more working women must be drawn into our Party.

The Party has taken onto its shoulders the task of "educating women Communists to become women whose intelect, desires, and sentiments develop as broadly and deeply as possible". This question has not yet been given adequate attention by many Party Committees. Various efforts must be undertaken in order that this matter should be given the necessary attention, among others: Party schools at all levels should give special lectures on improving the work of the Party among the women, more special political schools for Communist women should be held, conferences of Communist women should be held more frequently in the regions, and more pamphlets about the women's movement should be published.

The Sixth National Congress of the Party charged us with the task of intensifying the work among the *intelectuals*. In the framework of carrying out this task, the Third Plenum of the CC held at the end of 1961, is of great significance. That Plenum explained that, at the present stage, the problem of intellectuals for our Party revolves around the question: what contribution can the CPI make to help the intellectuals increase their role in the struggle to win victory for the Indonesian revolution in keeping with the revolutionary traditions of the leaders of Indonesia's intelligentsia in former periods.

It is a fact that the slogan "science for science's sake" has today been politically defeated by the principle "science for the people". Officially, the principle of "science for science's sake" finds no justification, but we should not relax. There are still quite a number of scientists who, under the pretext of "science", basically do nothing but utilise "science" as a mask for their resistance to progress, for their resistance to the people, for their resistance to the Manipol, for their resistance to science. It is no longer a secret that there are "scientists" who hold seminars in order to oppose President Sukarno's concept regarding Guided Democracy and a Gotong Royong Cabinet or write theses in order to kill the initiative taken by peasants to increase production or in order to undermine the concept of Gotong Royong and Nasakom and so on. All these crimes are perpetrated in the name of "science" and to have "no connection with politics". Universities which exist only because of direct or indirect taxes that the people pay are utilised to inflict blows upon the people and to split the unity of the people, and this is what is said to have "no connection with politics", to be solely the affair of "science". President Sukarno was very correct when, a few months ago, he warned the Presidents of all Indonesian Universities to be careful not to allow foreign subversive activities to infiltrate into the Universities. And also, the problem today is, kick out those that have already infiltrated.

The development of the progressive and the revolutionary forces,

the forces of national unity, with the Manipol as the beacon, is having more and more influence upon the Indonesian intellectuals, is opening more and more possibilities for an increase in the role of the intellectuals in the struggle for the victory of the national and democratic revolution which has Socialism as its future.

There are two aspects to the Party's work among the intellectuals: *firstly*, work among the non-Party intellectuals, and *secondly*, the work of creating more Communist intellectuals.

Guided by the line established by the Third Plenum of the CC which was held recently, our Party is now working hard to gradually eliminate the shortcomings that still exist in the implementation of these two tasks by: on the one hand helping the revolutionary intellectuals outside the Party to weld science with the practice of the Indonesian revolution and also by introducing Marxism-Leninism to them; and on the other hand, raising the level of general knowledge and expertise of Communist cadres and cadres of the revolutionary movement in general as well as more intensively teaching the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, teaching them about the standpoint and method of the working class.

In brief, the Party's work among the intellectuals is a struggle to weld science with the practice of the Indonesian revolution as an inseparable part of the cultural revolution in our country. This cultural revolution is beneficial not only to the workers and peasants but also to the intelligentsia and to the entire people of our country.

As part of raising the general knowledge of the activists of the people's movement and acquainting the masses with progressive principles in a specific field of knowledge, the Seminar on Education to deal with the question of general education which was held by the CC in July 1960 is very important. Such seminars as this, broadened to cover other branches of science, should be held by the CC and the Major District Committees.

The work of the Party among the intellectuals will definitely develop and advance if, in addition to creatively implementing the

principles for work among the intellectuals as laid down by the Third Plenum of the CC, we also, particularly the Party cadres from among the intellectuals, are active in uniting the intellectuals and in struggling for the interests of those who work in various fields.

I am now approaching the end of this report. You certainly know that there are still some mass activities of the Party which need not yet be mentioned, and which I think it is not necessary to mention in this report.

But nevertheless, this report would not be complete if some mass activities of the Party were not mentioned here, namely the Party's activities in the field of *culture*. I have left this to the end but this does not mean that these activities are any less important than other activities of the Party.

Basically, the slogan "art for art's sake", just like the slogan "science for science's sake" has politically been defeated and has become outdated. It has been defeated by the slogan "art for the people". But in this matter too we cannot relax because the imperialist and the domestic reactionaries are striving all the time to revive the principle which has already been defeated politically. The struggle for the total defeat of the slogan "art for art's sake" will continue until imperialist cultural aggression headed by the US has been defeated and until the survivals of colonialism and feudalism have been eliminated by the Indonesian revolution.

In the field of culture, the imperialists, particularly the US, are still waging aggression against our country, especially by means of reading-matter, films and music. The domination by imperialist culture and the remnants of Dutch colonial culture are still very visible in the academic world, especially in the higher educational institutes in the large towns; whereas in the villages, feudal culture which serves the interests of the landlords still clings like a leech to the peasants' struggle.

The objective of imperialist cultural aggression is to destroy the ideology of the working class and the people. This is why the task

of the Party in the field of culture for this period of the national democratic revolution is to mobilise all cultural forces and to transform them into a weapon in the hands of the people for the defeat of their enemies, namely imperialism and feudalism.

Thanks to the leadership of the Party, the working people have already made use of culture as a weapon in their struggle, and are continuing to do so. The culture created by the people's struggle is a democratic, national culture which has already grown and is spreading its luxuriant shade more and more. This national and democratic culture is a culture of the working class, the peasants and other anti-imperialist and anti-feudal groups of the people. Experience and facts show that this revolutionary culture can only grow and develop as long as it remains an inseparable part of the general revolutionary mass movement.

In the last few years, Communist artists and Party cultural workers have created many new works in the form of literature, plastic arts, music, drama, film and the dance. Party cultural workers have cooperated with other democratic and patriotic artists and writers with the result that an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal cultural front has been built which, if continually preserved and developed, will represent an important force of the revolution.

Ever since the coming into existence of the working class and the Party there has basically been a working-class culture. Of course, the Party has the responsibility of preserving and developing this class culture. In this connection, side by side with other activities, it is fitting for us to welcome the movement to popularise the songs of the class struggle, national songs and folk-songs of the various regions now taking place in the ranks of the Party and in the mass organisations.

I hope that all Communist artists and cultural workers of the Party will always set examples, not only in their own field of work but also in their everyday life. Progressive artists and cultural workers should always remember that all their creative works are not for a limited audience but for the entire people, particularly

the working people. Party Committees should continuously lead Communist artists and cultural workers of the Party in raising their ideology and help other democratic and patriotic artists to serve the people and the revolution.

The Sixth National Congress laid down a great programme for us to carry out, a programme to win victory for the demands contained in the Manipol, to win a national-democratic revolution which has Socialism as its future. This programme has also given our Party international tasks, the task to defeat colonialism and imperialism, to defend peace and build friendship among the nations, among the peoples, among the working class and among the Communists of the world. Every member of our Party must really become a model in the struggle for democracy and national unity, in the storming of imperialism, especially in the struggle for the liberation of West Irian, and in the storming of feudalism.

We can only implement these tasks if we unceasingly steel our Party, steel its organisation, its policies and its ideology; and if our Party unceasingly steels its unity with the masses of the people, if our Party continually works with an ever-intensifying spirit of patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

There are no insurmountable difficulties for such a Party, no bastion which cannot be conquered.

And therefore let us continually advance and advance with faster strides to build such a Party.

Continue forward, raise high the banners of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

Continue forward, raise high the banners of Democracy, Unity and Mobilisation!

Continue forward, implement the Tri-Command of the People with the resolve: a rifle in one hand and a spade in the other!

Forward for Democracy and a Gotong Royong-Cabinet, for the complete implementation of the Manipol!

DARING, DARING, ONCE AGAIN DARING

This first Plenary Session of the Central Committee is being held 10 months after the Seventh (Extraordinary) National Congress which took place in April, 1962. That historic Congress clarified all the ideological, political and organisational questions that needed to be clarified at that time. Since there was complete unanimity of thought on all these questions, our Party has been able during this past 10 months—as it will also be able to do in the coming period—to stride forward, to swing its arms and fists. As was the wish of that Congress, our Party is really and truly united in thought, in heart and in objective in unfurling the Triple Banner of the Nation, i.e. *Democracy*, *Unity* and *Mobilisation*, in continuing to build the Party and in fulfilling all its national and international tasks.

The unity of thought in the ranks of the Communists and the people played a very great positive role in the upswing of the people's struggle in face of the possibility of a war with the Dutch colonialists over the question of West Irian, in face of the mass mobilisation for the restoration of security, and in preventing total bankruptcy in the economy as a result of the destructive role of the bureaucrat-capitalists. Whilst raising high the Triple Banner of the Nation, we have also struggled and will continue to struggle with the unanimous resolve: *a rifle in one hand and a spade in the other*, in other words, we are always ready to storm the enemies of the revolution and ready, too, to increase production.

Thanks to this correct line and unanimous resolve, the Indonesian people succeeded in executing the Triple Command of the Na-

tion* without having to wage a total war against the Dutch colonialists because the Dutch were compelled to withdraw before entering the arena. Together with that, the counter-revolutionary rebels at home have basically been smashed. All this has been made possible because, within certain limits, the people have succeeded in seizing democracy, they have succeeded in strengthening their unity with NASAKOM as the fulcrum, and within limits have also succeeded in mobilising the entire national revolutionary potentials and in particular mobilising the patriotic forces within the Armed Forces with the complete assistance of the people, they have succeeded in drawing upon the assistance of the Socialist countries and of the other new forces that are now emerging in the world.

There is not a single power in the world that can halt the masses when they have risen up. It will not only bring to completion the struggle for the liberation of West Irian and for the restoration of security but it will continue forward sweeping aside everything that stands in the way of the people's revolutionary movement such as the state of emergency, the bureaucrat-capitalists, the compradores and the landlords, in short the anti-Manipolists and those who are against national gotong-royong with NASAKOM as the fulcrum.

Today, three practical tasks stand before us: 1. *consolidate the victories that have already been scored;* 2. *tackle the economic difficulties,* and 3. *oppose neo-colonialism.*

We can only carry out this domestic Triple Task well if we continue resolutely to unfurl the Triple Banner of the Nation and if the implementation of these tasks is combined with the tasks of building the Party and with the international tasks.

After making all these tasks clear, the domestic tasks as well as the tasks of building the Party and the international tasks, we must then accompany all this with the daring *to think, to speak* and *to act.*

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* *Triple Command of the Nation:* Issued by President Sukarno on December 19, 1961: 1. Defeat the establishment of a Papua State. 2. Unfurl the Red-and-White flag in West Irian. 3. Be ready for total mobilisation.

We have declared 1963 to be a "Year of Daring". This is in accord with the call made by President Sukarno that the Indonesian people should live in a spirit of "vivere pericoloso", a spirit of daring to skirt danger. This name "Year of Daring" conforms very closely indeed to what the people want, namely that the foremost ranks of the masses of the millions of people should be more daring in leading them. And this is why we give this Political Report the title, "*Daring, Daring, Once Again Daring*".

During the period that has elapsed since the Seventh National Congress we have lost two deeply beloved comrades, Comrade Suhadi and Comrade Sarmidi Utarjo. Let us stand and bow our heads to them in respect and gratitude for everything they did for the glory of the people and the Communist Party of Indonesia.

I. POLITICAL POWER MUST CONFORM WITH THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE THAT IS TO BE CONSTRUCTED

Inspired by the Sixth National Congress, the slogan of which was "For Democracy and a Gotong-Royong Cabinet", the General Report to the CPI Seventh National Congress stated among other things, that "the outstandingly important domestic political question today is to unfurl the Triple Banner of the Nation, the banner of *Democracy*, *Unity* and *Mobilisation* in order to lead towards consistent democratic changes in the political system and in the field of political freedoms for the people. This means concretely, to lead to: *the formation of a Gotong-Royong Cabinet and the lifting of the state of emergency as well as a re-consideration of the Law on the State of Emergency now in force*". Up to this present time, that conclusion is still valid because the successes that we have achieved during the past 10 months have not yet exceeded this political task.

The Kerdja Cabinet is now three-and-a-half years old, including the time that has elapsed since the regrouping. Its Programme, known as the Triple Programme, is: 1. *supply food-and-clothing for*

the people; 2. bring about security for the people and the State; 3. continue the struggle against economic imperialism and political imperialism (West Irian).

The first point of the programme has not been executed at all; the second point of the programme has been executed in part in connection with the defeat of the RGRI-Permesta and DI-TII counter-revolutionary rebels, but this does not mean that there is already security for the people and the State; the third point of the programme has been implemented in part in the form of a formal agreement on the transfer of West Irian to the Republic of Indonesia, but this does not mean that the struggle against imperialism in the field of economics and politics, especially in the field of economics, has been completed.

President Sukarno correctly named his 17th August, 1962, speech, "A Year of Triumph" because indeed finishing off the question of West Irian and smashing the counter-revolutionary gangs are great victories. This does not mean that points 2 and 3 have been completed. This is why President Sukarno also stressed that what has been achieved is just the *beginning* of victory.

Indonesian Communists must be thoroughly conscious of the fact that what has been achieved is only the beginning of victory, in fact it would be perhaps more appropriate to call it *victory that is still precariously perched*, victory that is not yet properly grounded. This is so particularly in view of the fact that the food-and-clothing requirements of the people have not yet been met, on the contrary things have become even more difficult, and also in view of the fact that the imperialists and their agents are still free to play their role both in West Irian as well as in other parts of our Republic.

It is for this reason that we Indonesian Communists, when welcoming the "*Year of Triumph*", placed three most urgent, most practical tasks upon our shoulders, namely 1. *consolidate the victories that have already been achieved; 2. tackle the economic difficulties; 3. oppose neo-colonialism.*

We must implement this Triple Task not as something separated off from the implementation of the General Line of the Party as summed up in the Triple Banner of the Party and not as something separated off from important and decisive tasks that crop up all along the path of implementing the General Line of the Party, namely the tasks summed up in the Triple Banner of the Nation. Not only should these not be separated off, but they must be fully integrated, and for this we have the slogan: "*Unfurl the two Triple Banners for implementation of the Triple Task*".

The Triple Task is the condensation of all the practical tasks that arise out of the development of the situation at the present time. In order to push forward political developments in our country, Indonesian Communists must thoroughly implement this Triple Task and this is why we need to speak about this at some length.

1. *The Task of Consolidating the Victories Already Scored*

In the framework of consolidating the great victories that have already been scored, we must not relax for a single moment in consolidating *the forces of the Republic in West Irian* so that West Irian as quickly as possible becomes part of the sovereign territory of the Republic of Indonesia and so that West Irian does not become a neo-colonial area where the imperialists are free to invest their capital with the result that, when they feel the need at some future time, they can bring in their military forces on the pretext of "safeguarding their properties there". If this happens, West Irian would once again be a pistol aimed at the heart of the Republic of Indonesia, but this time not the pistol of the already absolute Dutch colonialists but the pistol of the American imperialists, the most aggressive, repacious and brazen imperialists of all.

