

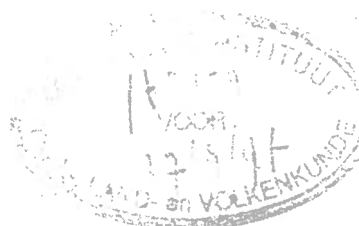
DOCUMENTS

SEVENTH PLENUM

of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Indonesia

Jakarta, November 19-21, 1958

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Political Report:

UNITE FORWARD ALONG THE PATH OF GUIDED DEMOCRACY FOR THE 100% IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRESIDENT SUKARNO CONCEPT

by : D.N. Aidit

General Secretary of the Central Committee
of the C.P.I.

Comrades !

We are holding this Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee, expanded to include the Secretaries of the Major District Committees who are not members of the Central Committee, to discuss and approve material which will be submitted to the Sixth National Congress of the C.P.I. to be held in the middle of next year. This material has been prepared for our discussion by the Politburo and consists of the "*Draft Thesis on the General Report of the C.C. of the C.P.I. to be Presented to the Sixth National Congress of the C.P.I.*", the "*Draft Revision of the C.P.I. Programme*", and the "*Draft Revision of the C.P.I. Constitution*". This present C.C. Plenum is the most important political preparation for our Sixth National Congress.

Although discussion of these documents will ask of us much time and thought, the Political Bureau still deems it necessary to present this for your discussion and for you to determine an attitude towards a number of important foreign and domestic political questions which we are facing at the present time.

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Comrades !

The Sixth Plenum of the C.C. drew the conclusion that the developments in the international situation revealed a growing consolidation of the Socialist camp, a strengthening of the movement for independence and peace, and on the other hand, the increasing disintegration and weakening of the camp of imperialism, colonialism and war. World events that have taken place since the Sixth Plenum of the C.C. was held continue to bear out the correctness of the above conclusion. International events show us that the monopoly capitalists are trying to overcome the bankruptcy of imperialism by means of pursuing a policy of

strength and by further intensifying the dictatorships which they already operate both in their own countries and in the countries under their domination.

The acts of armed intervention that the imperialist countries have carried out in the Middle East, in East Asia and in other parts of the world, as well as the coup d'états and attempted coup d'états in various countries of Asia during the recent period, testify to the increasing aggressiveness of the foreign policy of the imperialist countries, and in the first place, the U.S.A., based as this policy is on the position of strength and the cold war. This aggressive imperialist policy has, on the one hand brought the world to the brink of world war, while on the other hand it has aroused ever-sharpening conflict between the people and the government of the U.S. itself, between the U.S.A. and its own friends within their military alliances, and especially with Britain and France, between the imperialist countries and the colonial countries and with the neutral countries that have not entered any "bloc".

Yes, indeed, a wide, deep gulf stands between the interests and hopes of the vast majority of mankind and the schemes of a small clique of monopolists and their accomplices.

The people of the world want to see the end of colonialism, the end of international tensions, they want the preservation of world peace. In conformity with these yearnings of mankind, the countries of the camp of Socialism, led by the Soviet Union, are pursuing with full initiative a policy of peaceful co-existence. In addition to that, the countries of the camp of Socialism are not experiencing any disintegration; on the contrary, the unity and unanimity between them is growing stronger and firmer. In the recent period, the entire world has been astonished by the development of the great leap forward being taken by People's China in the spheres of industry, agriculture, culture and defence. And even more than that, the world has been astonished by the targets fixed by the Com-

Communist Party of the Soviet Union concerning the development of the people's economy which guarantee that within a period of 15 years, the Soviet Union will have surpassed the U.S.A. in all spheres. The unity of the Socialist countries is a monopolistic unity because it is cemented with proletarian internationalism. The two important meetings held between these countries in Moscow in May of this year (1958) are proof yet again of the unanimity of this unity.

The first of these meetings was held from May 20th-23rd, the meeting between representatives of the Communist Parties and Workers Parties of countries that are members of the Economic Mutual Assistance Council, which drew up and ratified proposals and measures concerning more advanced and improved economic co-operation between the countries of the camp of Socialism. This meeting further devoted special attention to the question of developing the sources of raw materials and power, and also to the question of making the fullest possible use of the very latest advances in the field of technology. Special attention was paid to the need for greater co-ordination and specialisation in engineering which will make it possible to undertake mass production on a colossal and most modern scale, and which will greatly reduce the costs of production.

The other meeting was the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty held on May 24th at which the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Socialist camp decided to reduce the strength of their armed forces by 419,000 men. The Soviet troops that are in Hungary on the basis of the Warsaw Treaty will be further reduced by one division during this year and the Soviet troops in Rumania will also be withdrawn during the course of this year. A further decision adopted at this meeting was that a proposal for a non-aggression pact be made to NATO. It is clear that these decisions taken by the Warsaw Treaty are in harmony with the essence of this alliance, namely that this Treaty is not a military alliance based on aggressive interests such as NATO, the Baghdad Pact, SEATO and other imperialist military alliances, but that it is an alliance between peace-loving countries the aims of which are purely defensive, and aimed too at waging a joint struggle to preserve world peace and international security.

These meetings in Moscow are of extremely important historic significance for the efforts to further consolidate the unity of the countries of the Socialist camp which are staunchly pursuing the Leninist policy of preserving world peace and peaceful co-existence between countries of different political and social systems. These meetings show yet again that Socialism is the social system that is the most capable of acting as the champion in defence of the fundamental interests of millions of people and that is able to solve the pressing

problems concerning the future of mankind.

As has been explained above, the process of the sharpening of the conflicts between the imperialists themselves continues with great intensity. This is proved by the sharp contradictions that have arisen between America and Britain on the one hand and France and West Germany on the other, the latter countries feeling that they are at a disadvantage because of the position of leadership held by the U.S. and Great Britain in NATO. De Gaulle even went to the extent of writing an open letter demanding the creation of a "triumvirate" in the NATO leadership, a suggestion which both America and Britain as well as other NATO countries oppose, including West German and also Italy. Apart from all this, the NATO alliance has been badly shaken by the fundamental contradictions that have developed between Britain and Iceland and between Britain and Greece. This shows clearly that the unity of NATO which the imperialists are so fond of proclaiming about, is a discordant unity and full of contradictions.

In the countries of Latin America, the anti-US spirit is becoming ever more widespread as a result of the imperialist policy being pursued by the U.S. in these countries. Their "dollar diplomacy", the essence of which is to seize and exploit to the maximum the economic resources of America's southern neighbours, has given rise to a bitter struggle for economic independence. This is very evident in the Argentine, Brazil, Chile, Mexico and other countries. The facts show that this struggle for economic independence is closely linked up with the people's struggle for the overthrow of the dictatorial regimes of generals representing the interests of the feudal compradores and the U.S. monopolists.

The imperialists also sustained a heavy blow with the outbreak of revolution in Iraq on July 14th, this year, a revolution which has brought to an end an age of darkness and oppression and which has opened up a new life for the people of Iraq. This courageous revolution has deprived the Baghdad Pact of its Baghdad. It represents a new upswing in the national revolutions of the East.

Terrified at the further awakening of the Arab peoples of the Middle East, fearing that their oil interests will be disrupted, had determined to preserve colonialism and guarantee the Middle East as their fortress for the launching of aggressive attacks against the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Socialist camp, the American and British imperialists, by using various ridiculous pretexts, launched crude, filthy aggression against the Lebanon and Jordan immediately after the people of Iraq had succeeded in overthrowing the monarchy of King Feisal and ex-Prime Minister Nur Es-said.

The most recent developments in Africa that have taken place since the Iraq Revolution, name-

ly the proclamation of the establishment of a Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria in North Africa and of the Republic of Guinea in West Africa — both of them former French colonies — testify yet again to the ever-strengthening resolution of the peoples of Africa in their struggle to destroy colonialism and for the complete implementation of the spirit and the decisions of the Bandung Conference. There is no force on earth which can undermine this resolution !

The staunch, unshakable determination of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other countries of the Socialist camp to contain aggression and preserve world peace by means of giving strong warnings and by taking other measures, as well as the anger and protests of mankind in condemnation of imperialist aggression, have all undermined the schemes of the imperialists to plunge the Middle East into a Blitzkrieg, and has forced them temporary to abandon their aggressive plans in the Middle East, plans the implementation of which would have far-reaching consequences. This is a major victory for the peace forces.

The Krushchov-Mao Tse-tung Joint Communiqué issued on August 3rd, 1958, not only demonstrated that the Soviet Union is at one with China on questions of intervention and aggression against the countries of Asia and Africa; more than that, it demonstrated that the entire camp of Socialism is firmly united at every single moment that the world directly faces a new danger of war as a result of imperialist acts of aggression and intervention. The Krushchov-Mao Tse-tung Joint Communiqué made the people of the world more prepared and vigilant, and together with this, was a strong warning addressed to those in power in the West, especially to the U.S.A., of the tremendous strength of the united camp of Socialism, possessing as it does unlimited material and human resources, with the most advanced economy and with an extremely advanced science and technology.

