

Go Ahead, Communist Party of Indonesia

(Speech by President Sukarno at the Closing Rally of the Seventh National Congress of the CPI, on April 30th, 1962)

BROTHERS, I have been involved in the struggle of the Indonesian people for decades, and in fact I have been the President of the Republic of Indonesia since 1945, that is, almost seventeen years now. And of course, during these seventeen years, I have experienced many things that have made me quite sad. There are some things that have made me happy, that have satisfied me. And one of the things that have satisfied me is that I have succeeded in cleansing Communist-phobia from the hearts of the majority of the Indonesian people. You know that some tens of years ago or some years ago, even, part of the Indonesian people regarded the Communists as the very devil incarnate on this earth. It was disturbing to me that part of the Indonesian people regarded the Communists as the very devil incarnate.

And yet I know that the Communists are well-intentioned, and especially in our struggle to smash imperialism, the contribution the Communists have made has not been a small one.

And that is why, Brothers, as beloved Brother Dipa Nusantara Aidit said just now, at the Sixth Congress of the CPI I said that the Communists "jo sanak jo kadang jen mati aku melu kelangan" (Communists are one of the family, one of us, if you die I mourn your loss, *Tr.*).

That is why, too, Brothers, in calling for the closest possible national unity, in calling for the binding together of all revolutionary forces, I have raised a new slogan, NASAKOM (Nas—Nationalists; A—religious groups; Kom—Communists;—*Tr.*), which has now become a general slogan for the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people. And in fact, Brother Aidit said just now that it has been taken over by many struggling peoples in other countries, for example, by the Martinique people. And the same too with the word Communist-phobia, a word that all the Indonesian people now know. And Communist-phobia has for the major part been completely obliterated from the hearts of the Indonesian people. I was very satisfied indeed to hear this word used by the delegate of the Communist Party of Japan just now, Brother Kurahara,

because I know that there is a lot of Communist-phobia in Japan, and that is why, too, I am happy to hear that the Communist Party of Japan is working hard to eliminate it among the Japanese people.

There still are people, quite openly, illegal pedlars, who still nurture Communist-phobia in their hearts. Yes, they pretend to agree with unity, to agree with *democracy*, but there is still Communist-phobia in their hearts. Take that slogan there (pointing to a Congress slogan "Democracy" decorating the meeting hall, *Tr.*). If I ask people who still nurture Communist-phobia in their hearts whether they agree with the slogan written there, do you agree with democracy? Oh, we agree! But then I ask, how can democracy run if you want to make a difference between NAS and A and KOM?

We can only have democracy if we do not make any differentiation between the various groups among the Indonesian people.

Or, I ask these Communist-phobes, do you agree with *unity*? They reply, oh we agree, of course, naturally, we agree with unity. But, how can there be unity if one of the groups is not brought into that unity?

Recently, in connection with the struggle for West Irian which is now reaching a climax, the Tri-Command of the People was proclaimed. One of the Three Commands is: prepare for general mobilisation. Isn't that so? In the preliminary part of the Tri-Command I ordered the entire armed forces to be ready to receive at any moment the order to liberate West Irian. Then there was the first order: defeat the "Papua State". The second was: fly the Red-and-White Flag in West Irian, and the third was: get yourselves ready for mobilisation. In such an atmosphere, when I ask the Communist-phobes: do you agree with *mobilisation*, do you agree with the third command that I made, do you agree with general mobilisation, of course they answer, we agree. Naturally, it goes without saying that we agree. But then I say, how can one talk about general mobilisation if the two million Communists—probably tens of millions with all their followers—if general mobilisation

is only for the NAS and the A? Is that general mobilisation? No, that's what you call one-sided mobilisation.

One thing that has satisfied me recently is that Communist-phobia has lessened somewhat. Yes, it's really terrific. Brother Aidit sitting side by side with the people from the A group, Brother Aidit sitting side by side and co-operating with the NAS group, and also the NAS leaders working together with the KOM leaders. Yes, and even the khaki shirts, Brothers, can co-operate with the KOM group.