It is a very gratifying thing that there has been awakening of our Indonesian brothers in West Irian who, at the present stage of the struggle for the liberation of West Irian are actively demand-

ing that the incorporation of the region of West Irian into the sovereign territory of the Republic of Indonesia be speeded up. This is an added force also needed to oppose neo-colonialism there.

In consolidating *security*, the progressives, and in particular the Indonesian Communists, must regard the question of security as their own question, and for this reason they must work in the best possible co-operation with those responsible for security. The lifting of the state of emergency (SOB) as decreed by President Sukarno on the occasion of the anniversary of the Triple Command of the People, on 19th December, 1962, in Surabaya, is not intended to make us less vigilant in security affairs and to give the chance to the counter-revolutionaries to play their role. On the contrary, the lifting of the state of emergency must further raise our vigilant against the counter-revolutionaries, it must be directed at giving liberties to the people so that they can "dance the kiprah"* and roll up their sleeves both in order to raise the level of production as well as to crush the counter-revolutionaries.

The bureaucrat-capitalists and the other reactionaries are doing everything in their power to prepare a series of plans and measures to rob the people of the democracy they will obtain with the lifting of the state of emergency. They have already for a long time been working to create a situation of "*SOB without SOB*" by means, among others of continuing with one man dictatorship in the name of the "four-in-one"** in the regions, by exercising mastery over the villages by appointing their agents there, by setting up bodies that usurp the tasks of the existing civil authorities, and so on, all of which seriously disturbs the operation of civil administration. The rightwing socialists are very busy creating and propagating reactionary concepts for a "SOB without SOB". All this is in conflict with the statement by the First Minister Ing. H. Djuanda

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* the "kiprah" is the dance performed in the *wayang* play just before going into victorious battle.

** "Four-in-one" signifies the quadruple power in regional government of the district chief (who is appointed by Central Government), the military chief, the police chief and the public persecutor's office.

in his speech of welcome to the Governors' Conference in Solo on 21st January last in which he said among other things that as from 1st May, 1963, the supreme war authority (Peperti) and the regional war authorities (Peperda's) would officially be dissolved and that as from that date too, all governmental powers at the centre and in the regions would be fully handed back to the civil government. The Head of District would wield political and policing powers in his region which would mean that the Head of District is responsible within the bounds of the laws in force to determine the policies or basic lines to be obeyed by all official and non-official authorities so as to preserve public law and order in his district."

The entire democratic and patriotic forces must not be confused and beat a retreat; on the contrary they must be daring enough to prevent the attempts aimed at creating a "SOB without SOB". In brief, after the lifting of SOB, what was said by President Sukarno about the "Manipol guiding the rifle" should genuinely and completely be put into practice.

In the understanding that the lifting of the state of emergency is really and truly aimed at freeing revolutionary activities and the creative powers of the people and not at giving free rein to the counter-revolutionaries, our Party considers that there are positive aspects to the establishment of the *Council to Assist the Leadership of the Revolution* (Musjawarah Pembantu Pimpinan Revolusi) which includes NASAKOM (not as the fulcrum), to assist President Sukarno in exercising his supreme powers under conditions without SOB in the framework of completing the revolution.

Another great victory that we must consolidate is the organisation of the *National Front*. Despite the fact that we have sometimes been "tripped up" or "had our feet tied" by the state apparatus itself, we have nevertheless, within a period of only two years, succeeded in building up an organisation of the National Front throughout the entire country with a membership that covers all parties, all mass organisations which accept the Manipol, and the entire Armed Forces.

This is a very great accomplishment and it is thanks to national gotong-royong with the NASAKOM as the fulcrum under the leadership of Bung Karno*. This proves once again that where there is national gotong-royong with NASAKOM as the fulcrum, everything goes well. This does not mean that a struggle against the hypocrite Manipol-ists is not needed.

After having been unable to foil the National Front, the reactionaries are continuing the attempts to spread chaos by disseminating the idea that the parties should be dissolved and the National Front should become the sole party. In this way, they hope not only to destroy party life but also and in the first place to destroy the National Front itself because they know very well that it has been possible for the National Front to develop rapidly precisely because of the excellent co-operation between the parties and the mass organisations.

Defence of the National Front cannot be separated from defence of the party system. Uniting in the National Front means uniting to execute a joint programme, the Manipol, and not to merge things that cannot be merged. Regarding this, Bung Karno once said very correctly: "*It is not our hope that the Nationalists will change their ideas and become Moslems, nor is it our intention to urge the Marxists and Moslems to change into Nationalists; our dream is harmony, unity between these three groups.*" (Under the Flag of the Revolution, p. 5.)

In his work *Towards an Independent Indonesia*, Bung Karno writes about the need for a genuine vanguard party and he goes on to explain that "there can be other parties... not as commanders ... but only as sergeants... and corporals". Thus it is clear that there is no similarity whatsoever between Bung Karno's ideas and the ideas of Hitler or Mussolini or their followers here in Indonesia, namely to make a reactionary bourgeois party and suppress the Party of the working class. This becomes even clearer if we bear in mind what Bung Karno once wrote, namely: "Our army

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* *Bung Karno:* the name by which President Sukarno is popularly known.

is indeed the army of the Marhaen*, an army which takes much of its personnel from the peasants, but our vanguard is the corps of workers, the corps of the proletarians". (Under the Flag of the Revolution, p. 26.)

Thus, there is no taboo against having more than one party and today it is a fact that there are 10 parties in our country, whilst as regarding which of them shall become the vanguard, that is a matter that must be left to the people, dependent upon the absolute devotion of a party to the interests and the struggle of the people and not because of some subjective desire, nor because of it being established by a regulation or law. The Communists are fully conscious that the position of the vanguard in the people's struggle is not something to be got for nothing and it is not something to be got just because, according to the law of history, the working class and its Party must hold the position of leadership; it is something that can only be got as a result of unlimited fidelity with sacrifice and exceptional daring in defending the interests of the people.

In the framework of the activities of the reactionaries to split national unity, the phenomenon of neo-Masjumi-ism has emerged in the recent period, that is to say, splitting the Sila of "belief in One God" off from the Pantja Sila and with this one Sila fanning the flames of religious fanaticism. They completely disregard the fact that the essence of the Pantja Sila is the Eka Sila or gotong-royong which embraces revolutionary tolerance between all forces and trends in society.

The National Front has already played an extremely important role and it will continue to do so, and it will become more and more important in the political life of our country. In the execution of the Triple Task, too, the consolidation of the victories already scored, the tackling of economic difficulties and the opposition to neo-colonialism, the National Front can play a very great and positive role.

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* *Marhaen* is an expression that refers to the common man.

2. *The Task of Tackling Economic Difficulties*

In discussing the second task, the task of tackling the economic difficulties, it is first of all necessary to describe briefly some aspects of the economic situation in our country. We shall briefly discuss the following: a. *State Finances*, b. *Production*, c. *Foreign Trade*, and d. *Living Costs of the People.*

a. *State Finances*

The decision of the Madjelis Permusjawaratan Rakjat Sementara (MPRS—Provisional People's Consultative Council, the organ in which is vested supreme people's sovereignty, Tr.) establishes the need for monetary stability as an important factor in facilitating development. Raising production in all fields is the foremost objective at every stage of planned development. The smooth internal circulation of necessities and the question of increasing the standard of living of the people depends upon the stage of development of production. Monetary stability depends upon the development of production, but conversely, difficulties in the financial sphere re-acts back by creating havoc with production. This means that it is necessary to have a financial policy that serves production and not to have production being made the victim or being worsened because of an erroneous financial policy, a policy that does not orientate towards production and towards improving the living standards of the people. The President's assistants* in the economic-financial field have not succeeded in implementing such a financial policy and they have failed to execute the MPRS Decision regarding monetary stability.

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* In the President Cabinet, where the President has the position of Prime Minister, the Ministers occupy the position of "assistants to the President".

President Sukarno is correct to have said that for the struggle for the liberation of West Irian, in implementing the Triple Command of the People, and crushing the RGRI-Permesta and DI-TII counter-revolutionaries, adequate finances were required and had to be provided. This political task therefore had an influence on the economic and financial situation. But it is also a fact that economic and financial mismanagement greatly worsened the economic and financial situation which should not have happened and should not have been allowed to happen at a time when the Triple Command was being executed. The Triple Command was misused by the mismanagers in their own interests. In connection with this, it is important to stamp out mismanagement in the economy and finances by consistently implementing the President's "Year of Triumph" speech and the speech on the occasion of the First Anniversary of the Triple Command in Surabaya.

Management of state finances today clearly does not guarantee efficiency with the result that it has not been possible to prevent waste in the utilisation of state finances. The results are evident from society. Cases of mis-appropriation of state finance are being reported more and more frequently and undoubtedly there are many more cases that are not reported at all. In addition to waste, mismanagement in the financial field is basically indicated by the following facts:

1. *Supervision* from above by the competent authorities is not being done as it should. Supervision from below, from the masses, is even less possible, supervision which government officials themselves so frequently talk about as "social control". Even the creation of apparatus for this, among other things, the Enterprise Councils or the Advisory Councils as part of the democratisation of management, is proceeding at snail's pace, to use President Sukarno's expression.

2. *Co-ordination* as the essential element in organisation of the management of the state finances is not being effected, with the result that it is not possible to realise an allocation of state finances

to the development sectors according to the schedule of priorities that has already been established. The result is that less important sectors take the place of sectors that have been given priority.

3. *The Budget of State Revenue and Expenditures*, both routine as well as development, have not yet been *Manipol-ised.* In other words, economic-financial concepts based on the Manipol are not reflected in the Budget of State Revenue and Expenditures. The Manipol and the guide lines for its implementation stipulate that the state sector of the economy must occupy the commanding position, but the present budget has not yet changed in nature from former times when state revenues depended upon direct and indirect revenues, and there is no orientation towards the existing state corporations or towards the productive sector in general. Difficulties in state revenue are being dealt with only from the monetary-technical angle and this is confined to the levying of direct and indirect taxes. This is the easiest way to get more money from society but it greatly weighs down upon the living conditions of the people and presses down upon the economic development of the state whereas those who make profits from the inflation are not affected at all. Taxation policy does not hold by the principle of "*from the people back to the people*" but it is even, on occasion, from the people into the pockets of the bureaucrat-capitalists and the "newly rich".

4. *The state corporations* (the PN's and PDN's) which should become the most important source of state revenue are not only not yet performing this task but are still even a financial burden to the state, because of the tremendous amount of credit they use unproductively and because of continuous waste of funds. All this is basically caused by the widespread mismanagement.

The value of the rupiah is declining severely from year to year. The exchange rate of the rupiah against foodstuffs has declined by 76 per cent which leaves only 24 per cent because the price index of foodstuffs in Djakarta alone at the end of November 1962 had risen 420 per cent by comparison with the beginning of Janu-

ary 1961. In view of the fact that the average wage increase was only 30 per cent in the same period, the purchasing power of the people has fallen drastically.

In view of the above facts regarding monetary affairs, it is necessary to take the following measures of a principal and technical-economic nature in the financial field:

1. *State revenue must rely upon the intensity of the existing state corporations*, in the productive sector, in transportation as well as in domestic and foreign trade (the PN's and the PDN's). State receipts must be raised by increasing the operational capacity or by a rise in the level of production through a retooling (overhaul) of personnel and organisation in management. That is to say, receipts should not be increased by means of raising prices and rates.
2. Receipts from direct and indirect taxes should be realised not by means of raising the rate of taxation but *by means of healthy economic development*. The levying of taxes from the trade sector must be achieved through raising the volume of trade or the trade turnover. Additions to company tax receipts should be achieved by means of raising the level of production or raising the operational capacity. Taxes or other levies that weigh heavily upon the people such as extra profits, price components and the like must be abolished or the rates reduced.
3. *New sources of revenue must be opened up* by exploiting or processing natural resources that can give returns after a short period, for example, at the most after one year of expenditure. Examples of this are sea-fishing, forestry, the production of corn, tobacco and other items.
4. *The foreign exchange earnings obtained by the foreign oil companies (Stanvac, Caltex and Shell) should be placed under State control* so that it will be possible to cover the shortage of foreign exchange. In other words, the oil companies should be treated in the same way as the foreign companies in the estate, industrial and other sectors which are not permitted to keep control of their foreign

exchange earnings themselves, with the exception of that which is allocated by the Government for transfer of profits, services and the like.

5. *State expenditures must be regulated as efficiently as possible*, based upon development priorities. The allocation of funds, both rupiahs and foreign currency, must conform with this schedule of priorities.
6. In order to surmount the inflation stage by stage there needs to be a planned circulation of money. This means that the money issued must be counter-balanced by a greater level of production. The principle of a *correlation between money and goods* must be the guide, or in other words the circulation of money must not be divorced from the supply of goods required by society.

b. *Production*

Enough is known and realised about how very important is the role of agriculture, the estates, mining and national industrial production in general to Indonesia's economy.

It the long run, this role is decisive in determining whether the Indonesian economy will succeed in freeing itself from dependence upon the foreign imperialist economy or whether it will continue to be colonial and dependent in character.

We must continuously struggle to transform the colonial economy into an independent, national economy with agriculture and the estates as the basis and industry as the backbone. This struggle is of assistance to the political struggle to complete the demands of the August 1945 Revolution in their entirety.

The role of national production in the short run is extremely vital as a concrete barometer to evaluate the extent to which we have succeeded in our struggle to change the colonial economy into an independent national economy. It is nonsense to shout to the skies about the aims of the August Revolution, about an Indonesian Socialist society, about a just and prosperous society, while one is

quite indifferent to the decline in production in all sectors, while blaming the workers, or even while in fact taking steps that bring about a further decline in the present level of production. President Sukarno correctly stated in his RESOPIM speech: "... production, economy, that is the stomach of the state, and this is why the reactionaries always concentrate their sabotage on this stomach of the state."

Thus an attitude of indifference, of blaming the workers or the taking of measures that cause a further decline in the present level of production means, directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, assisting the sabotage of the imperialists and their agents, the domestic reactionaries.

On the contrary, if we succeed within certain limits in raising the level of production, quantitatively and qualitatively, in making costs of production low, or in short, in stamping out all forms of mismanagement in the field of production, and together with that, also stamping out mismanagement in the field of distribution, communications, etc, then this will mean:

1. concretely implementing the food-and-clothing programme within a short period of time;
2. helping the State in its efforts to stabilise the monetary situation;
3. on the one hand, large-scale economisation, that is, if we succeed in stopping rice imports and reducing the imports of other consumer goods, particularly textiles, and on the other hand increasing foreign exchange earnings by raising the production and export of important existing export goods and expanding them by adding new exports where production exceeds domestic requirements.
4. laying a strong foundation for success in the struggle to transform the colonial economy into an independent national economy free from dependence upon the foreign monopoly capitalist economy.