The American imperialists have tried to divert the attention of the world from the implementation of the resolution adopted at the Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly that U.S. troops be speedily withdrawn from the Lebanon. By means of their adventure around the question of the Taiwan Straits, the U.S.A. has again made the world situation in the eastern part of Asia tense. By means of rendering assistance to the Chiang Kai-shek clique which is trying to hold back the wheels of history so as to prevent the righteous liberation by People's China of the islands of Quemoy, Matsu, Penghu and the other islands in the Taiwan Straits, including Taiwan the U.S. imperialists are carrying out aggression against People's China. But never before have the U.S. imperialists been in such an isolated position as they are over this question of the Taiwan Straits. Their diehard attitude to ignore the role of People's China as a big power, without which

world problems cannot be solved in the way they should; their refusal to recognise the fact that People's China is a mighty power capable of facing up to and resisting aggressive war, even including nuclear and rocket war, will definitely be detrimental and calamitous for the imperialists themselves.

The warnings referred to above, the condemnations of the vast majority of mankind that do not like colonialism and imperialist intervention and aggression, the fact that the U.S. has been left to stand alone by the other western countries in its adventure in the Taiwan Straits, are all factors which have led to the U.S.A. not daring to this day to plunge Asia into a new war. And now, thanks to the strong demand made by the world and to the resistance of the people on the spot, the American and British armies of occupation have been forced to quit the Lebanon and Jordan respectively. In the meanwhile, the Taiwan Straits issue now no longer performs the function of diverting world attention from the Middle East to the eastern part of Asia, as the U.S. would wish, but performs the function of tying up military forces of the U.S.A. which means reducing U.S. pressure against anti-imperialist countries in Asia and Africa, and it performs the function of mobilising the Chinese people to strengthen the defence of their country and expand production.

Recently, the real aims of U.S. imperialist policy over the Taiwan question have become much clearer. They would like to make Taiwan a permanent colony of theirs, as is revealed in the Dulles-ChiangKai-shek Joint Communiqué. Dulles is now compelled to recognise that it is impossible to launch an invasion against the Chinese mainland. That is why he has created the theory of "two Chinas" that besides People's China there is also a "legal" Taiwan. It is not difficult to understand where this theory is supposed to lead if we know what the consequences have been of the existence of "two Koreas", "two Vietnam" and "two Germanies". We ourselves have experienced the consequences of the attempts made by the U.S. to create "two Indonesias". Provocations which would lead to a new war and that are carried out by such imperialist stooges as Syngman Rhee, Ngo Din Diem and Adenauer are permanent sources of new wars.

The imperialists would not be imperialists if they did not try by all foul means possible to trick the people. In pursuance of their policy of hostility towards the camp of Socialism, their policy of intimidation of the non-Socialist countries of Asia such as Indonesia, the U.S. imperialists have gained a loyal friend in the person of the Japanese Prime Minister, Kishi, America's second Yoshida. In complete disregard for the interests of the Japanese people, betraying the Bandung decisions, Kishi is shamelessly prepared to allow himself to be utilised by the U.S. to lead the way in the creation of a

new military pact, the NEATO (North East Asia Treaty Organisation), a military alliance of the American imperialist puppet states, South Korea, Japan and Taiwan.

Side by side with NEATO as a means of holding back the aspirations for national independence and world peace of the peoples of North East Asia, the imperialists have also created what they call the Fifth Fleet, in the Indian Ocean, even though the entire world is already conscious of the crimes committed by the U.S. Sixth and Seventh Fleets, crimes far worse than those committed by all the pirates throughout the course of history rolled into one. This Fleet, which has its base thousands of miles from the U.S.A. is clearly not aimed at defending U.S. territorial borders. The real aim of this Fifth Fleet becomes clearer if we see it in relation with SEATO and NEATO; that is, for use as a means of pressure and intervention, especially towards Indonesia and Burma.

Further, in pursuance of the policy of militarising Japan, Kishi is now trying to alter the Japanese police duties law so as to be able to suppress the workers and the democratic movement in Japan, to deprive the Japanese people of their basic rights and to convert Japan into a police state. This danger of the growth of militarism and political pressure on the Japanese people is getting more and more serious because this policy is being pursued just at the very time when the U.S.A. is exerting national oppression on Japan.

Based on the above facts, the Indonesian people fully support the call made by the Communist Party of Japan to all fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties to support the struggle of the Japanese people to defeat the Kishi Government's schemes which constitute a threat to peace in Asia and the world, which create a barrier to the establishment of ties of friendship between Japan and its neighbouring countries including our own country, and which will drag Japan into a criminal adventure. To have lived once under the heel of Japanese militarism is quite enough for the Indonesian people and the other peoples of Asia.

On the other hand, People's China is undertaking serious activity to relax international tensions. This is proved by the withdrawal of the Chinese Volunteers Army from the entire territory of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea even though security in Asia is still threatened by imperialist activities such as have been mentioned above.

The war policy which finds its realisation in the activities of NATO, SEATO, NEATO, and other military alliances, the policy that Dulles calls the "brink-of-war" policy, has been condemned by the American people as is proven by the results of the general elections for the Senate and the House of Representatives in which Dulles' party, the Republican Party, suffered a serious defeat. Even though there is no hope that by giving their votes to the Democratic Party their living conditions will be

any better than what they are now, the American people have declared that they do not like the Eisenhower-Dulles policy which has aroused the deep hatred of the peoples of the whole world.

The question of universal stoppage of nuclear weapon tests is an issue which is engaging the serious attention of the entire world. The Soviet Union's unilateral cessation of nuclear tests was joyfully and with great satisfaction and relieve welcomed by the people of the world. The people in all the continents hoped and urged that the two other atomic states, the U.S.A. and Great Britain, would follow the example given by the Soviet Union. But this hope of the people of the whole world was disappointed by the U.S. and Britain. Disregarding the demands mankind that the atmosphere should not be polluted by radio-active dust, they persisted with their nuclear tests. It is quite understandable and natural for the Soviet Union, after having stopped its nuclear tests for six months, to have been compelled to resume these tests again, precisely in order to force the imperialist countries jointly to undertake a total stoppage of nuclear tests. The cessation of nuclear tests is not only in the interests of Socialist camp but is also in the interests of the small countries and other non-atomic countries.

The above brief outline shows clearly that were it not for the fact that the Soviet Union can compete with the atomic states of the U.S.A. and Great Britain, then the imperialist countries would be free to do just as they like with the Asian and African countries which are struggling for independence and complete sovereignty, and with other countries that are weaker than they are. History has proved that it is thanks to the fact that the Soviet Union is strong that it has been possible to frustrate the aggressive acts and schemes of the imperialists to hold back or obstruct the implementation of these plans, such as for example the acts of aggression against Egypt, the Lebanon, Jordan and the plan of aggression against Syria and other. The measure taken by the Soviet Union favours security, peace and the lives of mankind throughout the world. This is a fact whether we like the Soviet Union or not. One does not have to be a Communist to see this; it is only necessary to be honest and courageous enough to recognise the truth.

The Soviet Union is constantly striving resolutely to press the U.S.A. and Britain into halting their nuclear tests, not just for one year or for any particular period of time, but for ever. The Soviet Union's earnestness and honesty over this issue became very clear in the meetings of the First (Political) Committee of the U.N. General Assembly, held during recent weeks, at which the question of disarmament, including the immediate and unconditional cessation of nuclear tests, was debated. In front of the vast majority of mankind, the U.S.A. and Great Britain have been exposed

as enemies of peace and as plotters who dislike disarmament. Finally, as a result of the pressure exerted by the U.S.A. on the delegations from countries dependent upon her, including U.S. allies that are members of the aggressive military pacts and the countries of Latin America. The Session of the First Political Committee of the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution by 49 votes against 9 with 23 abstentions confining itself to the suggestion that nuclear tests be postponed for the duration of the Geneva Conference which started on October 31st.

The above facts make it clear that the danger of radiation is getting greater because of the unwillingness of the atom states, the U.S. and Great Britain, to halt nuclear tests. It is therefore appropriate for the entire Indonesian people, together with the peace-loving, progress-loving and life loving peoples of other countries to further intensify the movement for world peace, the movement in opposition to nuclear tests. The successes achieved by the recently held "Peace Month", the purpose of which was to popularise the decisions of the Stockholm Conference and the Fourth Anti-A. and H. Bomb World Conference held in Tokyo, is an important contribution made by the Indonesian people to the struggle of mankind for peace. The sympathy and support given by the President and Government of Indonesia during the course of this Peace Month demonstrates the unified will of the people and Government of Indonesia for the preservation of peace and resistance to imperialism. Such activities must be more frequently and extensively carried out in our country. The cause of peace must become the cause of our entire people, the peace movement must grow into a very broad mass movement. By strengthening the peace movement we shall be strengthening our national independence. Indonesian Communists must stand in the vanguard of the peace movement because this means spear-heading the struggle for humanity and for the independence of our fatherland.