The situation in almost all sectors of production reveals a very serious picture indeed during the past few years.

The Government itself in the Gotong-Royong People's Legislative Assembly, recently endorsed the conclusion drawn by Commission D of the Assembly to the effect that *production trends in 1962 experienced a downturn, and production was even heeding towards collapse, in particular the production of domestic consumer goods and the production of goods for export.*

This conclusion is correct. In general the productive sector has declined by comparison with the previous year, and there are only one or two sectors of production where the level has been "constant" or has "risen" slightly. It is a fact that production faces the danger of *collapse* if considered from the point of view of full capacity that ought to be achieved. In a situation where mismanagement is widespread, and this includes the field of statistics and the collection of figures regarding the production of vital products, it is not possible to base the size of production only upon formal and official figures, but living realities must also be taken into account, in particular factors in the practice of production.

The most decisive factor of all in the practice of production is the management of production which is composed of the human element and of organisation where, in the last analysis, the human being is the most important element. It depends upon the human being who is manager and the human being as the labour force who directly produces as to whether the available natural resources and means of production can create material wealth useful for society or not. If the manager mismanages in production, then output will decline and costs will be high and the result will weigh heavily on the people as the consumers.

Apart from that, decline and collapse in production today is also the result of corruption, waste, large-scale smuggling and the like, a form of mismanagement which is sabotage and reactionary in the extreme.

If we take only four or five types of production that are the most essential and vital, it is very easy to prove the above statement regarding the unreliability of figures and decline in output.

As regards the *production of rice* which has been managed and guided for more than 10 years by the Department of Agriculture (now the Department of Agriculture and Agrarian Affairs), there is still up to this day no positive single set of figures that can be relied upon. The Department of Agriculture and Agrarian Affairs has put the production of paddy in 1962 at 19.8 million tons, while the Central Bureau of Statistics puts the figure much lower, that is, 17.8 million tons. "In order to avoid this confusion", the Djuned (Minister for National Research) Commission was set up which succeeded in one way or another in "cutting the difference", and put it at 18.3 million tons, a figure that is still far below the production target for 1962 set by the MPRS Decision, namely 20.4 million tons, and even below the target set for 1961, namely 19.2 million tons.

The Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) which should work with great precision, caution and perseverance, appears to be more fond of taking the easiest way, that is, it simply made a subtraction from the production target for 1962, namely 20.4 million tons, for the amount of rice imports estimated at the equivalent of 2.6 million tons of paddy, that is to say, 20.4—2.6 = 17.8 million tons of paddy. This completely unscientific and careless way of working has very much lowered the prestige of the Central Bureau of Statistics and has misled those persons who seriously want to analyse the situation with the help of figures from the CBS. Every patriot, every scientific worker and writer who is accustomed to using exact figures will agree that it would be better for the leadership of such a CBS to be retooled than to go on deceiving and misleading people like that. Even more disgraceful is the fact that foreigners write books based on these erroneous CBS figures, such books are then imported and are used as bases by officials, students and others.

Figures regarding *textile production* are even more confusing and conflicting. According to the figures of the National Planning Council that have been endorsed by the MPRS and subsequently improved upon by the Working Committee of the National Planning

Council, the number of Non-Mechanised Spindles (NMS) is 150,000 and the number of Mechanised Spindles (MS) is 18,000, of which 9,000 are of single width and 9,000 are of double width, according to information obtained directly from the mass organisations of textile workers and the organisation of private textile operators.

Not long ago, the First Assistant to the Minister of Light Industry announced that the total number of NMS's had increased to 400,000 and the number of MS's was now 19,500, and explained that with such capacity it was in fact now possible to meet the MPRS target set for 1968 ("Ekonomi Nasional" daily, 10 November 1962), that is to say, 1.7 milliard meters based on the calculation of a population of 111.29 million in 1968 when every person should get 15 meters annually. What a difference there is between this figure and the figure announced by the Government, that textile production in 1961 was 428 million meters and that estimated output for 1962 was 460 million meters, that is to say, a mere 25 per cent of the output that should be possible according to the statement made by the First Assistant of the Minister of Light Industry.

The figures of *sugar production* are not conflicting but they reveal a very bleak situation indeed. The MPRS target of 900,000 tons has been cut by the Government to 720,000 tons for the year 1962, but in actual fact the estimated production of sugar for 1962 is far below 600,000 tons, a figure that marks a severe decline by comparison with production in 1961 (640,000 tons) and with an output of 675,000 tons in 1960.

According to the Government, the *production of estate rubber* in 1962 was 230,000 tons which is almost the same as production in 1961 (228,000 tons), but it represents a severe decline by comparison with 1953 (309,098 tons). Smallholders rubber production fell from 440,000 tons in 1961 to 400,000 tons in 1962. According to a statement by the Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Affairs himself before the Working Conference of the Association of Exporters (GPEIS), it is estimated that about 30,000 tons of rubber are smuggled

abroad each year ("Ekonomi Nasional" daily, 25 November 1962). But if we examine the figures of rubber exports from Indonesia to Singapore according to Indonesia's statistics and according to Malaya's statistics, there is a big difference between the two figures amounting to almost 1,044,000 tons over a period of 7 years from 1954 to 1960 or an annual average of about 150,000 tons, which means that the smuggling of rubber to Singapore and Malaya each year alone is five times the estimate made by the Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Affairs of the total rubber smuggled.

Smuggling of *copra* exports has recently attained extraordinary proportions in the region of Sulawesi and the waters around Ambon. This is because of the swindling and speculation of the copra middlemen who are agents of certain cliques of copra smugglers, and who offer far higher prices than the price paid to the copra peasants by the state trading corporations. And in addition to all that, the middlemen bring in goods from abroad that are very "attractive" to the copra-exporting society, such as textiles, glasses, plates, crockery, woollen clothes, cigarettes, etc.

This has led to a severe decline in the export of copra, namely, —according to the statement by the Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Affairs before the Board of Directors of the "Fund for the Rejuvenation and Guidance of Perrenial Plants"—from an annual average of 550,000 tons during the years 1954—1957, to roughly 290,000 tons during the years 1958—1960, and then fell again to 130,000 tons (PIA News Agency, 9th November 1962). These figures are at great variance with the figures published in the Statistical Trends (published by the CBS) for the months of January, February, March, April 1962. Another consequence is a very large decline in copra purchased by the state trading corporations for the soap industry and for domestic cooking oils.

As regards the production of other export products such as *coffee*, *tea*, *tobacco*, *palm oil*, *palm oil kernels*, *fibres* and *kapok*, an examination of figures since 1957 shows a decline, with the exception of coffee which registered a slight increase.

Bottlenecks in the field of land and sea transportation not only completely disorganise the distribution and circulation of goods in general, but they also create havoc with production.

The reasons for the setbacks, declines and even collapses in many sectors of production is, as is publicly known, the widespread prevalence of *mismanagement* which has various forms and manifestations. To take but one example, mismanagement in the field of rice production: the thousands of millions of rupiahs that have been poured into the Paddy Centres have not yield corresponding results, many varieties of fertilisers are being imported from abroad, the utilisation of the fertilisers is not in accord with soil conditions, rice "seeds" are piling up in the warehouses and those that are distributed to the peasants cannot be utilised because of mismanagement in selecting and looking after the "seeds", the Agricultural Production Council has not been set up and there is no effective control from below and from above. We could also present concrete and convincing facts about mismanagement in the field of textile production, estate production and other sectors.

Under circumstances where the state corporations, both productive as well as the distributive, including domestic and foreign trade, are being attacked from many directions by the disease of mismanagement, it is not possible for the state sector of the economy to give leadership or to occupy a position of command over the entire economic life of the country. As a result of the inability of the state sector of the economy to occupy a correct position of command, the national private sector of the economy and the progressive domestic private sector are in a state of disorder and face the danger of close-down, with the further result that the internal funds and forces which are very greatly needed for the construction of an independent national economy, have been frozen and have become non-productive. In the framework of mobilising funds and forces, all forms of racialism must be resolutely resisted, such as the system of compulsory participation, name-changing, and the like.

Those private companies that exist can only obtain fuels, auxiliary materials and spare parts in very inadequate quantities or are quite unable to obtain them altogether, while any intention to set up new private companies encounters a great number of difficulties because of the complicated procedure for obtaining a license, and because in actual fact they are threatened by the possibility that they will be heavily burdened by severe company and property taxes.

In the framework of increasing the production of foodstuffs, our Party must more resolutely struggle for the implementation of the Law on the Division of the Product in a way which is more advantageous to the tillers, and for the implementation of the Basic Agrarian Law so as to ensure that the surplus land of the landlords is really distributed to those who most desperately need it, the agricultural workers and the poor peasants, and to resist any abuses in its implementation.

Co-operatives of working people, in particular, productive co-operatives must be more actively developed. The 1,001 Movement which has now become a broad mass movement must be organised in a more well-regulated fashion, there must be better control, and it must be improved technically by drawing in more agricultural experts and by holding seminars. By means of these activities, we are directly dealing with agricultural production affairs, and this is a very important thing; we are doing whatever we possibly can to counter the difficult living conditions being suffered today by the broad masses of the people. Of course, all these activities offer only limited possibilities as long as there is still a contradiction between the existing political power and the masses of the people.

c. *Foreign Trade.*

Our foreign trade is still a barometer for domestic economic life because the complete dependence of the Indonesian economy upon imports has not yet been eradicated. Sixty per cent of state finances

revenues are dependent upon exports and imports. There is practically complete dependence for consumer goods and important fuels for domestic production upon imports and these have to be paid for out of the export proceeds.

The facts in 1961 and 1962 show that there has been a decline in export earnings excluding petroleum, that is to say, a decline in the volume and value of export of a number of important products. The figures of export realisation since 1960 are as follows:

1960	Rp. 27.9 milliards
1961	Rp. 23.6 milliards
1962 (first part)	Rp. 9.7 milliards.

These figures show that foreign exchange earnings during the implementation of the 8-Year Plan in 1961 and 1962 have been getting less and less. The result is a very great reduction in the volume of routine imports for consumption and for domestic production. The failure to implement the rice production target in 1961 and 1962 has naturally reduced the availability of foreign currency for other sectors because it is evident that it will not be possible to halt rice imports in 1963 as had been planned in the framework of the 8-Year Plan.

There was a considerable deficit in the trade balance for the year 1961 as the following figures show:

	Export	*Import*	*Deficit*
1961	Rp. 23,558 million	33,273 mill.	9,715 mill.
1962 (Jan.-June)	Rp. 9,705 million	14,478 mill.	4,773 mill.

On the other hand, the export of petroleum has risen constantly, from Rp. 9.9 milliards in 1960 to Rp. 11.7 milliards in 1961, and in the first eight months of 1962 these exports had already reached

a value of Rp. 10 milliards in foreign exchange. But all this foreign exchange is still controlled by foreign capital.*

It is evident that Indonesia has been unable to draw the benefit from the continuous expansion in both the volume and value of world exports and imports. Especially as regards he competition between the world socialist market and the world capitalist market which encounters crises, Indonesia has not yet been able to break itself away from traditional markets (read: dependence upon the world capitalist market) in such a serious situation as the present. Avoiding the world crisis in the world capitalist market requires a serious effort on the part of all officials responsible in the field of foreign trade in implementing a policy that is independent and active in the economic sphere and in strengthening co-operation with the countries of the new emerging forces.

In view of the very limited export earnings, it is necessary during 1963 to make a careful check of the import of goods. Guided by the need to give priority to production projects, the import of luxury goods and other non-urgent goods should be stopped in order to ensure a more effective utilisation of foreign exchange.

The SIVA (Foreign Exchange Certificate) regulation that was introduced with the intention of carrying out an export drive by eliminating the internal price disparity has been a failure and it has had an extremely unfavourable effect upon production and the living conditions of the people in view of the sharp increase in prices as a consequence of the very high SIVA rate. The losses suffered by exporters because of the disparity between internal prices and foreign prices should not be overcome by such a thing as the SIVA regulation. As is normally done by other countries that require international means of payment, it is possible under

* As a result of a special agreement exempting the foreign oil companies from surrendering their foreign exchange to the Foreign Exchange Fund.

certain circumstances to give a bonus or subsidy *to the producers*, and then the government exports the goods in question at the lower world price. In this way, there is a guarantee that the foreign exchange will be obtained and domestic prices need not be undermined by price increases of the SIVA type. There must of course be care to ensure that the utilisation of the foreign exchange is effective and that there is no waste such as has happened in the past in the purchase of goods that are not required for construction.

One way of guaranteeing greater export proceeds is by intensively combatting smuggling. It is a public secret that some considerable percentage of the country's export proceeds do not in fact enter the State treasury. The considerable smuggling of such export products as copra, pepper, rubber, tin and others must be combatted in 1963 so as to bring about an increase in state receipts.

In order to simplify control and to smoothen the purchases of important export products from the people it is necessary to intensify the export of important products by a State Export Agency. Collection of products from the regions should be carried out by branches of the State Export Agency so that the losses suffered by the producers as a result of the manipulations of the middlemen, some of whom are connected with the smugglers, can be reduced.

In order to do all this, genuinely Manipol-ist persons, that is to say, people who are patriotic, honest, competent, democratic and inspired by Socialist ideals must handle foreign trade. Without this it will not be possible for the export drive to proceed, neither will it be possible to prevent a wittling away of state receipts in the foreign trade sector.

d. *Living Costs of the People*

The condition for success in carrying out planned development is *enthusiasm* to work on the part of the producers, in particular the

workers and peasants. *Enthusiasm must be aroused both morally as well as materially.* To do this only morally will not produce many results because in the last resort it is the physical condition of the workers that is decisive in determining whether productivity can be raised or not. In the process of production, minimum requirements are always needed for the workers so that they are able to live and are physically capable of continuing production.

In 1961 and 1962, there were a number of basic weaknesses in arousing the labour enthusiasm of the workers, whereas the workers and peasants are the pillar of construction. This does not mean that the workers and peasants have not been willing up to the present to make sacrifices and that they only like to make demands. The Indonesian workers and peasants have long been making sacrifices without having been asked to do so. Despite the fact that they have been suffering from increasingly difficult living conditions, as the following figures will show, they nevertheless continue to discuss and tackle the economic difficulties by action. The cost-of-living index of a government employee with a family of 4 has increased as follows:

1953 — 100
1958 — 202
1959 — 293
1960 — 409
1961 — 463 (second quarter)

This indicates clearly enough how living costs have increased, whereas workers' wages have been far outstripped and have risen far more slowly than the prices of goods reflected in the above index.