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Other international events that have engaged the attention of the world are the coming to power of de Gaulle's military dictatorship in France and the counter-revolutionary military coup d'états in Pakistan and Thailand.

In France, de Gaulle succeeded in coming to power as a result of the military coup d'état in Algeria which had been planned by the most reactionary section of the French bourgeoisie with the help of some military commanders. This is not a sign of strength, but a sign of the weakness of the French bourgeoisie. They have been forced to adopt extraordinary and arbitrary methods to keep in power.

As a consequence of the ever more rapid growth of the forces of peace and progress, the imperialists

are trying to "strengthen" their shaky position by strangling democratic liberties, by fanning the flames of chauvinism and by accelerating the preparations for aggressive wars. Because of the severe crisis being faced by the bourgeoisie, they are no longer able to remain in power by democratic means which were, in the past, the basis of their prestige. At times of economic and political crisis when their power and interests are threatened, the bourgeoisie places such fascists as de Gaulle in France in power.

The French bourgeoisie has revealed its inability to overcome the crisis they are facing including, among others, the Algeria war which has been in progress since November 1st, 1954, and in which France has been quite unable to achieve victory. The French people themselves are increasing strengthening their opposition against the French colonial war in Algeria.

With the purpose of preventing the establishment of peace in Algeria by negotiation, and in order to continue with this colonial war, the extremist colonialists together with fascist rebel generals, members of the so-called "Public Security Committees" carried out a military coup in Algeria. They then forced a fascist dictatorship on France to suppress the people. In order to do this, they forced the establishment of a de Gaulle government.

The de Gaulle Government which has come into power by strongarm measures, through intimidation and other forms of political intrigue, is functioning without the supervision of Parliament. The Constitution has been replaced by a new one which is the most reactionary Constitution in the history of the French Republic, a Constitution which takes on the character of a monarchy. By this means, the reactionaries are out to suppress democratic liberties, to militarise all spheres of life so as to be able to prevent the French people from mobilising their forces in the struggle to achieve their economic and political demands and to put a stop to the war in Algeria.

The de Gaulle government has already striven to put democracy in France into cold storage and to open up the way to fascism, to open monopoly capital dictatorship and terror.

As is the case in other countries, so too in France, the task of the right-wing socialists is to spread chaos and to betray. We have to take note once again of the role as traitors to democracy played by the French right-wing socialists in the process of bringing the dictator de Gaulle to the seat of power. The General Secretary of the French Socialist Party, Guy Mollet, was rewarded with a ministerial appointment in the de Gaulle government for his services to the monopoly capitalists.

The betrayal of the French right-wing socialist leaders has opened the eyes of the masses of the members and followers of the French Socialist Party to the falseness of their leaders, and has streng-

thened their ties with the Communists and with the entire progressive forces in the struggle against de Gaulle.

In Burma, too, we see how very reactionary and disruptive is the role of the right-wing socialists; there, under the leadership of U Kyaw Nyein and U Ba Shwe, they have undermined the rather progressive U Nu government, and by means of terror gang activities, known in Burma as the "Pyusawthis", they are trying to prevent domestic developments from proceeding towards the achievement of national peace between all democratic and revolutionary forces as the foremost condition for Burma to undertake economic construction. Such developments would deprive them of the chance to make the greatest possible gains for themselves. It was for this reason that they attempted to carry out a coup d'état on September 23rd last but were foiled by the vigilance of the people and the Burmese Government under the leadership of Prime Minister U Nu.

In Pakistan and Thailand military coup d'états have taken place, one after another. The aim of these coup d'états is in no way to put an end to the internal confusion and disorder which resulted from the bankrupt economic policies of those in power before the coup d'états took place. Ayub Khan, who squeezed Iskandar Mirza, and so too Sarit Thanarat, each utilised foul methods to trample upon the few elementary rights as still left to the people of Pakistan and Thailand and to cruelly suppress the patriotic movement of the people who are yearning for liberties and prosperity. The political statements they have made show that by means of dictatorship, they aim at guaranteeing the continued preservation of the economic and military interests of the imperialists, the continued existence of the military pacts which are more and more meeting with the resistance of the broad masses of the peoples in these two countries.

The emergence of military dictatorships in Pakistan and Thailand is indication that the revolutionary people's movements are growing in these two countries. This has stricken the most reactionary sections with fear, forcing them to take more out-of-the-ordinary measures than formerly. The forces of the people in these two countries are at present not yet strong enough to prevent military dictatorship. However, it will not be possible to defeat the peoples of these two countries for ever. The revolution in Iraq stands before them as a shining example.

However powerful these dictatorships may be now, the international situation at the present time is not the same as it was before the war, at the time that Hitler and Mussolini dictatorships came to power in Germany and Italy. The world balance of forces today is favourable to democracy

and unfavourable to the reactionaries and fascists. That is why, even at this moment, we can foresee that democracy will surely win, in France, in Pakistan. In Thailand and everywhere else.

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The Indonesian people know nothing of the tradition of fascism and militarism, but they have experienced the cruelties of Japanese military dictatorship, and it is quite out of the question for them to give their support to such dictators. The deepest feelings of sympathy and solidarity of the working class and the entire democratic people of Indonesia go out to the French working class, the faithful heirs of the Paris Commune, and to the entire French people inspired by the spirit of democracy, independence, equality and fraternity. The deepest sympathies and solidarity of the Indonesian people go out to the people of Pakistan and Thailand who are now facing all manner of sufferings and sacrifice, and who will definitely succeed in overthrowing these military dictatorships in favour of independence, democracy and peace. The Iraq Revolution is an excellent example for all peoples living under extreme reactionary and brazen bourgeois dictatorships.

This in brief is the international situation at the present time. The task of the Party in face of such an international situation is to establish even more intensive co-operation between all patriotic forces so as to push the government into further strengthening the anti-colonial and anti-war international front. What we want and are struggling for is that the Indonesian Government should continue consistently to assist the independence struggles of the peoples, to take steps within and outside the United Nations for the achievement of an international agreement between the U.S.A., Great Britain and the Soviet Union on the immediate unconditional and permanent cessation of nuclear weapon tests. The Indonesian Government should also oppose all acts of foreign intervention and subversion, it should oppose the consolidation and expansion of aggressive military pacts and should, further, demand their dissolution. All this is in the cause of saving democracy and independence in our Republic, in the cause of security in Asia, in the cause of friendship between the peoples and of world peace.

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Comrades !

By comparison with the situation at the time we held the Sixth Plenum of the C.C. in March this year and the situation at the time we held the Third National Party Conference in June this year, the domestic situation has gradually improved.

There are, in our society, not only contradictions. The R.G.R.I.-Permesta *) counter-revolutionary rebels have in the main been smashed thanks to the attitude adopted by President Sukarno, by the Government, the democratic parties, the Armed Forces and the entire courageous people of Indonesia. But this does not mean that basically the imperialist forces have been defeated. Imperialism is still obstructing the advance of the Indonesian people and still threatens the integrity, sovereignty and independence of our country.

As we have stated in a number of Party documents, the most important task of the Communists and people of Indonesia at the present time is to solve two basic contradictions, the contradiction between the Indonesian nation and imperialism, and the contradiction between the peasants and the landlords. The most basic of these contradictions at the present time is the former, the contradiction between the Indonesian nation and imperialism.

We shall discuss below this most basic contradiction, a contradiction which at the moment takes the form of a contradiction between the Indonesian people and the remnants of Dutch colonialism, U.S. intervention and subversion, and Kuo Min-tang subversion. The concrete forms are among others the contradiction between the Indonesian people and the Dutch colonialist occupation of West Irian, between the Indonesian people and the R.G.R.I.-Permesta, between the Indonesian people and the Darul-Islam-T.I.I., the Zulkifli Lubis illegal movement, the Kuo Min-tang subversive movement and other sabotage activities of the imperialists and their agents in the economic and cultural fields. These are the concrete contradictions that need to be solved at the present time. These activities are the most striking forms at the present moment being carried out by the enemy of the Indonesian people, imperialism. These most reactionary forces make up one single whole in the efforts to undermine the integrity, sovereignty and independence of Indonesia, the efforts to force the Indonesian people to howl down under the heel of imperialism. This is why the entire Indonesian people, all Indonesian people who oppose the activities of the imperialists in these concrete forms, must be united.