The living conditions of the people in the villages are also becoming increasingly severe. This is apparent from the rise in the index of 12 basic foodstuffs and of textile goods in the countryside of Java and Madura, as follows:

	Price index of 12 basic foodstuffs	*Index of textile prices*
1953	111	100
1958	263	238
1959	307	592
1960	388	926
1961	1243	836
1962 (March)	1910	1176

These figures clearly reveal that the peasants, in particular the poor peasants and the agricultural labourers who are compelled to purchase the major part or all of the basic necessities they require, have suffered a very sharp rise in their cost of living.

These trends were even more serious in 1962 when consumer goods prices in Djakarta have risen 420 per cent at the end of November 1962, by comparison with the level of prices in January 1961. No one will deny that in fact prices have risen much more than is shown in the official figures. Wages, on the other hand, have risen by an average of only 30 per cent.

The above facts regarding the economic situation show clearly that there is no indication that there will be any improvement in the immediate future. But even so, it is absolutely incorrect to say that the present economic difficulties are like a vicious circle which it is impossible to break through. We can break through these difficulties so long as the forces of the people are fully mobilised and the widespread mismanagement is swept aside. On 10th October, 1962, the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party issued a statement that was entitled: "*Forward in the Spirit of the Trikora* to Tackle the Economic Problem!*", which was very enthusiastically welcomed, which was widely discussed and has become an important source of material for consideration for all persons who are genuinely

* *Trikora:* The abbreviation for the Triple Command of the People.

worried about the economic situation in our country. The Statement said among other things:

"After surveying the appalling economic situation which has befallen the state and people, the time has come to take fundamental action in the economic field. Under such circumstances, technical-administrative or financial-monetary measures are nothing more than patchwork that gives no hope and that cannot remedy the very terrible economic-financial situation that exists today."

In that Statement, we suggested that the following measures be taken:

1. To retool the economic-financial apparatus, a complete overhaul of the organisational structure of bureaucratic economic and financial bodies;

2. Speed up the establishment of the democratic control apparatus of society, such as Enterprise Councils, Production Councils, Councils for the Supervision of Distribution and Communications, for the Supervision of Exports and Imports, etc;

3. Guarantee democratic rights for the workers and peasants as well as the entire people so that they can "dance the kiprah" and roll up their sleeves to tackle the present economic crisis;

4. Rehabilitation and repair of the means of production and of land, sea and air communications, and planned, gradual modernisation in keeping with the availability of capital, equipment and personnel;

5. Alter Indonesia's foreign trade policy by expanding as far as possible the volume and value of trade with the Socialist countries so as to be able to avoid the bad effects of the economic crisis in the capitalist countries;

6. Oppose neo-colonialism in the economic field; the question of neo-colonialism, including the European Common Market, which threatens the Asian, African and Latin American countries should be discussed at the Second Asian-African Conference;

7. Financial policy must serve production and not the con-

verse, not production being sacrificed to an erroneous financial policy.

We also set forth in that Statement an important principle for the policy regarding Indonesia's economic development, namely: "*Construction policy must be based on the understanding that agriculture and the estates are the basis while industry is the backbone in the development of a national economy.*" Upholding this principle must mean in the first place that radical land-reform must be carried out as the basic source of capital for the construction of the national economy. It is only by implementing this principle that Indonesia can solve the people's food-and-clothing problems with its own forces and abilities, and together with that lay the foundations for the industrialisation of the country.

Speaking about *sources of finances* for development, mining which is already rather developed in this country must play an important role side by side with agriculture and the estates.

If importance is not placed on agriculture and the estates, which are the basic source of earnings for Indonesia (besides the existing mining sector), we shall remain forever dependent on abroad for food and clothing, and the extent to which we can import industrial requirements will always be very greatly limited. Since we do not want our country to remain forever agrarian and dependent on the world market, we must therefore also build a backbone to our economy so that it can stand independently, and that backbone is industry.

Thus, the real way out of Indonesia's economic difficulties is not begging for loans from abroad or making the Indonesian people the servants of foreign capital invested in Indonesia, but *the development of a national economy that can stand on its own two feet.* This means that there must be the daring *to change the system of society at home by sacrificing the interests of the minority of big exploiters in the towns and the villages, that is, the bureaucrat-capitalists, the compradores and the landlords, and defending the interest of the masses of the people.* For this, there must be the appropriate political power, Gotong-Royong

power with NASAKOM as the fulcrum. Every leader of the people is faced with the question: oppose the big exploiters and defend the people, or oppose the people and defend the big exploiters. This is the yardstick of whether a person is a revolutionary leader or not. There is no middle way.

3. *The Task of Opposing Neo-Colonialism*

The third task is to oppose neo-colonialism. Our last Congress gave a very clear analysis of this. Life has proven the correctness of the conclusions we drew at that Congress.

As time has passed more and more facts have appeared testifying to the attempts of the monopoly capitalists headed by the US imperialists to hold the economic and political reins in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the aim of preserving their former positions in the economies of the countries that have recently attained independence. Besides this, they strive to seize new positions behind the mask of economic "aid", they strive to drag the newly independent countries into military blocs, to impose military dictatorships on these countries and establish military bases.

In Indonesia, the US imperialists are trying to carry out a variation of the "Alianza para el Progreso" (Alliance for Progress directed to Latin America) with the name "programme of economic stabilisation". The objective is the same, namely "economic stabilisation" and "political stabilisation" for the US imperialists. For this purpose, the US imperialists do not neglect to push forward the so-called "peace corps".

As long as there was no solution to the West Irian question, the Indonesian people regarded Dutch imperialism as their enemy number one while at the same time regarding American imperialism as the most dangerous enemy. Today, now that it is certain that Dutch colonialism is soon to come to an end in West Irian, there is no point any more in establishing Dutch imperialism as enemy

number one. The UNTEA (United Nations Temporary Executive Administration) which is still in power in West Irian serves the interests of American imperialism more than it serves the interests of Dutch imperialism. *Therefore, the enemy number one and the most dangerous enemy of the Indonesian people at the present time is US imperialism.* From the point of view of its political influence in Indonesia, its military and cultural penetration, US imperialism stands above all the rest.

The US imperialists are at present working very hard and doing everything in their power, with the use of demagogic slogans, to expand and strengthen their economic basis and political influence which indeed already exists in Indonesia. The methods they are using are as follows:

1. Increasing existing American capital investments, particularly in the oil industry.
2. Expanding American "aid" in new forms.

Regarding the expansion of American capital investments, it is clear that this is taking place in the Shell (part American capital), Stanvac and Caltex Oil Companies which have increased their capital investments since 1954 as follows:

Shell,	an increase of $ 78 million	(£ 30 million)
Stanvac,	an increase of $ 40 million	
Caltex,	an increase of $ 47 million	

The position regarding US economic "aid", the great part of which is consumptive, is that it has amounted to $ 639 million since 1950, according to a statement by the US Ambassador, Jones, before the American Men's Association.

This is the basis on which American imperialism now rests.

Today, the US imperialists are making new efforts to replace the Dutch imperialists. The American imperialists are making plans for "special aid" with the slogan for "economic stabilisation" and "political stabilisation". This is *long-term* aid, they say, just

as if Indonesian soil were already so barren that the country cannot stand on its own two feet any more but will have to depend upon foreign aid for the rest of its life. What they mean by "political stabilisation" is stabilisation for "their people" who are holding positions of importance in the government.

Aid given with such political strings is an abuse of the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia.

The attitude of the bureaucrat-capitalists on the question of foreign aid is a dishonest one. Misusing their powers, they sabotage the implementation of aid from the Socialist countries which is based on equal rights and mutual benefit. They always talk about economic aid from the imperialist countries in glowing terms because such aid is invariably accompanied by "*something*" to strengthen the personal economic basis of the big exploiters in the towns and the villages.

As a result of the widespread prevalence of mismanagement in economic and financial affairs, it has become apparent that utilising foreign assistance does not guarantee the greatest possible profits for the development of the economy of the state. In addition to "aid" from the USA and from other capitalist countries which is available in considerable amounts, there is also assistance from the Socialist countries which are in a constant state of growth, and there are no political ties attached that would violate the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia. The assistance from the Socialist countries is, furthermore, just assistance and not the key source of financing and it is provided in the hope that within a short time, Indonesia will be able to stand on its own two feet and will not be forever dependent on foreign assistance.

Assistance from the Socialist states has not yet a long life in Indonesia but there is enough of it to facilitate economic construction were it not for the sabotage and economic and financial mismanagement right here in our own country. According to figures published by the ECAFE, aid from the Socialist countries to Indonesia has amounted to the following:

up to the end of 1957, $ 137 million
up to the end of 1960, $ 466 million, or an increase to 340% of the first figure,
and further increases in 1961 and 1962.

The declining confidence of countries with backward economies in "aid" from the United States is one of the factors that has stimulated the development of aid from the Socialist countries. ECAFE figures show that aid from the Socialist countries to the countries with backward economies has risen as follows:

up to the end of 1957, $ 822 million
up to the end of 1960, $ 3,198 million, or an increase to 390% of the first figure.

The new US "aid" that is now being planned is also intended to be channeled through the Private Development Bank to be handed on to their cronies. US imperialist "aid" is intended to strengthen the economic position of their stooges and eradicating the role of the state sector of the economy which should occupy a position of command. This is in conflict with the Manipol even though the US imperialists state that they "agree" with the Manipol, and Jones even states that they want to achieve harmonic relations between American capitalist enterprises (private enterprises) and "Indonesian Socialism".

This makes it clearer than ever that the CPI was right when it warned during the discussions of the Law on the Private Development Bank in the People's Legislative Assembly that there was a danger of foreign imperialist capital infiltrating into the Private Development Bank. We must be very vigilant in this matter and prevent foreign imperialist adventures through the Private Development Bank.

Dutch imperialism is still a dangerous enemy of the Indonesian People, because this imperialism still has rather considerable investments (in the

BPM, and elsewhere), because it will still present completely unreasonable demands regarding the Dutch enterprises that were taken over and nationalised, because it still has its former political connections here and will strive to renew these connections.

In the recent period, British imperialism has come to the fore with its Malaysia plan, as well as West German imperialism and Japanese imperialism with their economic penetration. All this certainly arouses the vigilance of the Indonesian people. But of all these imperialisms that are playing their role in Indonesia, the enemy number one and the most dangerous enemy of the Indonesian people is American imperialism. This is the imperialism that must be the main target in opposing neo-colonialism.

There are some people who are doubtful and ask: does neo-colonialism really represent an acute danger for Indonesia? This question is raised in view of the fact that Indonesia, by contrast to other Asian countries, achieved its national independence through an armed struggle. We Communists answer this question most categorically: *yes, very acute!* We have good reason to answer in this way. Our everyday experience proves that the greatest vigilance is required regarding the danger of neo-colonialism.

More than six years ago, at the Plenary Session of the CC that was held in July, 1956, we drew the conclusion, based on a profound analysis, that there are three forces and three concepts in connection with completing the demands of the August 1945 Revolution.

The *first* force is the *diehard forces*, that is, the reactionaries, and their concept is to turn Indonesia into a country that is independent in form only but in essence submits to imperialism, defends the interests of the big foreign capitalists and the landlords. According to them, this is the objective of the August 1945 Revolution.

The *second* force is the *progressive forces*, that is the workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, the revolutionary intellectuals and other democratic elements, and their concept is that the privileges of the imperialists in the political, economic and cultural fields must be completely eradicated from Indonesian soil; the same goes

too for feudal ownership of the land which must be eradicated and the slogan "land to the tillers" consistently implemented.

The third *force* is the *middle-of-the-road forces*, that is, the national bourgeoisie, and their concept is anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, they want changes to take place in Indonesia with the purpose of defending their own interests for the development of national capitalism.

These three forces wrestle with each other every day and every hour in all fields of life, in the political field as well as the economic field, in the cultural field, and so on. In the recent period, the wrestling between them in the economic field has been particularly apparent and particularly strongly felt, particularly in connection with the question of overcoming the present economic difficulties.

The *diehards* are of the opinion that the economic difficulties can only be surmounted if Indonesia opens wide the door to foreign capital investments because if there is a lot of foreign investment operating here, we shall be able to get a lot of taxes from them as capital for the construction of our country. They also speak about the "programme for economic stabilisation" with imperialist credit. They are very busily bringing here imperialist experts to carry out various investigations. They regard advisers from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and such like as wizards who can cure all ills. They orientate towards the IMF which has a programme of exploitation, domination and the perpetuation of backwardness. They naturally do not orientate towards the people at all in their efforts to solve the economic difficulties, and in fact they accuse the people of being the source of the economic difficulties because the people are always demanding this and that. They are not patriots but foreign agents and traitors in the field of economic affairs!

The diehards consist mainly of the right-wing socialists who still occupy important official posts, of the bureaucrat-capitalists, of the compradores and the rightwing of the middle-of-the-road forces who do not have a concept of their own but are very clever at shaping and selling the concepts of the right-wing socialists.

The *progressives* are of the opinion that Indonesia's economic difficulties must be overcome by mobilising the entire forces of the people and the natural resources of Indonesia. Indonesia has rich natural resources, its soil is very fertile, it has a huge population that is skillful and hard-working. All this is an inexhaustible source for constructing our national economy. All the objective conditions exist for making Indonesia a country where the people live in prosperity.

At this present time, the progressive political and economic concepts already exist, and they have even become official state policy. What is needed now is *the political power* that conforms with the economy that is to be constructed. But it is precisely this that does not yet exist and it is this that is the foremost obstacle in the efforts to overcome the present economic difficulties. And the reason why this condition does not yet exist, as President Sukarno has frequently stated, is because Communist-phobia, left-phobia, people-phobia, and peasant-phobia still have a heavy hold on the heads and hearts of some part of the state apparatus.

According to the progressives, genuine economic assistance can only be obtained from countries that join in the struggle against imperialism, particularly the Socialist countries, and even in the case of this aid, it is nothing more than an external factor, it is nothing more than aid, that is to say, it does not have a decisive role in the construction of Indonesia's economy. The decisive thing is the efforts, the strivings, the skills, the hard-work, the unity and the determination of the *Indonesian people themselves*. The progressives are not only patriots in political and cultural affairs but they are also patriots in economic affairs.

The middle-of-the-roaders do not reject the opinion of the progressives, in fact they too like to talk about the necessity of placing confidence in our own forces, about the country's abundant riches, about the diligence and abilities of the Indonesian people. But they say, either openly or in their hearts, that the path of "placing confidence in one's own forces" is too difficult and too lengthy and that

is why, they say, we must look for assistance from abroad, both credit as well as "non-dangerous" foreign capital investment.

The opinion of the middle-of-the-roaders appears different from that of the diehards, and indeed it is different as a concept, but our experience up to the present shows that in practice these two opinions are quite the same, they both rely upon foreign "assistance". After having obtained foreign "assistance", the middle-of-the-roaders then "forget" about the path of "placing confidence in our own forces" with the result that right up to the present time the political conditions have not been provided for the working people to "dance the kiprah" and roll up their sleeves to deal with the economic difficulties.

But developments in the recent period show that not all the middle-of-the-roaders "forget" about the path of "placing confidence in our own forces". Gradually and with time, the left wing of the middle-of-the-roaders have come to realise that the only way to deal with the economic difficulties is, together with the progressives, to sweep aside mismanagement, to carry out retooling on a grandscale, and they also agree to the formation of a NASAKOM Cabinet.

The above analysis shows that the danger of neo-colonialism is indeed an acute danger in our country. This danger comes from the reactionaries who are only too anxious to invite foreign capital investments and who want to carry out the "economic stabilisation programme" with imperialist credit, and from the middle-of-the-roaders who also open the door to "non-dangerous" capital investment.

This danger is all the more acute since both the invitation to foreign capital investments as well as the "economic stabilisation programme" with imperialist credit, and the invitation to "non-dangerous" foreign capital investments are all done in the name of "Indonesian Socialism". The result is that there is no difference between capitalism and "socialism" and even between imperialism and "socialism".

This is why Indonesian patriots must not adopt an attitude of indifference to the economic problems in our country, because

the danger that threatens our country comes precisely from here. The danger that comes from other directions, for example from Malaysian neo-colonialism, must of course be opposed, but the people get to know about this quickly and it is easy to mobilise opposition to it. When it comes through the economy, it is "unfelt" and there are even some who feel things very nice, and the independence of our country is undermined and whittled away by the imperialists until in the end we shall wake up one fine morning to discover that our country has become one of the foremost neo-colonial countries.

Thus, in the struggle in the economic field, too, we must be guided by the spirit of patriotism, the spirit of the Trikora and the spirit of the Manipol, that is, the spirit of relying on our own forces, the spirit of selflessness and of life-and-death struggle to construct a national economy that is not dependent on imperialism. Make the economic issue the issue of all patriots!

This is, then, is the Triple Task which now faces us.

The core of the Triple Task is the task of tackling the economic difficulties. This is why the Communists joyfully hailed President Sukarno's "Year of Triumph" speech which declared readiness to overcome "the difficulties in economic affairs" and also stated where the *basic* trouble lies, namely because "the disease of Communist-phobia, left-phobia, people-phobia, worker-phobia and peasant-phobia is so very serious".

If we do not tackle the economic difficulties we cannot possibly consolidate the victories that have already been scored; for example, we cannot build up West Irian, bring real security for the people and the state, and so on; on the contrary, dissatisfaction could emerge among the people in West Irian, security may continue to be disturbed, etc.

If we do not succeed in tackling the economic difficulties, the diehards, in particular the right-wing socialist leaders and the bureaucrat-capitalists, will achieve greater success in pressing their neo-colonialist economic concepts upon the government through key officials who do not have a concept of their own but are nothing

more than recipients and sellers of concepts. When the economy is plagued with difficulties, the middle-of-the-roaders can easily swallow these neo-colonial concepts and by so doing they are acting in the same way as the diehards.

In this bitter struggle, we must not retreat an inch, we must win victory for our economic concept, the concept of a Guided Economy or a Gotong-Royong Economy, the essence of which is an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal economy as is clearly contained in the Broad Lines of Development (MPRS Decision, No. II).

In connection with the question of surmounting the economic difficulties, we can take note of two advances that have been made in the way of thinking of many people in the recent period:

Firstly, the idea is already widely accepted that the inflation cannot be overcome by monetary measures alone. The question of inflation must in the first place be solved by raising domestic production. Many people could not accept this idea a few years ago. Placing the stress in solving the inflation upon the question of production means that there must be a real consciousness of what is said in the Manipol, namely that the workers and peasants are the basic forces of the revolution, because without them it is impossible to have the production that is needed to solve the inflation. Thus, worker-phobia and peasant-phobia must be really and truly stopped if it is genuinely intended to solve the inflation, the practice of flinging "commands" about must be stopped, and the path of consultation and accord with the workers and peasants must be taken.

Secondly, the idea is broadly accepted that the solution to the country's economic problems cannot be divorced from the solution of other problems, particularly the political problem. In other words, there must be a political power that is in accord with the economic structure that is to be built. History as well as present-day facts show that a certain type of economic structure requires a corresponding political power. Today, the Indonesian people have been charged by the MPRS with the task of building a progressive economic structure that is anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, that is

national and democratic, that is operated in Gotong-Royong fashion by the entire people and in which there is control by society and support of society. But the odd thing is that the political power we have today does not reflect a political power that could implement this economic task. In short, there is a contradiction between the economic structure that we want to build and the political power that we have today. *This contradiction can only be solved if a Gotong-Royong Cabinet based on balanced representation is formed in keeping with what is demanded by President Sukarno's Concept (the speech of 21st February 1957), with what is demanded by the Manipol and by the MPRS Decision No. II, Appendix A regarding Government Affairs.* So long as this contradiction is not solved, there is no practical value in talking about solving the economic difficulties, in talking about constructing a national economy, or what is more, in talking about Socialism.

At the end of 1962 and the beginning of 1963 the demand for the formation of a NASAKOM Cabinet became much more vociferous. During this period, the demand for a NASAKOM Cabinet has for the first time been supported by NASAKOM. Before, it was only the Communists, the progressive mass organisations and President Sukarno who talked about this (President Sukarno used the expression Gotong-Royong Cabinet in the President's Concept). Today, the demand for a Gotong-Royong or NASAKOM Cabinet is also supported by the Nationalist parties (the PNI, Partindo and others) and the religious parties (the Moslem Party, Perti, regional leaders of the Nahdlatul Ulama, the PSII, and others). The Indonesian Journalists' Association also supports the demand. All this indicates an upswing in the political consciousness of the Indonesian people, it indicates a new development of the political situation in our country, it points to a seriousness regarding the affairs of the country and the people and a genuine desire to find a way out of the difficulties.

The upswing in the demand for the formation of a NASAKOM Cabinet has made the reactionaries more isolated, it reflects a shift to the left of the middle-of-the-road forces and the further

broadening and consolidation of the progressive forces. This means that the national unity of the Indonesian people has become even more stronger.

And this is indeed the case. Although they are still there and must not be ignored, the reactionary or diehard forces suffered a number of hard blows during the period being reviewed from the revolutionary awakening of the people during the mass mobilisation to smash the terrorists, in all the preparations connected with the question of West Irian, in the struggle against the landlords in the countryside, in the struggle against mismanagement and against lawless behaviour which has been made possible by the state of emergency being still in force.

The friends of the diehard forces among the middle-of-the-roaders have also suffered defeats, both because they have been dragged down by the defeats of the diehards as well as because of the growing political consciousness of the masses and of some leaders within the middle-of-the-road forces.

The progressive forces have expanded and become more consolidated in particular because of the new developments in the peasants and workers movement and the new awakening among the revolutionary intellectuals. The movement of the progressive masses has made advances on all fronts.

With the expansion and consolidation of the progressive forces and the national front, the conditions have improved for continuous advance towards consistent democratic changes in the political system and in the field of political freedoms for the people, for a Gotong-Royong Cabinet, for democratic regional government, for the lifting of SOB, for free and democratic general elections, etc.

The demand for the formation of a Gotong-Royong Cabinet is a scientific, objective, democratic and patriotic demand. All talk about Pantja Sila, the 1945 Constitution, the Manipol, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy, the peaceful and democratic path for the attainment of the aims of the revolution, and so on, are just a demonstration of hypocracy if not accompanied by agreement with the formation of a NASAKOM Cabinet.

Although the demand for the formation of a Gotong-Royong Cabinet with NASAKOM as the fulcrum is scientific, objective, democratic and patriotic, the Indonesian Communists must be fully conscious of the fact that the question of the formation of a Gotong-Royong Cabinet with NASAKOM as the fulcrum is a question of the balance of forces, and that there is no class that voluntarily wants to share power with another class. Not only does the reactionary bourgeoisie not want to share power with another class, but the national bourgeoisie too, unless compelled to do so, does not want to share power with the proletariat. Thus, there should not be the idea among Communists that the question of participating in power is only a matter of scientific truth, a matter of objectivity, a matter of justice according to democratic principles and patriotism.

The progressive forces are indeed large today, but the middle-of-the-road forces and the right-wing forces taken together are still larger. Indeed part of the middle-of-the-road forces are now, under the pressure of the masses, prepared to co-operate with the progressive forces in a NASAKOM Cabinet and they no longer take heed of the intimidation by the diehards, but a considerable part of the middle-of-the-road forces are still captives of the diehards.

In order to change the balance of forces so that there are adequate conditions for the formation of a Gotong-Royong Cabinet with NASAKOM as the fulcrum, we must more resolutely uphold the line which we laid down six years ago, namely: *exert all efforts tirelessly to develop the progressive forces, unite with the middle-of-the-road forces and isolate the diehard forces.* We must practise this line through practising the "five mores": *more daring, more skillful, more vigilant, more resolute* and *more persevering.*

For the enemies of the people, namely the imperialists, the landlords, the compradores and the bureaucrat-capitalists, a NASAKOM Cabinet is not scientific, not objective, not democratic and not patriotic, because they have other standards that accord with their own interests. This is why, even though Bung Karno has repeatedly

stressed the necessity of revolutionary national unity and the absolute necessity of NASAKOM as the fulcrum, the diehards and the right wing of the middle-of-the-road forces, including some important state officials who declare themselves to be "loyal to the President", completely ignore all this and even smuggle in their opposition to revolutionary national unity and NASAKOM. So as not to make it easy to see that they are actually against President Sukarno and the people, these officials make a habit of paying lip-service to Pantja Sila, the 1945 Constitution, the Manipol and the guidelines for its implementation but their foremost characteristic is that *they never speak about the need for national Gotong-Royong and the absolute necessity for NASAKOM as the fulcrum. Whereas not speaking about this is the same as saying nothing at all because without it, it is impossible for the Manipol and all the other things to be implemented. It is thus clear that it is absolutely essential for the struggle for the realisation of the Manipol to be accompanied by a struggle against the hypocrite or the sham Manipolists.*

We Communists do not represent these old, outdated forces, we represent the new emerging forces. This is why we shall never for a moment stop propagating the need for revolutionary national unity and the absolute necessity for NASAKOM as the fulcrum. It is certain that this will be victorious, that this will be what is due to be implemented, not only because it has the agreement and support of the people but in the first place because the people struggle for it and make sacrifices for it. The individualist, reactionary diehards who do not have the support of the people will certainly be defeated.

The formation of a NASAKOM Cabinet is the first political step that must be taken by anyone who genuinely wants to take the path of peace and democracy to Socialism. If one does not agree with the formation of a NASAKOM Cabinet, all talk about the "peaceful and democratic path" *is sheer nonsence.*

True, a NASAKOM Cabinet is not yet a definite guarantee that conditions will improve within a short time but the formation

of such a Cabinet indicates an earnestness to concentrate all national potentials and it is an effective step against Communist-phobia. True, a NASAKOM Cabinet is not an Alladin's lamp, but the formation of such a Cabinet will definitely open up possibilities for surmounting the difficulties and this is better than there being no possibilities at all, as is the case with the Cabinets we have had up to the present.

In order to overcome the present economic difficulties, the state apparatus in the field of government and in economic and financial affairs as well as the leaders of the state-owned corporations must be made subject to review and retooling. For this purpose we have raised the demand that a Gotong-Royong Cabinet with NASAKOM as the fulcrum be established under the leadership of President Sukarno. This retooling is needed not only as a rectification of our failure to replace consistently the colonial apparatus by a completely new apparatus at the beginning of the 1945 Revolution, but even more is it needed because as a result of the Round Table Conference agreement and the state of emergency that has been in force for more than five years, too many people have been "mis-appointed", namely these unsuitable individualists who have been placed in positions within the state apparatus and the economic and financial sectors and who have thus become the source of mis-management.

In the question of retooling, the reactionaries shun very much retooling of personnel. They go round in circles talking about retooling of the apparatus and mental retooling, just as if the apparatus and mentality had no connection whatsoever with personnel, with people. They deliberately present the question in such a way so as to retain in position the reactionaries who still hold many important official posts, with the result that retooling of the apparatus and mental retooling would in essence apply only in words. In this way, they deceive the whole of society. This is why we revolutionaries must stress that the most important thing is *retooling of personnel* so that the mis-appointed people should be

replaced by persons who will devote themselves wholeheartedly and devote all their thoughts to serving the people, by persons who are not individualists, who are genuine Manipolists. With such people, it will be possible to compensate for the shortcomings in the apparatus, but with persons whom President Sukarno has called "persons whose brains and hearts are so rusty that they cannot adjust themselves to the Manipol", whatever apparatus there may be, it will not be possible to use it to serve the people.

Of course, we must not underestimate the importance of mental retooling in the framework of changing the ideas of backward persons into progressive ideas. But this must be done in a correct way, and there are already instructions about indoctrination, namely the "nine counsels" in President Sukarno's "Year of Triumph" speech. We must work hard to bring about a total integration of the Manipol with the masses of the people.

For the sake of the implementation of the Triple Task, we must continue forward with the spirit of "vivere pericoloso", the spirit of the daring to skirt danger, more daring than ever before, *for the formation of a NASAKOM Cabinet, for the implementation of retooling in all fields and for correct indoctrination on the basis of the "nine counsels"*. Rejecting these three conditions means rejecting the consolidation of the victories that have already been scored, it means wanting the economic situation to remain in the terrible state it is now in, and it means letting neo-colonialism take over in our country.

II. STRENGTHEN THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST INTERNATIONAL FRONT AND STRENGTHEN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The international situation shows that the anti-imperialist and peace-loving front which Bung Karno calls the new emerging forces is developing more and more and is achieving victories that are pressing the imperialists back.

The situation in West Europe today clearly shows how sharp are the internal conflicts in the imperialist camp, how much the relations between the imperialist states are strained today.

The United States of America wants a Europe that is united to face up to the Socialist camp but that united Europe must remain dependent upon and submissive to the USA, militarily, economically as well as politically. America is very much displeased with the ambitions of Britain, France as well as West Germany, each of whom wants to have their own nuclear force. America and the West European states are joined together in one multilateral nuclear force of NATO, under the leadership and single power of the USA. In the US "grand strategy", the whole of Europe, including Britain, is indeed only intended to occupy the role of conventional infantry troops whilst the USA itself is the single leader with indisputable "nuclear teeth".

For these purposes, the USA has been very insistent that Britain which has "special relations" with the US, should be able to join the European Common Market and so participate in forming a European Political Union; and then at the same time, the US can take over Britain's colonial interests in the Commonwealth and Africa.