The Indonesian people have already taken steps in the direction of solving their contradiction with Dutch imperialism in West Irian by intensifying the struggle for the emancipation of West Irian; steps have been taken to solve the contradictions with Dutch economic domination by taking-over and subsequently nationalising the Dutch colonial enterprises; steps have been taken to solve the con-

*) R.G.R.I. — the counter-revolutionary rebels movement in W. Sumatera, these initials standing for the "Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia", proclaimed by the rebels in February, 1958.

Permesta — the name taken by the rebel movement in N. Celebes.

traditions with the R.G.R.I.-Permesta and the Darul-Islam/T.I.I. by carrying out military operations with the help of the people; steps have been taken to solve the contradiction with the Lubis movement by heightening national vigilance; steps have been taken to solve the contradiction with the Kuo Min-tang by dissolving these illegal organisations and taking their enterprises over as well as by putting a stop to their activities. These are, among others, the steps that have been taken, but much more still remains to be done, the steps already taken have to be improved and intensified, if we are to completely solve these contradictions.

Besides all this, we also know that there are still other concrete activities being undertaken by the imperialists, such as attempts by the U.S. to exert influence on certain groups in our society to get them to agree to a military junta, and this would mean bringing about the downfall of the patriotic Djuanda Government. In conformity with the decision taken by the South-East Asian Section of the U.S. State Department, Masjumi leaders have in the recent period been carrying out a campaign to dissolve the Djuanda Cabinet. By bringing about the downfall of the Djuanda Cabinet and replacing it with a cabinet in which they participate, they hope to be able to rehabilitate the R.G.R.I.-Permesta rebels which would mean completely negating the many sacrifices made by the Armed Forces and the people in crushing the rebels. The British imperialists are not standing idly by either, and wherever possible they are trying to get some gains from the present conflicts in Indonesia. We must face up to these dangerous activities of the imperialists seriously and with the highest possible vigilance.

But, however many and complicated the existing contradictions may be, both the open contradictions and those as yet still concealed, all this is in essence a reflection of the contradictions between the Indonesian people and imperialism. Since imperialism is the most basic enemy of the Indonesian people, these contradictions must be solved by means of a bitter and merciless struggle. In order to do this, the entire Indonesian people must be united in an anti-imperialist unity, unity especially directed against the concrete imperialist activities that have been mentioned above. Thus, the essence of the above-mentioned contradictions are that they are contradictions between the people and the enemies of the people, not contradictions between the people and the people.

The contradiction between the people and the imperialists, that is, the most basic enemy of the people, must be settled by force, and where necessary by force of arms. Settlement by force of arms has already been undertaken by the Indonesian people against the R.G.R.I.-Permesta, and against the Darul-Islam/T.I.I. This is correct, because if it were not like this, these contradictions would never be solved.

tions between the people and the enemies of the people, but also contradictions among the people themselves, for example between the workers and the national capitalists, between the peasants and the anti-R.G.R.I.-Permesta landlords and anti-D.I.-T.I.I. landlords, between the progressive forces and the middle-of-the-road forces, between the Communist Party and the other anti-imperialist parties, between the working people and the civil and military authorities, between the working people and the Government, and other contradictions. These contradictions are not basic, contradictions among the people who must be united to fight against the most basic enemy, imperialism, and therefore they do not have to be settled by force but by peaceful means, by democratic and mutually persuasive and mutual beneficial negotiations. They exist both within and outside Parliament. The contradictions among the people must be speedily solved so that they do not harm the interests of the people, so that they do not benefit the enemies of the people.

It is the duty of the Communists to distinguish between the basic and the non-basic contradictions. The imperialists and the domestic diehards, through their newspapers, through intrigue, incitement slander and the like, are trying to mix up these two types of contradictions so as to confuse the people, so as to make the people come into conflict with the people, and so as to make a part of the people consider the enemy of the people as their friend. They hope in this way to be able to split the people's front against imperialism and to strengthen the front of the enemies of the people, the imperialist front.

In an efforts to strengthen the imperialist front, they are trying to attract certain sections of the people over to their side. They are scaring them with the "Communist bogey" so as to get some of the people, and in particular the leaders of the middle-of-the-road forces, to consider the Communists or the leftwingers in general as their enemy. Side by side with all this, they pin the label "Communist" on all Nationalists such as for example, President Sukarno, who refuse to bow down to their wishes, in the hopes too that they will be regarded as "bogeys". They set up the Nationalists against the patriotic religious groups, and these two groups against the Communists. They also set up the working people against the patriotic Armed Forces. Yes, they are even trying to set up President Sukarno against the Armed Forces and other patriotic forces. They create an atmosphere of suspicion between the people so as to be able, they hope, to get a part of the people to forget their suspicions of the imperialists and the domestic reactionaries.

In foreign affairs, the reactionaries are also trying to confuse the outlook of the people. They try to get a part of the Indonesian people to regard the Socialist countries, and in particular their

leader, the Soviet Union, as the enemy, whereas in fact all the Socialist countries without exception are fully on the side of the Indonesian people in the struggle for the liberation of West Irian, in the opposition to foreign interventionist activities and in the attempts being made to overcome Indonesia's difficulties in the economic field. On the other hand, they are trying to convince a part of the Indonesian people to regard the western countries as their friend, whereas in fact all the important western countries, without exception, side with Holland on the question of West Irian and sided with the U.S.A. when that country was intervening in Indonesia's internal affairs.

In a situation which is already complicated and which these diehards are making even more complicated, the Communists must not allow themselves to be confused. It is the duty of the Communists always to make it clear for themselves and for the people that the most basic contradiction at the present time is the conflict between the Indonesian people and imperialism, between the Indonesian nation and the foreign reactionary forces. Only by firmly standing by this outlook and by skillfully linking up all concrete forms of contradictions with this basic outlook shall we be able to take correct steps to organise the broadest possible unity of the Indonesian people. In this way, the conditions will be created for correctly solving the contradictions among the people, and for solving the contradiction between the people and the imperialists, whatever form this contradiction may take, in a way beneficial to the people. The most important condition for correctly solving these contradictions is the ability of our Party itself, its size and strength, the correctness of its policy and its style of work.

* * *

Another important internal question is the crisis of liberal democracy.

It is logical that as a reaction to former Dutch colonialism and Japanese militarism, the Indonesian people demanded democracy, meaning by this liberal democracy. This was stated among others in the demand for an "*Indonesia with a Parliament*" during the time of the Dutch East Indies Government, shortly before World War Two. It is also logical that after the Republic of Indonesia had been proclaimed, an attempt was made to put this democracy into practice. For us Communists, there was no doubting that democracy, even liberal democracy, was better than colonialism or fascism. It was for this reason that we resolutely supported the demand, "*Indonesia with a Parliament*" before the war, and that today we genuinely work as well as we can inside Parliament and inside the local legislative assemblies.

At the time when the banners of parliamentary democracy were thrown down by the most reac-

tionary section of the bourgeoisie, — as for example at the time of the Sukiman August Arrest in 1951, — our Party picked up these banners of democracy and held them high. And too, at the time the right-wing socialists (P.S.I.) attempted to seize power by military means on October 17th, 1952, and subsequently an attempt was again made, this time by Zulkifli Lubis with the support of the Masjumi and the P.S.I., the Party stood in the foremost ranks against these efforts to fascise the system of government, and held high the banners of parliamentary democracy. By so doing, our Party and the other democratic parties together with the entire Indonesian people succeeded in preventing the disintegration of the proclamation Republic. The services of President Sukarno as a revolutionary democrat have been great in this matter.

But, right from the very start, we have been of the opinion that liberal democracy is not a system which is capable of solving the basic problems of the Indonesian people either in the political, economic or cultural spheres. From the point of view of the world and of history, liberal democracy is already bankrupt. The Indonesian people have now directly experienced for themselves that from the point of view of Indonesia, too, liberal democracy is not capable of solving the basic problems and demands. It has been proven that this system is incapable of solving the urgent demands of the Indonesian people for unity of the entire national forces, for the expulsion of foreign economic domination, for national economic construction and the development of a national culture.

But this in no way refutes the fact that bourgeois democracy, parliamentary democracy, or liberal democracy is better than fascism, better than military dictatorship or one-man dictatorship. Such dictatorships are more backward and have in principle already been condemned by the French Revolution in 1789. These dictatorships are in essence the same as the political system during the slave and feudal eras under which the people had absolutely no guarantee of elementary or democratic rights, even in the law. The bourgeoisie, no longer able to camouflage its dictatorship with liberal democracy, are digging up from times gone by the system of individual power or power vested in the hands of a small clique, such as was done by Hitler in Germany, Mussolini in Italy and others before the Second World War. The whole world has witnessed the destruction of this outmoded system cloaked in new garb. And now, we see such things, or very similar things at least, happening in France with de Gaulle, in Pakistan with Ayub Khan and in Thailand with Sarit Thanarat. To defend their interests, the most reactionary section of the bourgeoisie are trying to push back the wheels of history.

It is not a matter of surprise that this attempt to turn back the wheels of history is having an

influence on some political adventurers, position-seekers, and reactionaries in our country. They shamelessly talk about Indonesia's "backwardness" because it has been outpaced by de Gaulle in France, by Ayub Khan in Pakistan and by Sarit Thanarat in Thailand. They are just waiting for the chance to "solve" the crisis of liberal democracy in our country with fascism, with military dictatorship or with one-man dictatorship. They want to take the lead in backwardness! They want to "overcome" the inabilities of liberal democracy with the inabilities, and much worse ones at that, of fascism. Where do these people want to go? They want to have a few moments of sublime satisfaction, and then pass out of existence for ever! They do not want to study from the experience of Faisal and Nuri Es Said in Iraq.

The speed with which liberal democracy has become bankrupt in Indonesia is due to two processes. *Firstly*, the process of the growing consciousness of the Indonesian people themselves, who, based on their own experiences, see that liberal democracy is identical with corruption, bureaucracy and inability to solve the basic problems of the Indonesian people. *Secondly*, because of the agitation of the promoters of a military junta and other fascist elements.

The Indonesian people have become conscious of the inabilities of liberal democracy, a consciousness frequently reflected by President Sukarno, at a time when the crisis of this political system cannot yet be overcome by New Democracy or People's Democracy a system which has already been tested and proven capable of solving the basic problems of the people, both in Europe and in Asia. Thus, the situation today is that liberal democracy has already been discredited but the conditions for People's Democracy do not yet exist; the fascists are ready with their concept of dictatorship whereas the people are putting up a bitter struggle in defence of their political rights.

In such a situation full of indecision, great indeed is the significance of President Sukarno's idea of Guided Democracy, the core of which is anti-liberalism and anti-military dictatorship or one-man dictatorship. Basically it is democracy, though not New Democracy, but it is anti-liberalism democracy. President Sukarno calls it "Indonesian Democracy". Guided Democracy, the achievement of the people's struggle, must guarantee broader democracy for the people and must be able to restrict the political rights of the enemies of the people. If it is put into practice in conformity with the declarations of President Sukarno, Guided Democracy will be able to solve the urgent problems being faced by the Indonesian people, the problem of national unity and the problem of economic construction and improvements to a certain extent in the people's living conditions. This is why the Party supports President Sukarno's idea of Guided Democracy, fully conscious of what it

means, and is struggling with great determination to have it realised.

There are some things which might well weaken the idea of Guided Democracy, and which the devotees of Guided Democracy will have seriously to prevent. These include the fact that the idea might be utilised for their own ends by political adventurers and speculators, by parties, groups or individuals that failed to win the confidence of the people at the elections. This could create the impression that Guided Democracy is being brought into existence by those who have failed to achieve victory by democratic means. This would mean that Guided Democracy would not be aimed at realising what President Sukarno has in mind but would simply be a means of fulfilling the ambitions of a few persons who are politically bankrupt. Such an impression must be prevented from being created.

The value of the Guided Democracy idea would be spoilt if some persons aim to utilise it as a path or as a stepping-stone to the dissolution of political parties, extinguishing the political life of the people which began to develop in 1903. This could create the impression that Guided Democracy is only aimed at preparing the way for a military dictatorship or one-man dictatorship. Such an impression must also be avoided.

There are conditions which must be ensured in order to guarantee that the Guided Democracy idea retains its strength and does not arouse the slightest hesitations among the people. These are:

First, Guided Democracy must be aimed at guaranteeing a democratic and healthy political life for the Indonesian people, at uniting as broadly as possible the Indonesian people. In other words, Guided Democracy politically must mean the 100% realisation of the President Sukarno Concept, especially as regards the formation of a *Gotong Royong* Cabinet based on balanced representation*), as the foremost reflection of the unity of all anti-imperialist forces in our country. In the sphere of economic affairs, Guided Democracy must mean giving pride of place in the economy to the state sector, as the prerequisite for guiding foreign monopoly capital domination.

Secondly, the leading role in implementing the Guided Democracy idea must be played by President Sukarno as the person who gave expression to this idea and to the President Sukarno Concept, and as a democrat whose courage in refusing to be appointed dictator by the militarists at the time of the October 17th, 1952 event has been tried and tested. As a consequence of this standpoint, President Sukarno must be given prerogative rights to fill some of the seats in Parliament with patriots who have the confidence of the people, in accor-

*) One of the basic proposals contained in the President Sukarno Concept, namely the formation of a Cabinet which would include parties in proportion to the votes won at the elections. — Tr.

dance with democratic methods and based upon the law.

Guided Democracy and the President Sukarno Concept are weapons in the hands of the Indonesian people to strengthen their unity in opposition to imperialism. To strengthen national unity, the people must be assured broader democratic rights, and democracy for the enemies of the people must be restricted. If this is done, a significant leap forward will have been taken by the Indonesian people with the entire Indonesian people succeeded in their efforts to completely solve their contradictions with imperialism.

* * *

On this occasion, it is appropriate for the Party to explain once again its attitude towards the Djuanda Cabinet. So far, there is no reason to change the Party's attitude of support. The C.P.I.'s support for the Djuanda Cabinet is genuine and critical support, namely *unreserved support for its progressive policies, criticism of its vacillating policies so as to turn them into progressive policies, and opposition to those of its policies that are detrimental to the people*. The policy of support for the Djuanda Cabinet in no way conflicts with the C.P.I.'s demand for the establishment of a *Gotong Royong* cabinet because this could happen without there being a cabinet crisis for the Djuanda Cabinet, but just through a reshuffle and the addition of a few ministers into the present cabinet.

The Djuanda Cabinet, after the reshuffle, should have the following program: set up National Planning Council, normalise conditions in the Republic of Indonesia, continue with the implementation of the abrogation of the Round Table Conference agreement, the struggle for West Irian, intensify construction work. We will support these five points and do everything we can to ensure their realisation.

As regards the establishment of a National Planning Council (NPC), a law regulating this matter has already been ratified by Parliament. The stage now is the establishment of the council. In this connection, we must bear in mind that the people are very hopeful of this Council primarily because President Sukarno places great hopes in its competence. This is why we must strive to make sure that the people are not disappointed, and here the main thing to be considered is the composition of the membership and leadership of the Council. As regards this matter, the stress is frequently placed on expertise, whereas expertise is still frequently equated with academi title or the length of time a person has worked in government bureaucracy. Such emphasis is clearly incorrect. A person with a title or who has worked a long time in government bureaucracy cannot be assumed, for certain, to an expert, and even if he is an expert, does that mean that he is an expert in working in the interests of the Indonesian people? This is why we

suggest that every member of the Council should be an *"expert and a patriot"*. We demand that as many as possible of the persons appointed should be proposed by the mass organisations, and in particular, the organisations of the workers and peasants. The question of the formation of the N.P.C. must not, on the one hand, become an occasion for "horse-trading" between the government parties, but on the other hand, it must not be an occasion for manipulation by intriguers, political adventurers and position-seekers. Of no less importance is that the N.P.C. is being created to draw up a blue print of a just and prosperous society, as President Sukarno has frequently stated.

As regards the program of normalisation of conditions in the Republic of Indonesia, the Djuanda Cabinet has in general shown that it is working genuinely in this direction. The conditions in the implementation of the line, *"the Dwiumvirate of the people and the Army"*, or in other words, the line of *"the people help the Army and the Army help the people"* or *"mutual assistance between the people and the Army"*, gratifying results have been achieved in the sphere of military operations. But, on the other hand, following the defeat of the counter-revolutionaries, the political freedoms of the people have not been speedily restored. In the process of solving the contradictions with the rebels, it has generally happened that they have not been completely solved because the government officials have frequently been guided by political motives aimed at holding back the growth of the progressive forces, the forces which are in fact the motivating force of the people in the movement for the destruction of the rebels. As a result of this, the government is not sufficiently firm in implementing the principle of mobilising the people to crush the counter-revolutionary rebels. This is clear from the fact that the system utilised by the government at present is generally the system of a one-sided war, a war which is in the main only carried out by the government and the Armed Forces without adequately drawing the people in. On the other hand, the rebels are mobilising to the maximum these people whom they have succeeded in misleading. The result is that the military operations carried out by the government have not yet fully achieved the results they should have, and in fact there are signs that, if the government's system of operations is not speedily positioned of initiative, a fact which is evident from the attacks the rebels have launched against several liberated towns in West Sumatera. A further result of the attempt to hold back the progressive forces is that the government is not paying sufficient attention to the question of arousing the resistance of the people in the regions still under rebel domination with the consequence it has not been possible to frustrate rebel attempts to consolidate themselves again. Thus, the policy of holding back the progressive forces is identical with a policy of

weakening the fighting power of the people, and extending the life of the rebels. The struggle to crush the rebels is by no means a minor affair and it can, under no circumstances, be based solely upon the armed forces, neither is it possible for such a struggle to be carried out by a small number of people. If a small number of people force themselves into the position of doing all this alone, they will certainly suffer failure. A government genuinely resolved to wipe the rebels out completely must base itself upon the masses of the people. And this is only possible by mobilising the people, and by giving them democratic liberties, while at the same time not giving democratic liberties to the enemies of the people.