But de Gaulle, aided by Adenauer, two old men in Europe who mutually need each other for their own respective interests, do not want to submit to US hegemony. They look upon Britain as an American agent that is suspect and should not be allowed to enter the ECM. West Germany itself, which, from the point of view of its own industrial interests, does not reject Britain as a member of the ECM, is no longer able to do anything to help Britain get into the ECM because of the Gaulle's stubborn attitude of rejection. At the end of January of this year, a decision was taken rejecting British entry into the ECM, and the negotiations which were being held in Brussels were officially stopped. After de Gaulle had published his nuclear budget to make France an independent nuclear power, a Bonn-Paris agreement was signed a few days ago. This agreement

in essence means the establishment of a "Little Europe" around the Bonn-Paris axis, excluding Britain, and which, within limits, is not dependent upon the USA. Meanwhile the other members of the ECM are afraid indeed to see this de Gaulle-Adenauer axis becoming more and more powerful. Indeed, Kennedy's "grand strategy" can indeed be said to have failed. Official Washington reaction has indeed stated that US interests no longer feel safe in Europe now that there is this Bonn-Paris axis. The western alliance is collapsing and falling to pieces, a fact which cannot be concealed however hard they may try to fan the differences of opinion that have temporarily arisen in the ranks of the international Communist movement.

During the period under review, the Socialist countries have accomplished a number of achievements and advances that are very important indeed, among other things the successful launching of two space-ships by the Soviet Union which orbited the world together. This once again testifies to the absolute superiority of the Soviet Union over all imperialist states in rocket science and technology. In People's China, the difficulties that arose as a result of great natural calamities for several years in succession have now been brilliantly overcome thanks to the powerfulness of the Socialist economy, and this testifies in particular to the exceptional staying powers of the People's Communes.

The people's movements for national independence in Asia, Africa and Latin America have recorded brilliant successes that have shaken the position of world imperialism.

The Laos people have achieved great victories and extraordinary progress has been made by the people's troops in South Vietnam. The sham 'non aligned' policy, the bankrupt pro-imperialist policy of Nehru, in particular regarding the border dispute between India and People's China, has been more and more exposed, and the recent military adventures of the Chiang Kai-shek bandits in Kwantung have been smashed. Four new independent states have been born, Algeria, Uganda, Ruanda and Burundi on the continent

of Africa, and people's resistance in South and North Rhodesia, in Angola, Kenya, Zanzibar, South Africa, Mozambique, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swazi is becoming more and more powerful.

A glorious epic in the history of the liberation of the peoples has been written by the heroic people of Cuba. Relying upon the granite-like unity of the people, upon full confidence in the strength of the people which is the most powerful weapon of all, upon its Marxist-Leninist Party, upon its revolutionary government led by Comrade Fidel Castro, as well as upon the tremendous assistance being given by the Socialist countries and the progressive peoples of the world, Cuba has stood firm and does not bend the knee to any aggression or intimidation from the US imperialists. Resolutely and unshakably, the Cuban people are taking the path of building Socialism. Insisting upon Castro's Five Points, the Cuban people have preserved the sovereignty and independence of their country, have saved their Socialist state. Comrade Fidel Castro was very correct indeed when he said that the basic experience of the recent Carribean incident is: "Don't place trust in the words of the imperialists", and that the imperialists and reactionaries must be faced and conquered with force and not through co-operation or excessive compromise.

The Cuban Revolution and the two Havana Declarations which it has produced have given inspiration to actions by people throughout the entire continent of Latin America who are defending this Revolution, and has further stimulated the people's resistance in Venezuela, Equador, Chile, Costa Rica, Guatemala and other countries of Latin America against the enslavement policy of the US imperialists in the form of what they call the "Alianza para el Progreso" (Alliance for Progress).

We were caught up in a great surge of happiness when in December last year, our neighbours, the people of North Kalimantan, launched a rebellion and proclaimed a new independent state. This courageous struggle is not only the way to liberation for the people of North Kalimantan, but it is also of great assistance to the Indonesian

people because in this way the dam called the "Federation of Malaysia" which is to be built to encircle Indonesia has been challenged and broken through. Although British imperialism and its puppet, Tengku Abdul Rahman, will continue with their intentions to encircle Indonesia with their Malaysia, the people who are to be Malaysia-nised are ready to storm it, while the Indonesian people give full, resolute support to this just struggle. The support given by the Indonesian people and Government to the struggle of the people of North Kalimantan is very correct indeed and it must therefore be intensified.

All the above events show clearly that the international situation is favourable to the international forces that oppose imperialism for national independence, democracy, Socialism and peace.

But the imperialists do not want to surrender just like that. The more hardpressed they become, the more desperate becomes their aggression in order to defend their already shaky colonial positions. They continue with their acts of subversion against the people of Laos, with their attempts to sabotage the realisation of democratic unity of the Laotian people. In South Vietnam, they are continuing to intensify the undeclared colonial war. In the Congo, they are continuing to spread chaos and to suppress the independence movement of the people, as is also the case in Angola and in other parts of Africa. The American imperialists are continuing to spy on Cuba so as to be able to pounce upon it with a military attack. They are continuing to lavish dollars upon the Yugoslav modern revisionists so as to be able to spread their sabotage which is aimed at splitting the international Communist movement and working class movement, to undermine the strength and unity of the Socialist camp and to incapacitate the independence movement of the peoples. The imperialists are concentrating all their energies upon efforts to split the unity of the international Communist movement which is the foremost barrier to their criminal plans.

In facing the activities of the modern revisionists, the foremost danger for the international Communist movement and the inde-

pendence movement of the peoples, our Party must unceasingly unmask them, wherever and in whatever form they appear. Defeating the anti-Marxist-Leninist revisionists means preserving the purity of Marxism-Leninism and unity in the international Communist movement, the indispensable and basic condition for consolidating the anti-imperialist and peace-loving international front.

In facing the crack that has appeared in the international Communist movement at present, fraternal consultations and discussions are needed between fraternal Parties with mutual respect for the complete sovereignty of each Party on the basis of the *Moscow Declaration of 1957* and the *Moscow Statement of 1960*. The Moscow Statement of 1960, the most important Joint Document for the international Communist movement, states that: "*Whenever a Party wants to clear up questions relating to the activities of another fraternal Party, its leadership approaches the leadership of the Party concerned, if necessary, they hold meetings and consultations.*"

For the CPI as also for other Communist Parties, the Moscow Declaration and Statement are the most recent and most basic joint documents; they are today the joint guide and programme which must be loyally adhered to and implemented by every Marxist-Leninist Party in regulating inter-Party relations and in implementing the universal struggle against imperialism for national independence, democracy, Socialism and peace. *Loyalty in practice to the Declaration and Statement is the main yardstick of purity of a Communist Party.*

We Indonesian Communists have never believed that, with polemics and mutual recriminations between Marxist-Leninist Parties in front of the imperialists, it will be easier to solve the differences of opinion. A Party Congress that invites other fraternal Parties must be made into a manifestation of the unity of thought and unanimity of resolve of the Communists from various parts of the world to oppose the common enemy, imperialism. In the resolution of the Political Bureau of the CC of our Party adopted on 15th December, 1961, it was clearly stated that our Party took a

very correct and important attitude in not attacking the Albanian Workers' Party at the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU because in this way we did not join in creating a bad precedent of Communist and Workers' Parties attacking each other in the congress of a Party. With the passing of time, the correctness of this attitude has been proven to be correct and the masses of Party members as well as the working people in our country feel very much indeed how very correct this attitude is.

What we foresaw in 1961, that is, that a bad habit would appear of launching mutual attacks in the congress of a Party, has been proven by the events in the recent congresses of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary, the Communist Party of Italy, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. These congresses were not manifestations of unanimity of thought and unanimity of resolve of the Communists of the world in the struggle against the common enemy, imperialism. On the contrary, although there were some good decisions adopted, the thing about these congresses that sticks in the minds and hearts of the world proletariat is the crack and dispute within the Communist family. And just see how disgustingly the representatives of the Yugoslav revisionists utilised the platform of the Congress of the Communist Party of Italy and the Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in order to split the international Communist movement.

All the commotion in the international Communist movement during the recent period can lower the prestige of Communists wherever they may be, weaken Communist solidarity on a world scale, make Communists indifferent towards decisions taken by congresses of a fraternal Party, towards the successes of a fraternal Party so that as a result they strive less to draw the lessons from fraternal Parties and they are not interested enough in seeing whether a fraternal Party is being successful or unsuccessful. This is a phenomenon within the world Communist movement which Communist leaders in all countries must be thoroughly aware of. Aware of

this phenomenon, our Party has in the recent period greatly stressed to its cadres that, despite the differences of opinion with other Parties, we must continue to study enthusiastically from fraternal Parties, study both from their successes as well as their failures. We must stamp out the attitude of indifference towards fraternal Parties that hold a different opinion from us. We must continue to be full of warmth towards Comrades who are of a different opinion from us but who still oppose imperialism, because our foremost task today is to oppose imperialism. However bad a Communist or a Communist Party may be, it is still better than a bourgeois person or party as long as it opposes imperialism.

There are some people who, in connection with the fact that we do not want to take part in all this commotion in the international Communist movement, accuse us of not wanting to solve matters of principle in a Marxist-Leninist way. This is too far-fetched. The imperialists are also trying to provoke us into joining in the commotion.

We want, we want very much, questions of principle to be solved in a Marxist-Leninist way, and this is why, too, we do not stop for a moment in putting forward our idea that meetings should be held between the Marxist-Leninist Parties of the world; this is why we welcome the statement made by Comrade Khrushchov that the present argument is an argument within a family, and we propose that this argument within a family should be resolved in a family way, too. We also welcome the call made by Comrade Khrushchov for a halt to the polemics between Communist Parties and to the Congress of a Party being utilised to attack another Party, as he declared on behalf of the CC of the CPSU at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

The thing we do not want and the thing to which we shall never agree is solving the differences of opinion in the international Communist movement in accordance with social-democrat or anarchist methods. The social-democrats are accustomed to solving questions, including inner-party affairs, in a liberal way with the result that

their followers split up into factions. They have no discipline, they are accustomed to intriguing, they do just whatever they like for their own advantage or for the advantage of their faction. If this happens among the social-democrats there is of course something good in it but it is not good if it happens among Communists. It is a habit of the anarchists to work without any rules, if they enter an organisation, they break the rules and cause trouble that is disadvantageous to the people though they think that all the trouble they are making is in accord with the interests of the people. We Communists are accustomed to living a disciplined life, living according to regulations that we consciously draw up ourselves and by which we abide. These regulations already exist in the international Communist movement, the most recent being the Communist Statement of 1960.

Up to the present time and also into the future, our Party's CC is urging the cadres and members of the Party to study the opinions of the fraternal Parties that are in disagreement with each other with the help of material that we are able to obtain. We study these opinions with the aim of drawing lessons from them so as to speed up the victory of the Indonesian Revolution and to strengthen the international Communist movement. The Editorial Board of the "People's Daily" in fact opened up a column on the "International Communist Movement" with the intention of supplying material for consideration regarding the questions that have arisen in the international Communist movement. But this column was stopped when we welcomed the call made by Comrade Khrushchov at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to stop the polemics and mutual recriminations and to calm down the situation in the international Communist movement, so as to be able at the proper time to convene a meeting of Marxist-Leninist Parties of the world.

We hope that all the polemics and mutual recrimination will really stop, both in speeches as well as in articles, both against the Albanian Party of Labour as well as against other Communist and

Workers' Parties. We are not naive, but we appeal to the hearts of Communist leaders in all countries who genuinely want to restore harmony in the world Communist family on the basis of the Statement of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties.

This attitude of the CC has been warmly welcomed by the members of our Party because it shows that the CC of the Party is fully convinced of the correctness of its stand, is educating the members to be critical, modest, self-confident and genuine regarding the matter of unity in the international Communist movement.

But we also remind the members of our Party that we certainly must not get drowned in endless discussions about the differences of opinion in the international Communist movement which would mean that we would lose our militancy in opposing imperialism. It is far more important to oppose imperialism itself and its agents than to know what the differences of opinion are between fraternal Parties regarding the most effective way of opposing imperialism. This means that, in discussing the differences of opinion in the international Communist movement, too, we must keep within bounds, for otherwise negligence will emerge in our ranks and only the imperialists and their agents will benefit.

As we stated at our last Congress, the difference of opinion within the international Communist movement is only a passing phenomenon in a mighty movement of some 90 Marxist-Leninist Parties with approximately 43 million Communists, a movement that leads the Socialist countries and leads a tremendous revolutiondry mass movement. The revisionists may go on saying that Marxism is out of date but the fact is that Marxism which is only just over a hundred years old has already exerted and is exerting its superiority over philosophies that are thousands of years old, is exerting its superiority over all other political and social concepts. This is happening every day and every hour, both on a world scale as well as within our own country.

The 1957 Moscow Declaration correctly points out that the primary danger at this time is revisionism, and the 1960 Moscow

Statement charges all Marxist-Leninist Parties to continuously expose and actively struggle against Yugoslav revisionism which is now in a state of dependence upon US imperialist "aid".

As a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party, our Party will continue its struggle against revisionism, both classic as well as modern. To stop opposing revisionism means ceasing to take the path of revolution, it means not seriously struggling against imperialism and the other enemies of the people, and a Party that does such a thing will be abandoned by the masses of the people before it even realises that such a thing has happened.

A Communist Party that is afflicted with the disease of revisionism cannot possibly become strong; on the contrary it will become weaker and weaker, it will more and more lose its spirit of struggle and the splits within it will become worse and worse. It cannot be any other way because revisionism does not mobilise the Communists and the masses of the people to oppose their enemies but gives priority to compromise with the enemies of the people. A Party that does not mobilise itself and does not wage a life-and-death struggle will not be tempered by the fire of revolutionary struggle, such a Party will lose fresh blood, will wilt, will become more and more isolated from the masses and its internal unity will not be steeled and tempered. A Communist Party that does not daringly and militantly struggle will only be capable of giving birth to bureaucrats in Communist garb, whose thoughts are old-fashioned and frozen, and will not give birth to genuine leaders of the people. This is why Indonesian Communists must continue in the brilliant tradition of opposing revisionism that we started right from the very first days of the foundation of the CPI.

Together with opposing revisionism, we have also struggled against dogmatism, both classical and modern, and will continue to do so. For a long time, that is to say ever since the rebirth of our Party in the first years of the second half of this century, we have waged war against classical dogmatism with the result that today our Comrades already understand that it is erroneous to impose

ready-made formulas that have been taken from the classical writings of Marxism-Leninism without taking into account the concrete situation of the Indonesian Revolution. During this recent period, we have successfully waged war against modern dogmatism, namely an uncritical attitude towards the experiences, conclusions and programmes of fraternal Parties at this time. Of course, we must study the most recent experiences, conclusions and programmes of fraternal Parties, but the purpose is not uncritically and stupidly or irresponsibly to make them the possession of our own Party. Such an attitude, this modern dogmatist attitude, would easily divorce our Party from the masses and the nation, would shut out the possibility for our Party to become the champion defender of the interests of the masses and the nation.