Even more serious attention must be paid to normalising conditions in the Republic in the economic field. We propose that the government should unhesitatingly hold in its own hands the export and import of important commodities so as to be able to control all essential commodities of the people and prevent them from becoming the object of speculation, and ensure that the urgent needs of the people can be met. As far as possible, efforts must be made to get the prices of essential commodities of the people to fall gradually, or at the very least, to prevent them from rising. Measures against speculators, corruptors, smugglers and saboteurs in economic affairs must be intensified. Normalisation of conditions in the Republic must mean routing out the "R.G.R.I.-Permesta" and Darul Islam/T.I.I. remnants completely, sweeping clean all Kuo Min-tang cells, restoring the political rights of the people, improving economic conditions in the country and improving the living conditions of the people.

As regards the point on the programme for the continued implementation of the abrogation of the R.T.C. agreement and the struggle for the liberation of West Irian, these are in actual fact the same thing because the continued colonisation of West Irian by Dutch colonialism is also the result of the policy of capitulation pursued by Dr. Hatta based upon the R.T.C. agreement. The implementation of these points has been taken on concrete form following the taking-over of the Dutch colonial enterprises, which are now going to be nationalised. The nationalisation of these Dutch enterprises is a progressive step and will undoubtedly get the full support of the Party. In this connection, our Party holds the view that the possibility of paying compensation can only be discussed after West Irian has been incorporated within the Republic as a result of negotiations, and too, any payment of compensation must be within the financial abilities of the Republic and cover a period considered favourable by the Republic. If we are forced to seize West Irian back by force because of the obstinacy of the Dutch, there will be no question of paying compensation and the enterprises in question will be enterprises which have

been confiscated and nationalised. But, the nationalisation of the Dutch colonial enterprises will not yet mean that the contradictions between the Indonesian people and Dutch imperialist interests have been solved. This is clear among other things from the statement made in Washington recently by Foreign Minister Subandrio who said that the Dutch are still able to submit their claims even to the extent of bringing the question up before court. But even though the position of these enterprises is still unsettled, and will only be finally resolved after the liberation of West Irian, we are of the opinion that during the time the enterprises are under government control they must properly be used to improve economic conditions in Indonesia based on the slogan, "*patriotic leadership, raise production, prevent sabotage, improve the conditions of the workers*". In order to ensure success for these productive activities, the workers must genuinely be drawn into the planning of production and the supervision of the implementation of these plans.

Further, our opinion is that, in order to bring about the liberation of West Irian, all channels must be used, both via the United Nations and outside it. But the most important thing is that the Republic of Indonesia must continue to expand its defence forces and continue to unite and mobilise the people, especially in the regions near West Irian.

As regards the point on the programme concerning the intensification of construction activities, the Foreign Investment Law has disappointed the people and given rise to doubts among them. This law opens the door for the imperialist countries, and to a strengthening of their political, economic and cultural influence. Imperialism, which could not possibly be in favour of construction in Indonesia, has been invited to come to our country to continue their role of damaging the economy, creating political disruption and holding back the growth of Indonesia's culture. The Foreign Investment Law provides a legal channel for the imperialists to get hold of agents and to cultivate them. This is why, in order to facilitate economic construction and within the framework of opposing foreign subversion in the political and cultural sphere, the C.P.I. demands that the Government repeal the Foreign Investment Law.

As regards economic construction, we should like to suggest to the Djuanda Government that Indonesia's foreign trade relations should be expanded on the basis of mutual benefit, and this should in the first place be directed towards countries that would like to see economic construction taking place in Indonesia, and that are in a position to give assistance. These are none other than the Socialist countries whose economies are advanced and whose abilities in this direction have already been proven. Only in this way shall we be able to import capital goods to help our industry,

especially industries to process the raw materials which Indonesia produces. The Government should also import semi-manufactured goods to meet the needs of domestic industry. The foreign exchange earned by the foreign oil companies should be controlled by the government and used in the interests of economic construction and to improve the State finances.

In connection with the Party's attitude towards the Djuanda Cabinet, a question requiring special analysis is that of the future perspectives of the Cabinet following certain achievements made in the struggle for the restoration of West Irian and in suppressing the remnants of the R.G.R.I.-Pestemta counter-revolutionary rebels.

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A special question requiring our attention in this connection is the continuance in force of military power, based on the State of Emergency Law. For almost a year, military power has shown itself to have positive aspects, especially in the regions of unrest. But there are also negative aspects which, if not rapidly eliminated, will drag on and will overwhelm the positive ones. The most serious of the negative aspects is the restriction of democratic rights for the people, such as bans on the holding of political meetings, including meetings of parties which oppose the counter-revolutionary rebellion: strike prohibitions, including prohibitions on strikes in enterprises belonging to the imperialists supporting the rebels; measures taken which are detrimental to the peasants in their struggle for better living conditions and in their efforts to increase the production of foodstuffs; and other prohibitions that seriously hamper the growth of the democratic and progressive movement.

Another sufficiently serious aspect of military power is the need to prevent interference by certain officers in economic, financial, and governmental policy affairs. If former officers such as Achmad Hussein, M. Simbolon, V. Sumual and other rebel officers started their adventures with activities in the sphere of politics and economics, spheres which were no concern of theirs, and ended up with counter-revolutionary rebellion, it is not correct for other officers who, on the other hand, oppose the counter-revolutionary rebels to imitate such activities.

Whenever necessary, the people are only too willing to give powers, within limits, to the Armed Forces, so long as these powers are not misused. We must do everything we can to prevent unnecessary people and the Armed Forces, and everything which might lead to a sharpening of such contradictions must be avoided. Increased interference by certain officers in economic and financial questions easily turns such people into national capitalists, operating in the field of trade and becoming heavily dependent for their very lives on the fo-

conomic affairs makes people dependent in political affairs. In brief, the growing interference of certain officers in economic and financial matters can lead to demoralisation, can give birth to warlords and is a threat to the purity of the patriotic Armed reign monopoly capitalists who still, up to today, control trade in our country. Dependence in economic Forces of the Republic.

As a result of the successes already achieved, the prestige of the Djuanda Cabinet has risen in the eyes of the Indonesian people and also in the eyes of friendly countries abroad. This prestige will go on rising for just as long as the Cabinet continues along the path of national independence, democracy and progress for Indonesia, for just as long as the Cabinet is able to pursue a policy which conforms with the wishes of the masses of the people, as it is able to keep control of the entire State apparatus for the implementation of its programme, and able within certain limits to bring about improvements in the living conditions of the people.

The C.P.I. will continue to support, and will do everything to defend, the Djuanda Cabinet for just as long as this Cabinet does not hamper the activities of the national independence movement and the democratic movement. By not hampering, or what is more by helping these movements, the Djuanda Cabinet will be strengthening its own position and will be performing a service to the struggle of the people for a fully independent and democratic Indonesia, for the implementation of tasks of national emancipation and democratic changes.

Comrades !

Such, briefly, is the domestic and international situation that requires our attention. Basically, in the sphere of foreign affairs, we must even more

earnestly continue with the policy of peace and anti-colonialism, strengthen the anti-war and anti-colonial international war front. In the sphere of domestic affairs, our task is to solve correctly all forms of contradictions between the Indonesian people and imperialism and all the contradictions among the Indonesian people themselves, to struggle for the broadening of political rights for the people and for improved living conditions for the people.

The further developments in the situation greatly depend on the activities of the Communists and all progressive and democratic people. In order to further develop the situation, the Communists must further strengthen their own unity, must continually bring their organisation into conformity with the development of the situation, must further strengthen their unity with the broad masses of the people, and especially with the masses of workers and peasants, must further improve their discipline and educate the selves in the science of Marxism-Leninism. With such a Party, we shall be more able to build the united national front, to further isolate the diehard forces. In this way, our Party will continue to hold in its hands the leading banners in the struggle for full national independence and for democracy, for friendship between the peoples and for lasting peace.

Let us continue with the struggle, unite as broadly as possible the Indonesian people, take the path of Guided Democracy towards the 100% implementation of the President Sukarno Concept !

Let us continue the struggle to defend the economic and political rights of the people !

Let us continue the struggle to strengthen the anti-war and anti-colonial international front !

"DRAFT THESIS"

of General Report for Presentation at Sixth National Congress

(The following is a brief outline of the 70-page Draft Thesis for the General Report of the Central Committee of the C.P.I. to be submitted to the Sixth National Congress of the C.P.I. The Draft Thesis was submitted to the Seventh Plenum of the C.C. by D.N. Aidit and, after discussion, was approved by the Plenum).

The Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.I. discussed and approved a Draft Thesis for the General Report of the Central Committee of the C.P.I. to be presented to the Sixth National Congress of the C.P.I. The Draft Thesis which was presented by D.N. Aidit, General Secretary of the C.C. of the C.P.I., consists of five sections; the introductory section, a section on the tasks of national emancipation and democratic changes, a section on the national front, a section on international policy and a section on the question of the Party.

C.P.I. Sixth National Congress.

The Sixth National Congress of the C.P.I. will be held in the middle of 1959.

The Draft Thesis states that, in general, the C.P.I. has well carried out the tasks entrusted to it by the Fifth Congress of the C.P.I., and as a result, the ties between the Party and the masses of the people have become closer. But, as the confidence which the people place in the C.P.I. grows, so too the responsibilities borne by it become heavier.

The Draft Thesis lays it down that the basic task of the Sixth National Congress of the C.P.I. is to draw up the political and ideological tasks based on the two basic tasks of "building up a national front and building the Party", so that in this way, the Party will be able to prepare the conditions for bringing the Indonesian people and nation closer to the strategic aim of the Indonesian Revolution, namely the completion of the tasks of the August, 1945 Revolution in their entirety, which will mean putting to an end completely the power of imperialism and feudalism.

Four Basic Slogans.

The Draft Thesis establishes four basic slogans in preparation for the Sixth National Congress of the C.P.I. These slogans are:

"With the C.P.I. in the forefront, continue the struggle for a completely independent and democratic Indonesia."

"Improve the work of the national front; further isolate the diehard forces."

"Strengthen the international united front against colonialism and for peace."

"Continue to build a Party throughout the whole country that is closely united with the masses, that is consolidated in the ideological, political and organisational fields."

For a Completely Independent and Democratic Indonesia.

The Draft Thesis states that during the time that has elapsed since the Fifth National Congress of the C.P.I., the Indonesian people have achieved noteworthy results in the struggle for independence and democracy. But the struggle to put an end to the power of the Dutch imperialists is still far from complete and the tasks of national emancipation have by no means been finished yet.

Dutch imperialism is still the enemy number one of the Indonesian people.

In the countryside, the remnants of feudalism are still evident in the form of land monopoly held by the landlords, in the form of rent payment in kind, rent payment in labour, and in the form of debts that place the peasants in a position of slavery towards the landlords.

Indonesia is still a semi-feudal country.

Besides this, the intervention of the American imperialists and the acceptance of the Foreign Investments Law obstruct the implementation of the tasks of national emancipation.

In order to achieve a completely independent and democratic Indonesia, the Indonesian people must completely liquidate Dutch economic power, liberate West Irian, abrogate the Foreign Investments Law, resist American intervention and destroy the feudal remnants.

Overcome Economic Crisis.

Indonesia is still in the throes of economic crisis. The U.S. economic recession which is having great repercussions on the capitalist world, further intensifies the stranglehold of economic crisis upon

Indonesia's economy. Even though politically Indonesia determines its own foreign policy and has already taken over the Dutch enterprises, the country's economic structure has not changed yet, it is still a backward economy and one that depends upon the economy of the capitalist world.

The Draft Thesis makes the following proposals to the Government:

Firstly, expansion of domestic production, among others by means of converting all the Dutch colonial enterprises in Indonesia, including the Dutch banks, into State property. Efforts to expand production can succeed if they are not separated from the efforts to bring about improvements in the living conditions of the workers, government employees and peasants.

Secondly, the export and import of all important commodities should be completely in government hands and the Government should genuinely give priority to the State sector of the economy as the condition for directing the development of the entire economy of the country and uprooting foreign monopoly power.

Thirdly, the orientation of Indonesia's foreign trade should be altered, an industry should be developed to process Indonesia's raw materials ourselves, adequate industrial materials should be imported for domestic industry, and the foreign exchange earned by the foreign oil companies should be under the control of the State.

Fourthly, the Government should strive to obtain more foreign loans, without political or military strings attached, for industrial development in our country.

The economic crisis in Indonesia is not something that cannot be overcome. By putting the above proposals into practice, the conditions will be created for overcoming the economic crisis in our country.

Strengthen the National Front.

The C.P.I. has already stated that the diehard forces are still rather large, the progressive forces are already large, and the middle-of-the-road forces are rather large.

These three forces are continuously experiencing shifts and, up to the moment, these shifts have been to the left.

The Draft Thesis states that in Indonesia at the present time, the diehard forces have greatly deteriorated, the progressive forces are getting stronger and the middle-of-the-road forces are in the main the same.

The Draft Thesis explains that certain difficulties are today being faced and will continue to be faced in the course of building up the united national front, but the fact that there are common attitudes and actions being taken by the progressive forces and the nationalists movement headed by President Sukarno in opposition to imperialism,

especially as regards striking blows at the economic interests of Dutch imperialism and smashing the R.G.R.I.-Permesta rebellion as well as weakening the diehard forces in general, prove that the united front in Indonesia is becoming stronger and stronger.

The Draft Thesis establishes the line for improving the work of the national front and further isolating the diehard forces.

Some Practical Standpoints.

The Draft Thesis comes out in full support of the President Sukarno Concept and supports Guided Democracy as the way to implement the President's Concept.

The Draft Thesis defends the Proclamation Republic and calls upon the Constituent Assembly to defend the spirit of the August 17, 1945 Proclamation Republic.

The Draft Thesis expresses support for the Djuanda Cabinet and will defend it to the utmost so long as this Cabinet does not obstruct the development of the independence movement and the democratic movement, and even more so if it helps these developments.

The Draft Thesis establishes the importance of the struggle to strengthen and extend democracy.

Working People's Co-operatives.

The Draft Thesis criticises those who regard it as being possible to put an end to imperialist power with co-operatives alone, but it nevertheless thinks it wrong for revolutionaries not to genuinely utilise the path of co-operation as a means of uniting the working people.

It points out that the medium and poor peasants that possess some land want to free themselves from the burden of the mortgager and the money-lender, to obtain a better market for their agricultural products and to be able to purchase the things they need at reasonable prices, and they also want to be able to expand their agricultural production. In order to achieve all this, there is no other way than for the medium and poor peasants to be organised within co-operatives which are able to grant credits, obtain good markets for their products, buy up the consumers goods they need at reasonable prices and help them to raise production in agriculture, cattle-breeding and fisheries.

Co-operatives only can not become instruments in the hands of the peasants, but they can also become instruments in the hands of other working people.

International Affairs.

The Draft Thesis analyses the development of Indonesia's foreign policy since the Sukarno Cabinet, through to the Sjahrir Cabinet, the Cabinets

of Amir Sjariffudin, Hatta, and Ali Sastroamidjojo up to the time of the present Djuanda Cabinet.

The Draft Thesis points out that Sutan Sjahrir was not the "father" of the independent and active policy as some people think; on the contrary he was the enemy of this policy. The Draft Thesis quotes the views of Sjahrir as formulated in his pamphlet "Our Struggle", such as for example that "Indonesia's fate depends on the fate of Anglo-American imperialism-capitalism" and that the Republic must "avoid disorders that would threaten the wishes and perspectives of foreign capital".

In the international section, the Draft Thesis describes Indonesia's international position and its foreign policy, the process of world developments at the present time that are favourable to Socialism, the need to strengthen the international front against colonialism and for peace and explains that the issue is not "choosing a bloc" but carrying out a foreign

policy that is advantageous to the Indonesian people; it calls for the genuine implementation of an independent and active policy directed at world peace and anti-colonialism.

The Question of Building the Party.

The final section of the Draft Thesis deals with questions of building the Party, the question of "strengthening, expanding and renewing the Party".

This section explains that Marxist-Leninist education is the indispensable condition for unity in the Party, that war must consistently be waged against subjectivism, that the work must continuously be carried out on the basis of plans, and that the mass movement must continuously be strengthened and expanded.

Resolution

OF THE SEVENTH PLENUM OF THE C.C. C.P.I. ON THE POLITICAL REPORT

After having discussed the Political Report submitted by D.N. Aidit in the name of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the C.P.I., the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee, expanded to include those Secretaries of Major District Committees that are not members of the C.C., is of the opinion that the Report correctly draws the conclusions of the international and domestic situation, that the political line pursued by the Political Bureau since the Sixts Plenum was correct, and that the Report correctly draws up the political tasks of the Party for the immediate future. For these reasons, the Plenum decided on November 20th, 1958 to approve this report called, "Unite, Forward Along the Path of Guided Democracy Towards the 100% Implementation of the President Sukarno Concept".

Concerning international affairs, the Report sets forth the most actual proof of the growing consolidation of the camp of Socialism and the growing strength of the movement for independence and peace on the one hand, while on the other hand the camp of imperialism, colonialism and war is becoming more and more disintegrated and weak.