Revisionism, both classical and modern, and dogmatism, both classical and modern, are both subjectivism and therefore they must both be opposed. Both of them are dangerous, but *the most dangerous of all is the one that we are not opposing*. The choice is not revisionism or dogmatism, just as there is no choice between fish poison and snake poison. There is no choice between the two and this is why they must be attacked and stormed all the time. This is why it is a mistake to think that those who oppose revisionism are dogmatists and those who oppose dogmatism are revisionists. In fact it is very likely indeed that the modern revisionists are at one and the same time modern dogmatists because both of them have the same thing as their starting point, that is, subjectivism.

Indonesian Communists must continuously oppose revisionism and dogmatism, both classical and modern, they must ceaselessly make themselves Communists who *firmly uphold the principles of Marxism-Leninism but are flexible in applying these principles*. That is indeed how it must be because it is not possible for there being flexibility in applying principles if the principles are not firmly upheld and there is no use firmly upholding principles if one is not able to apply these principles flexibly. Flexibility without upholding principles means opportunism, while upholding principles without flexibility

means sectarianism. Neither opportunism nor sectarianism must be allowed to have a place in the ranks of Communists.

Indonesian Communists will continue unceasingly to struggle for the unanimity and for the high standing of the international Communist movement, to become active participants in this mighty movement, to practise its proletarian internationalism in words and in deeds because they are convinced that a strong international Communist movement means a strong world people's movement in opposing imperialism for national independence, for democracy, peace, Socialism and Communism. *Indonesian Communists are patriots and proletarian internationalists at one and the same time.* As patriots, Indonesian Communists will continue the struggle to apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions in our country which we refer to in other words as "Indonesianising Marxism-Leninism", and on this basis, we creatively determine the policy, tactics, form of struggle and form of organisation of our Party.

This is the basic guarantee for ever-growing unity between the Party on the one hand and the masses and the nation on the other.

For Indonesia today there exists a joint platform between the people and the Government in pursuing a foreign policy based on the concept of the confrontation between the two basic forces in the world, that is to say, the *new emerging forces* and the *old established forces.* This matter is indeed the basic question in international relations at this time and this is why it is necessary to have a deep understanding of it and to develop it creatively.

Developments that take place in the new emerging forces today are developments of the forces which go to make it up, that is to say, developments *in the Socialist camp, in the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial newly independent countries as well as in the other progressive forces throughout the world.* The developments of these new forces are pressing the old established forces, that is to say, the *imperialist countries, colonialism and neo-colonialism as well as all the reactionary forces throughout the world.*

Every growth that takes place in one of the three new forces at one and the same time represents a growth of the entire new forces, and must therefore be supported and assisted. The anti-Malaysia and anti-British uprising of the people of North Kalimantan to achieve national independence is also a development of one of the new emerging forces and we must therefore support and help it with all our strength. We must help it as a matter of principle, to borrow the words of Bung Karno. The same applies, too, to victories in building Socialism and Communism in the Socialist countries, to the release of Manolis Glezos, to the struggle for the release from prison of Mexican, Portuguese and Spanish patriots, to the anti-feudal uprising in Yemen, to the armed anti-Yankee imperialist struggle of the Venezuelan people, to the struggle to smash the Tsombe clique and free Antoine Gizenga in the Congo, to victory after victory being scored in South Vietnam and South Korea, to the bitter resistance of the Cuban people against United States aggression and invasion, to the workers strikes in the United States, Italy, France, Japan, Malaya, and so on.

In face of these heavy tasks, the Indonesian people must never for a moment forget that the imperialists and counter-revolutionaries will not remain idle. Keen vigilance is needed very much so as to be able to recognise and defeat the conspiracies of the imperialists and the reactionaries who always want to split the new emerging forces and set them against each other.

For this purpose, President Sukarno's idea for the holding of an Asian-African Conference during the course of this year is very correct and we fully support it. Asian-African unity is needed more than ever before so as to face up to the intrigues of the imperialists who want to stick the needle of dissention into the body of Asian-African solidarity through the "non-committed" policy of Yugoslavia and India. This is why we can be sure that the idea of holding a Second Asian-African Conference will certainly encounter serious obstacles from the Yugoslav revisionists who experienced defeat

in their attempts to split the six countries that participated in the Colombo Conference on the India-China border question.

The India-China border question is a concrete example of American imperialist aggression. The policy of expansionism was launched by Nehru against People's China for the purpose of begging for the dollars he so badly needs to surmount economic bankruptcy at home, a thing that is in conformity with American plans for aggression, which therefore gives practical, unlimited assistance. In actual fact, Nehru has united himself with aggressive imperialist policy and in this way has betrayed the Ten Principles of Bandung which he himself participated in drawing up, he has betrayed the new emerging forces. But it is a great pity that some of the progressives in India have been taken in by the poisonous chauvinist incitements of Nehru with the result that they support him and in this way are helping the implementation of Nehru's expansionist policy. Nehru and his group would not dare to launch an aggression against the Socialist state of People's China if the ranks of the Indian progressives were not split and if they opposed him. Were Nehru to launch aggression in such conditions, the Indian progressive movement would "reap a great harvest" because the people do not want to wage war against Socialism.

Recent political experiences show that, more than ever before, the most basic task of all is to strengthen the new emerging forces, to build powerful unity between the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces, nationally as well as internationally, to oppose and defeat imperialism that is headed by the United States of America, to frustrate every one of their war plans and colonial aggressions.

Marxist-Leninist consciousness and ideology must be raised and proletarian organisation strengthened so as to be able more skillfully and more ably to mobilise and unite the masses of the people to set forth and struggle for anti-imperialist demands, vis-a-vis the Government and in the international arena.

The Party must more skillfully mobilise the people to formulate correct public opinion regarding various international problems

that must be fought for by the Government and by the people's organisations as well as in international forums, such as in the Asian-African Writers Conference, the Asian-African People's Solidarity Council Economic Conference, the Asian-African Conference of Jurists, the Asian-African People's Solidarity Council Conference in Tanganyika, and so on.

The Party must make an active contribution to the success of the forthcoming Asian-African Journalists' Conference. The work in the Friendship Leagues must also be intensified.

The Party must make the people direct as well as indirect creators of Indonesia's foreign policy. This public opinion of the people is the only stable foundation for the Republic of Indonesia to be able to play a progressive role in the international political arena.

We welcome and are ready to do everything we possibly can to help the Government's policy of confrontation towards Tengku Abdul Rahman, Malayan Prime Minister, who without any sense of decency and shamelessly wants to implement the imperialist policy of encirclement against Indonesia through the Malaysia project. As long as the Malaysia project is not dropped altogether, Indonesia will be entitled to do everything it can to defend itself, and this is not only in accord with the interests of the Indonesian people but also fully accords with the interests of the peoples of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah because Malaysia is nothing but replacement of old slave chains for new and more deceitful chains.

In order to ensure that Indonesia is better able to play the role that has been entrusted to it by history, there must not be any dualism between the line of foreign policy as laid down by President Sukarno on the one hand and the government apparatus that has to implement that line on the other. No wonder people find it so confusing when President Sukarno clearly puts the Socialist camp and all anti-imperialist forces into the ranks of the new emerging forces and puts all imperialists and all its hangers-on as well as all the dark, anti-independence forces into the old established forces, but there still are individuals in the government apparatus

who bring in the influence of West German and Japanese neo-colonialism, who bring in the so-called "peace corps" of the US, and the American-styled "economic stabilisation programme", there still are individuals who flirt with and want to establish close friendly relations with the anti-RI* clique in power in South Korea, there still are people who vacillate about placing appropriate representatives offices of the Republic of Indonesia in Havana, Pyongyang, Berlin, and there are others who are doing all manners of things.

A progressive foreign policy must be in the hands of progressives, not in the hands of "persons whose brains and hearts are rusty and are unable to adjust themselves to the Manipol", to borrow the words of President Sukarno in his Djarek speech. The progressives we have in mind are progressives who are daring and once again daring, daring enough to oppose the criminal intrigues of the imperialists and daring enough to take new paths which may appear to be more difficult and to involve more risks but which are better for the people, the country and the development of the new forces that are emerging in the world.

III. PERFECT THE METHOD OF LEADERSHIP AND GO FORWARD WORKING WITH A PLAN

We call 1951 the year of the "rebirth" of our Party because it was in that year, in the month of April, that the Plenary Session of the Central Committee was held which succeeded in drafting a Marxist-Leninist CPI Constitution. But this Constitution was only endorsed at the Fifth National Congress which was held in March, 1954. At the same time as endorsing the Constitution, that Congress also answered all important and basic questions of the Indonesian revolution and set two urgent tasks: (1) to con-

* RI = Republic of Indonesia.

solidate the united national front, and (2) to continue to build the Party.

Thus, in the almost 12 years since April, 1951, or in the almost 9 years since March, 1954, we have wrestled night and day to consolidate the united national front and to build the Party. From the hard work we have put in during the last 10 years or so, we can see the results, namely: (1) there is now a broad united national front that is based on the alliance of workers and peasants; (2) there is now a Communist Party of Indonesia which at the start of this great work had a membership of only 10,000 but which is now more than 2 million strong, which at the start covered only Java and a small part of Sumatera but which is now *a mass Party that covers the entire country and that is consolidated politically, ideologically and organisationally*. We can say that the Party is already consolidated politically, ideologically and organisationally because this is indeed the case. Both in its attitude towards domestic and foreign policy as well as in its attitude towards the international Communist movement, there is in our Party a unanimity of opinion. Besides this, there are more than 1.5 million Communist youths who are members of the People's Youth, the loyal assistant of our Party and who are also studying Marxism-Leninism. This means that, adding these two figures together, there are now in Indonesia more than three-and-a-half million Communists and Communist youths. All this, both the consolidation of the national front and the building of the Party, is a great accomplishment.

To mention this accomplishment is in no way to be conceited about it or to lose our bearings. In the first place, conceit and losing bearings are not characteristics of Communists. In the second place there is no reason to be conceited or lose our bearings because the united front which we now possess does not yet have a strong enough basis, we must further intensify the alliance of workers and peasants by unceasingly improving and advancing the work among the peasants, whilst the more than 2 million members of the Party today is not yet enough to be able to lead the people in a country

that is the same in length as the distance from Britain to the Caucasus and that comprises 3,000 islands. Although the Party is already consolidated politically, ideologically and organisationally, all this is not something absolute. There is still much that we have to do in order to further consolidate it, so as in facing up to any situation to be able to still guarantee unanimity of thought, resolve and action in the Party.

We cannot possibly be conceited or lose our bearings because we are of the opinion that whatever we do for and give to the proletariat must be of the best and the most perfect, so that however good our work may be, it cannot possibly be good enough for the proletariat. And what is the meaning of all that we have done if we are not yet capable of liberating the proletariat and the entire working people from oppression and exploitation.

But we must appraise these accomplishments so that every one of our members fully realises that if we work hard with Marxism-Leninism as the guide, our work will certainly succeed. Thus, although we have grown some ten years older, although there are now more Comrades who have gone grey, whose eyes are not serving them so well so that they have to wear spectacles, we have no regrets, because we have used these ten years of our lives well, we have made ourselves useful to the proletariat and the revolution, although we all feel not satisfied yet with what we have been able to do. The question now is, how to use the remaining years of our lives as well as possible, how to use them better than in the past.

If we say that 1951 was the year of the "rebirth" of our Party, this does not mean that we belittle the activities of our Comrades, both those who have already passed away as well as those still living, and the activities of ourselves prior to 1951. We deeply appreciate the activities prior to 1951. For example, we hold in high esteem the services of those Comrades who took part in the 1926 revolt, the resistance to Japanese militarism, the August 1945 Revolution and so on. Without those Comrades, there would not be a revolutionary movement and a CPI as we see it today. We

speak about "rebirth" because it was at that time that our Party came to the fore again after having suffered blows during the white terror of the Hatta & Co clique, and it came to the fore with the resolve and the preparation to build a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party.

In the discussion of Party affairs this time, I will not refer to all aspects of Party building, and neither shall I mention all aspects of mass work because there are clear guidelines about these two questions in the documents of the Sixth and Seventh Congresses and the directives that have been issued by the Secretariat of the CC.

Regarding the building of the Party, I shall only refer to the question of improving the method of leadership and the basic questions of the Four-Year Plan on Culture, Ideology and Organisation. With regard to improving the work among the national businessmen, among the peasants and the detailed targets of the Four-Year Plan, Comrade Lukman, Comrade Ismail Bakri and Comrade Djokosudjono will respectively present material.

In the building of the Party, we place very great importance on expanding membership and organisation, but we consider as being even more important Marxist-Leninist education for those who are already in the Party. Our standpoint is formulated as follows: "*Building the organisation is important, but building ideology is even more important.*" We must continue firmly to uphold this standpoint in continuing with the building of the Party.

In building the Party, we place very great importance on working with a Plan. In the first years of the re-building of the Party, we worked with plans that were not many-sided and that were short-term, a Three-Month Plan, a Six-Month Plan or a One-Year Plan, but then later we worked with plans that were longer and were many-sided. Up to the present time we have completed the First Three-Year Plan and, in a short while, shall be completing the Second Three-Year Plan. Next April, the Second Three-Year Plan will be closed and in the middle of this year, a National Conference will be held to examine the results of the implementation of the

Second Three-Year Plan and to establish a new Plan. At the present time, a "final-spurt movement" is under way, in order to complete or surpass the targets of the Second Three-Year Plan, with the *Four Increases* as the core: (1) increase the number of Political Schools and People's Courses; (2) increase the members of the Party and the mass organisations; (3) increase the number of candidate members becoming members; (4) increase the collection of fees.

Both in order to complete the "final-spurt movement" successfully as well as to carry out the new Plan successfully, the question of the method of leadership must be given full attention. Many Comrades are very correct in thinking that the success of the "final-spurt movement" will open wide the way to the execution of the new Plan, and this success depends greatly on our method of leadership.

The Seventh National Congress among other things drew the conclusion that, as is the case with implementing other Party tasks, so too in the execution of the Plan: "The decisive thing and the thing which must therefore be firmly held is the *method of leadership* as laid down by the Sixth Congress, namely, *welding general appeals with concrete directives as well as welding the leadership with the masses*" and that "the method of leadership must always be linked up with a correct *style of work*, namely, *welding theory with practice, close links with the masses and undertaking self-criticism.*"

Our Party regards the question of the method of leadership as being of such great importance that the Seventh National Congress decided that the method of leadership should genuinely be put into practice and taught at all levels of Party Schools, besides being material of discussion for Committees. This is not yet being done evenly everywhere; where it is being done well, the Plan and all Party work also go well, but where it is not being done or where it is not being done well, the Plan and all Party work do not proceed well either.

While there are some regions where the method of leadership is not yet being carried out, there are also regions which have held

special conferences to sum up the experiences in carrying out the method of leadership and to undertake movements to improve the method of leadership.

There are two methods that we must practise in performing every task, namely: (1) linking the general with the specific, or as we often say, welding general appeals with concrete directives; (2) linking the leadership with the members, or as we often say: welding the leadership with the masses. We cannot possibly mobilise the members for a specific task if we do not issue general appeals to all concerned. But the leaders cannot test the correctness of these general appeals or develop them and they can become completely useless if they are not *directly brought in the implementation of these tasks down to the details in several organisations up to the point where specific results have been achieved and then use the experiences that have just been gained to lead the work.*

The Seventh Congress decided that we must execute the Second Three-Year Plan with the *Four Increases* as the core. These Four Increases as the core are correct, but many questions of detail arise out of them. Many details can arise in the question of increasing the Political Schools and People's Courses, and also in the question of increasing the membership of the Party and the mass organisations, of raising candidate members to members and of increasing the collection of fees.

For leaders who want to achieve success and who really want to take part in the execution of the Plan with these Four Increases as the core, there is no other way than to "*go down*", to take part in discussions in two or three Party organisations, Groups or Sub-Section Committees, to carry out thorough investigations so that they have contact with matters of detail in the lower organisations regarding the method of implementing the core of Four Increases; then, take some typical members and study thoroughly their political ideas, their outlook, their attitude towards study and the results they have achieved; then give direct guidance to leaders of the units in question, to the Group or the Sub-Section Committee,

so as to help them solve the practical questions that arise in their respective units. This is also a *method of giving leadership while studying to lead.*

There is not a single leader who can give general appeals to units below him if he himself does not have concrete or actual experience in certain units. The method of gaining concrete experiences in certain questions or with certain individuals in certain units in order to give guidance or issue general appeals must become a habit in our Party. Herein too lies the significance of the provision we adopted some time ago making it compulsory for members of the CC and the Committees beneath it to be responsible for the life of the Group or the Sub-Section Committee at the place where they live or nearby. In this way, the leaders of our Party will not be divorced from the life and activities of the masses of the members and the masses of the people. But, I should state here that there are still many Committee members who are not yet carrying out this most important task.

The fact that the welding of a general appeal with concrete directives is not yet being consistently and evenly carried out has the result that we do not speedily improve the quality of our leadership. This is why this method of leadership must be spread out and its execution controlled better so that all leaders at all levels take part in implementing this. Only in this way shall we be able to liquidate subjective and bureaucratic methods of work, and to replace them by objective, scientific, Marxist leadership.

The second question regarding the method of leadership is the question of welding the leadership with the common members, with the members, with the masses. Experience so far shows that in order for all Party work to succeed, including execution of the Plan, there must be a leadership group or a Committee consisting of several activists who are united around the leader (the head of the group, the Secretary, and so on); the unit in question and these activists (the members of the Working Committee, the members of the Plenary Committee, the members of the Sections, the members

of fraction, and so on) must maintain close ties between the leadership and those being led, who take part in Party work, including implementation of the Plan. The activities of this leadership group will have no meaning at all if it is not closely united with those whom it is leading. Thus, there must be a welding between the leadership and the members or the masses being led. Conversely, the activity of the masses will not last long and will not be able to advance in the right direction and rise to higher levels if it is not organised by a leadership group.

As is the case among the people, so too among Party members, there are three groups, those who are *active*, those who are *half-and-half* and those who are *passive*. The leadership must understand this very well and must be clever at drawing the small number of active persons into the leadership group (by making them members of the Committee, members of the section, members of the "group of activists", members of the fractions, and so on), and basing themselves on these people, to push forward the activities of those who are still half-and-half and strive to get the guarantee of support of those who are passive. It is not a simple matter for a leadership group that is really united and firmly linked with the members to be born; it is born out of the struggle of the masses. Without being tempered in a mass struggle, it is not possible for a leadership that is really united and closely linked with the masses to emerge.

Sometimes, a leadership group must be changed as the struggle intensifies because there are members of the leadership group who may no longer be able to keep up with the developments and who will become obstacles to development. In order to ensure that the Party and the masses are not harmed, such changes must be made in good time, but not hurriedly and carelessly, and they must also not be too late. Activists who emerge in the course of a mass struggle, including in the course of the execution of the Plan, must be promoted to replace those in the leadership group who cannot keep up with the developments or who have become morally corrupted. According

to experience, in the implementation of the Plan and also in the implementation of other work, the basic reason for failure that has occured in some places and organisations is that there is not a healthy leadership group continuously, that is firmly united and closely linked with the members, with the masses it is leading.

Our Party has for quite some time been of the opinion that correct leadership is leadership that receives "from the masses" and then gives "to the masses", leadership that upholds the principle "*from the masses to the masses*". But many cadres still do not have a clear understanding of this, so that there is still much subjective leadership that is not understood by the masses. Receiving "from the masses" means that we Communists must listen to the opinions of the masses, which are scattered and unsystematic. It is our duty to gather these opinions together, to examine them and to put them into systematic order, in brief to draw up a scientific conclusion of these opinions. This conclusion is then explained and disseminated among the masses so that the masses consider the concepts that we put forward through these conclusions as their own concepts, not as something completely strange, so that the masses firmly support these concepts and translate them into actions. In this way, the extent to which the concepts we put forward are correct will be tested. Based on the experience of this practice, we once again sum up the opinions of the masses, we explain these conclusions and disseminate them again so that they really get the support of the masses. And so it goes on until our concepts, with the passing of time, more and more approach the truth, become more important and more significant with every repetition of the process.

So, the basic method in leadership is "from the masses to the masses". In carrying out this basic method, the leadership must implement the method of combining a general appeal with concrete directives which is part of this basic method of "from the masses to the masses". The better we grasp this method the better too will be the leadership that we give, the more welded will the leadership be with the masses.

The above explanation makes it clear that it is completely erroneous for some cadres, in the execution of the Plan, to attach very great importance to technical questions but to pay no heed to the method of leadership. The question of implementing the Plan, and also the question of implementing all Party tasks, is not in the first place a technical question, but first and foremost a question of the method of leadership. Therefore, while implementing the "final-spurt movement" of the Second Three-Year Plan and at the beginning of the new Plan, it is necessary to have a movement to improve the method of leadership.

As part of the movement to improve the method of leadership, importance must be attached to the question of bringing about a total integration of the Party Programme and every Party policy, first of all with every member and then with the masses of the people. This integration is extremely important because it is only if this is accomplished that the entire membership and the masses of the people can be aroused to struggle because they know the perspective of their struggle and know too the immediate and practical aim of the struggle. The execution of the Plan is an important part of our efforts to achieve the objective of our struggle. This objective of the Plan, that is to say, serving the Party Programme and policy, must be explained as clearly as possible to all members, as also the task of every member in the execution of the Plan must be made as clear as possible. After the objective of the Plan and the tasks of each member in the execution of the Plan are clear to all members, a movement to "go down" is then held to implement these two methods, that is: (1) welding general appeals with concrete directives, and (2) welding the leadership with the masses. In the framework of improving this method of leadership, conferences or working meetings must be held to sum up the results of the "going down" movement. These results must then be taken down again or "given to the masses" again to test whether they are correct. Then a "going down" movement must be held again, more conferences or working meetings must be held to draw the conclusions,

and the conslusions are again taken down, and so on for the whole time the Plan is in progress. But it must always be remembered that, as long as the Plan is in progress, other questions outside the Plan may well arise which will also require a "going down". In such circumstances, these questions outside the Plan should be linked up with the work of the Plan and should not become an obstacle to the implementation of the Plan; on the contrary, they should be an impulse to it.

Improving the method of leadership is the key to success or failure of our new Plan. What is our new Plan? The new Plan the implementation of which is to commence in the middle of this year is a Four-Year Plan on Culture, Ideology and Organisation.

The core of this *Plan on Culture, Ideology and Organisation* does not differ from the Second Three-Year Plan, namely Marxist-Leninist education and organisation. In this new Plan, we divide the education part into two: education connected with raising the level of culture (general knowledge and specialised knowledge) of the cadres and education connected with strengthening the ideology of the cadres. This means too that our Party is taking a more active part in the cultural revolution.

Bringing *Culture* education to the fore in the Four-Year Plan does not mean that the ideological aspect of our Plan is being pushed into the background. That is not the case at all. Not only because Party Schools are to be increased and intensified, but the Culture aspect of the Plan is not separated from education regarding Marxist-Leninist theory.

The present stage of the struggle demands of our Party that, at this very time, it should educate Communist cadres who have general and specialised knowledge (who have a certain speciality), educate cadres to become "Communist and expert".

In the framework of executing the Culture aspect of the Four-Year Plan, our Party must organise a large-scale movement to raise the cultural level of the working people, including the Communists, from anti-illiteracy activities, general education at the elementary

school level, up to middle-school education, specialised education about the arts and for various occupations, and up to various academy and faculty branches.

In the framework of the Plan on Culture, all Central and Provincial level CPI cadres must complete a *three-year academy* course, cadres at the kabupaten (district) level must complete a course at the *People's University* which gives knowledge of the level of senior middle school, cadres at the ketjamatan (sub-district) level must complete a course at the *Balai Pengetahuan Rakjat* (*House of People's Sciences*) which gives knowledge of the lower middle school level, and village cadres must complete a course at the *Panti Pengetahuan Rakjat* (*League of People's Sciences*) which gives education of the elementary school level. Illiteracy must be wiped out among Communists. This Plan will be executed by setting up education organs in conformity with local capabilities, by creating a network of libraries and it will be helped by written courses to be organised by Committees in question.

This concept of the Plan on Culture has already been sent out to some Central and Provincial cadres. In general, it has been very enthusiastically welcomed. This is not surprising because the spirit to study is indeed very strong in our Party.

Some Comrades ask whether we shall be capable of carrying out such a tremendous project, where shall we get the teachers from and where shall we get the money from? It is indeed a tremendous project and requires many teachers and much money. We must indeed make many teachers available, but we must realise that up to now, many Communist intellectuals and many non-Communist progressive intellectuals are willing to use their science in the service of the working people but they do not know where to do it, and indeed the places in which to do this are very limited. Of course, we have to find the money to finance the schools that we are going to set up, but we must realise that up to now, many of our Comrades are spending money on the purchase of books, are paying money for courses or schools so as to increase their knowledge from bourgeois books and educational institutes. Apart from that, it is quite a

normal thing for us to carry out campaigns to collect money for a particular activity that conforms with the interests of the working people and that is therefore supported by the working people. Furthermore, we have already been doing the things that are set forth in this Plan on Culture, but not systematically, not well led and not intensively. Now we are going to systematize them, lead them and carry them out intensively.

Regarding *Ideology* education in this Four-Year Plan, we must continue with what we have done during the First and Second Three-Year Plans, but at a greater speed than formerly, and paying special attention to the education of teachers for Party Schools at all levels and to the subject of philosophy. There should also be special attention to ideological education for Communist writers and artists so that they possess a firm proletarian *standpoint* and a correct class *attitude* towards various concrete problems so as to achieve total integration between Communist artists and writers and the masses of the people. Marxism should be studied not only inside the Party but also by progressive people outside the Party with the help of the Party. Gradually, Marxism should become not only the possession of Communists or the possession of the proletariat alone but it should also become the possession of the nation.

Regarding the *Organisation* aspect of the Four-Year Plan, we must multiply the number of Party members and the number of members of the mass organisations. The stress in the expansion of membership must be placed on drawing as many people as possible from among the peasants, the women and from the intellectuals into the Party, without reducing the activities to draw in new members from the ranks of the workers, the fishermen, the youth, the students, the government officials, the urban poor, and so on. The composition of membership must also be improved from the point of view of nationality and citizens of foreign extraction.

Party work among the peasants must be further improved, research in the villages must be further perfected, appointment and promotion as well as education of peasant cadres must be given special attention.

The Sub-Section Committees must be made into the real key to the success of the execution of the Plan. Periodic discussions at all levels of Party organisations must be further enlivened, discussions about theory, politics, Party instructions and mass work. Mass organisation fraction must be managed better and the method of leadership must also be implemented in the revolutionary mass organisations.

This in brief is what needs to be said about the method of leadership and about some basic aspects of the Plan on Culture, Ideology and Organisation.

Once again I should like to state that we must achieve success in the "final-spurt movement" so as to fulfil or surpass the targets of the Second Three-Year Plan. For this we must arouse a high spirit throughout the Party. The success of this "final-spurt movement" will open wide the road to success of the Four-Year Plan. Both for the sake of the success of the "final-spurt movement" and for the success of the Four-Year Plan, we must consistently practise a correct method of leadership. In the implementation of the "final-spurt movement" and in the implementation of the Four-Year Plan, too, we must work with a great spirit of daring, the daring to face all obstacles and the daring to sweep aside the obstacles that stand in our way, in keeping with the "Five More's" line of the Seventh National Congress.

The time has now come for me to conclude this Political Report.

We have surveyed and established the domestic tasks, the international tasks, including the tasks in the international Communist movement, and the tasks of continuing the building of the Party. We emphasised the importance of daring in the implementation of these tasks.

Yes, indeed, today enough has been said about progressive internal and foreign policy concepts. We already possess the organisational apparatus to put these progressive concepts into practice, that is to say, the Republic of Indonesia, the organisation of the National Front, and the people's organisations. What is needed now is daring,

daring and yet again daring from all those who regard themselves as revolutionaries and who want to change the present situation into something better for the people.

In order to defend the interests of the people, to create a new Indonesia, we call upon all our friends, the non-Communist revolutionaries, to be more daring to tackle the economic difficulties, by giving priority to the interests of the majority, that is to say, the working people, and sacrificing the interests of the minority, that is to say, the landlords, the bureaucrat-capitalists and the compradores, by putting an end to the power of the big exploiters both in the towns and in the countryside, by creating a new political power, a power that is in conformity, that is Gotong-Royong with NASAKOM as the fulcrum, as is being demanded by the people more and more clamorously today.

Let us more daringly carry out the struggle against the imperialists who are headed by the American imperialists, the number one and most dangerous enemy, the most aggressive and brazen enemy of the Indonesian people!

Let us strengthen the international Communist movement as the guarantee for strengthening the anti-imperialist and peace-loving international front!

Let us with a more daring spirit resist all obstacles in the way of continuing to build a Communist Party of Indonesia that is broader and more consolidated, whose cadres are *skillful, daring* and *cultured.*

Let us do all this with the Three Good's: *good in work, good in study* and *good in morals!*

Continue forward with the spirit of "vivere pericoloso", the spirit of daring to skirt danger!

Daring, daring, once again daring!

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