During the period under review, new advances have been made in construction in the Socialist countries; economic co-operation has become closer between these countries and their ties of friendship with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have become and more extensive; new initiatives have been taken by the Socialist countries in the sphere of foreign affairs on the basis of peace-loving and national independence loving principles; new developments have taken place in the world peace movement which has now become one with the anti-colonial movement; a new upswing has taken place in the national revolutions, symbolised by the Iraqi Revolution; and further developments have taken place in the struggle of the Indonesian people for the implementation of the abrogation of the Round Table Conference agreement and for the liberation of West Irian. All this has further consolidated the peace-loving and national independence loving international united front; it has inflicted even deeper wound on the body of imperialism, especially in the form of the economic recession in the U.S.A. which is now spreading to the other capitalist countries and to other countries under its influence; it has also further isolated the head, namely, the U.S.

monopolists from the body of the international diehard forces. The growing bankruptcy of imperialism is taking place side by side with fascist measures in the imperialist countries themselves and in some of the countries under their influence.

In such a situation, it becomes even more important for the Indonesian people to carry out their task of strengthening and expanding their solidarity with the international proletariat and with all the forces of the world that are struggling for peace and national independence; to intensify their struggle for the demands of the world peace movement, a movement that has already become one with the anti-colonial movement; to push the foreign policy of the government further forward on the basis of an independent and active anti-colonial and pro world peace principles.

Concerning domestic affairs, the Indonesian people and Government have taken important steps to solve their contradiction with the imperialists, the most basic of the contradictions in the Indonesian revolution side by side with the basic contradiction between the peasants and the landlords; these steps have been in the first place the heavy blows struck at the Dutch as the enemy number one of the Indonesian people and against the R.G.R.I.-Permesta rebels that have become one with the Darul Islam-T.I.I. These steps have increased the isolation of an important section of the diehard forces at home, who are first and foremost represented through the parties, the Masjumi and the P.S.I.; they have further expanded the progressive forces and strengthened the united front between the progressive forces and the revolutionary forces headed by President Sukarno, and the middle-of-the-road forces in general. At the same time, the crimes perpetrated by the U.S. imperialists as well as their inability to smash the Republic of Indonesia is being ever more deeply felt by the Indonesian people and is meeting with the appropriate resistance.

Today, the basic contradiction in the Indonesian revolution has its concrete forms, such as the contradiction with the Dutch imperialist occupation of West Irian, which Dutch economic domination, with the forces that want to replace the Djuanda Government with a reactionary government or a junta military, with the R.G.R.I.-Permesta gangs, with the Darul Islam-T.I.I. gangs, with the Kuo-

mintang plotters, with Zulkifli Lubis' illegal movement, with the agents of foreign capital, with disruptors in the economic field, and so on. There are, too, in the Indonesian revolution, contradictions between the people themselves. Main attention must today be directed towards solving by means of force the concrete forms of the most basic contradiction as mentioned above, contradictions between the people and the enemies of the people, and side by side with that, solving by peaceful means the contradictions among the people so as to strengthen the unity against the basic enemy, imperialism.

In our country at the present moment, there is taking place a crisis of liberal democracy as a result of the growth of the progressive forces and the revolutionary nationalist forces with President Sukarno at their head on the one hand, side by side with the activities of the promoters of a junta military and other fascist elements, on the other. The former want to see guided democracy and the implementation of the President Sukarno Concept that was announced on February 21st, 1957 — namely the formation of a *gotong-royong* cabinet based on balanced representation between those parties in favour side by side with the National Council —, while on the other hand, the latter want to see a military junta set up on the lines of what has taken place in Pakistan and what has long been the situation in Thailand, in furtherance of the interests of SEATO. Very correct indeed is the attitude adopted by the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the C.P.I. in support of the idea of Guided Democracy as articulated by President Sukarno, in the sense that the basic content of this idea is democracy, democracy that is anti-liberalism and against military dictatorship or one-man dictatorship. Guided Democracy is not People's Democracy, but it is democracy that is anti-liberalism, democracy that should be a better guarantee of democratic rights for the people and as far as possible restrict the liberties of the enemies of the people. It is vital always to arouse the vigilance of the masses of the people to be on the alert against military and political adventurers who would like to misuse Guided Democracy to dissolve the political parties.

The Party's attitude towards the Djuanda Cabinet, after having made a review of the implementation of its programme, is correct, namely unreservedly to support its progressive policies, to criticise its vacillating policies so as to make them progressive, and to oppose those of its policies that are harmful to the people. As regards the relations between the Army and the people, the most cor-

rect thing of all is to implement the line, "*Dwi-umvirate between the People and the Army*", or in other words, the line of "*the People help the Army*" and "*the Army help the People*", or "*Mutual help between the People and the Army*". The correct implementation of this attitude will mean creating the conditions for the realisation of the slogan, "*Unite, Forward Along the Path of Guided Democracy Towards the 100% Implementation of the President Sukarno Concept*".

As regards the future firm measures to be taken against Dutch imperialism in connection with the implementation of the abrogation of the R.T.C. agreement and for the liberation of West Irian, the Plenum fully approves the statement made by the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the C.P.I. on November 16th, 1958 on the nationalisation of the Dutch enterprises. If they are really to be utilised to improve economic conditions in Indonesia, these enterprises, already taken over by the Government, must be run on the basis of the slogan "*patriotic leadership, raise production, prevent sabotage, improve the conditions of the workers*". In this connection, there must be a new orientation in foreign trade relations, expanding relations with the Socialist countries. Concerning the formation of the National Planning Council, the C.P.I. proposes that every one of its members should be "an expert and a patriot" so that in this way the results of the Council's work will truly be in conformity with the interests of the vast majority of the Indonesian people, in conformity with the hopes frequently expressed by President Sukarno.

In the international and domestic situation as described in the Political Report, the task of the Party in international affairs is basically even more earnestly to continue with the peace and anti-colonial policy, whilst in the domestic affairs it is, to strive for the solution of the contradictions between the Indonesian people and imperialism and in the first place, Dutch and U.S. imperialism, and to strive to ensure that the democratic rights of the people are defended and extended so as further to unite the people in going forward along the path of Guided Democracy towards the implementation of the President Sukarno Concept of February 21st, 1957.

For the further development of the situation, the Communists must go on continually strengthening their own unity, continually bring their organisation into conformity with the development of the situation, further strengthen their unity with the broad masses of the people, heighten their discipline and further educate themselves in the science of Marxism-Leninism.

Other Decision Adopted by the Seventh Plenum

In addition to the Resolution on the Political Report and the Resolution on Solidarity Against the Remilitarisation of Japan, the full texts of which are printed above, and the adoption of the Draft Thesis to the General Report of the C.C. to the forthcoming Sixth National Congress of the C.P.I. (of which an outline is given above), the Seventh Plenum adopted a number of other resolutions and appeals, as follows:

- Approval of a Draft Change in the C.P.I. Programme.
- Approval of the Draft Programme for the Constitution of the C.P.I.
- Approval of a decision fixing the time and agenda of the Sixth National Congress of the C.P.I.
- Approval of an appeal to candidate members of the C.P.I. and C.P.I. sympathisers on the Collection of Funds for the Sixth National Congress of the C.P.I.
- Approval of a Report of the Committee for the Building of a C.P.I. Hall of Culture.
- Approval of a Fraternal Delegation to attend the Twenty-First Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Agenda of Sixth National Congress.

The Central Committee decision on the forthcoming Sixth National Congress of the C.P.I. fixes the agenda for the Congress as follows:

1. General Report on the Work of the C.C. of the C.P.I.
2. Draft of Changes in the C.P.I. Programme.
3. Draft of Changes in the C.P.I. Constitution.

4. Election of the Central Committee and the Control Commission.

The Plenum also decided that non-Party persons, such as leading non Communist personalities, leaders of other Parties, civil and military officials, would be invited to attend the Congress as observers.

Adoption of Messages of Greetings, Etc.

The plenum also decided to send a number of messages of greetings, including a message of greetings to the African People's Congress to be held in Accra, and a message of solidarity to the Communists and people of Japan who are waging a heroic struggle against the proposed revision of the Japanese Police Law. A message of greetings was also sent to the Communist Party of Chile on the occasion of its Seventh National Congress.

Five-Man Delegation to C.P.S.U. Congress.

The Plenum decided to send a delegation of five persons to the Twenty-First Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The delegation will be headed by the C.P.I. General Secretary, *D.N. Aidit*, and will also include *Nursuhud*, member of the C.C. and Secretary of the C.P.I. West Sumatera Provincial Committee, *Karel Supit*, member of the C.C. and Secretary of the C.P.I. North Celebes Provincial Committee, *B.O. Hutopea*, Editor of the Party organ, the "Bintang Merah", and *Mrs. Suharti Suwanto*, head of the Women's Department of the C.C. and member of Parliament.