And now, how are we going to be able to save this State of ours if we don't have unity, if we don't build and fortify the revolutionary forces among the Indonesian people? This is one of the things I pointed out in Medan. There need be no more debating about this. Yes, when I talk about internal debating, this internal chess game, the continual heart-to-heart debating within a nation, I fully recognise that the soul of a nation can only thrive if there is debating, if there are questions and answers, questions and answers. A nation that does not think, that does not use its reason, that does not seek, has a dead soul. There must be dialogue within a nation so that it continues to thrive, but there are some matters about which debating is no longer necessary. This is because it must become a fact, it must be as clear as a pike-staff, that for Indonesia, we can only save this Republic of Indonesia, we can only complete the Indonesian revolution if we have the binding together of all revolutionary forces. Who can deny this, Brothers? No one.

And so we go ahead with our revolutionary unity, especially in order to bring West Irian into the territory of the sovereignty of the Republic.

Revolutionary Unity

As you all know, I have always said about revolutionary national unity that we must have a passion for unity, revolutionary unity, revolutionary national unity. It's not a question of just having unity, or half unity. No! I have from former times always had a passion for revolutionary unity. I have always called for it, implanted it in the hearts of all the fighting Indonesian people. And finally, thanks be to God, it has gradually been established, it has become more and more solid, especially in the atmosphere of the struggle for the liberation of West Irian.

But not only that. I remain steadfast, I am more and more convinced of the correctness of the opinion about how absolutely necessary revolutionary unity is, not because I myself have a passion for revolutionary unity of the Indonesian people, but because I am speaking with the Com-

munists. Brothers, Lenin himself said that in a national revolution a nation must forge revolutionary national unity. Lenin himself said that, yes, indeed there is always what is called the class struggle, conflicts between the classes, the class struggle. That is always there—on a large scale. Just read for yourselves. You don't need to read Marx's *Das Kapital*. Read that small book, the *Communist Manifesto*. It is explained there too that there is always a class struggle between the exploited and those who exploit. This is so throughout world history, throughout the history of mankind; there's a group that is exploited and a group that exploits, with the exception of a classless society. But as long as society is not classless there is always a class struggle.

But, said Lenin, in a national revolution, don't sharpen this class struggle. In a national revolution the task is to have a binding together of all revolutionary forces. In fact, he explained why it is called revolutionary. Revolutionary, he said, not because it consists only of the workers, not because it only includes the socialists, not because it consists only of those who stand by formal democracy. Lenin made it quite clear that what is called revolutionary in a national revolution is those who oppose imperialism, those who want independence for their people. That's what is revolutionary.

He said that sometimes there are people from the working class who are not revolutionary. Holland, for example, has its Most Honourable and Learned Dr. Willem Drees. Drees, Brothers, is the son of a working class family. And so, too, not every person whose philosophy is Socialist or who stands by socialist principles is a revolutionary. I just mentioned Drees. He's not a revolutionary even though he calls himself a socialist. And so too with people who stand by formal democracy—they are not all revolutionaries. There are many people who stand by the principles of democracy, members of parliament who talk about democracy, democracy, but who oppose the national independence of a nation, who oppose our national independence. They are not revolutionary. And so Lenin was right when he said that a revolutionary is a person who opposes imperialism and who fights for the independence of every nation. That's a revolutionary.

Such being the case, it is, yes indeed, it would be very difficult for me so say that the CPI is not revolutionary. There are some people who come whispering in my ear: Oh that CPI! All they want to do is create trouble. Yes, if you think carefully about it, that CPI is counter-revolutionary, it wants to create trouble in our struggle for the

liberation of West Irian. That's what these people say.

No, no! I can see that, in the struggle for the liberation of West Irian, in the struggle to uphold the Republic, in the struggle to defend the Republic, the Communists play a role that is extremely beneficial to that struggle.

Why the C.P.I. Has Grown

There are some people who say that I am spoiling those Communists. He's giving them the green light, they say. Formerly the CPI only had 150,000 members, but now it has 2 million members. That's all Bung Karno's fault. Why on earth does he spoil those Communists, make them happy, give them the green light?

Yes, the CPI has now become very large. Such people are people who do not understand the course of history, who do not understand sociology, who do not understand the fighting spirit of a class, of a nation, of mankind. I declare quite categorically that if the CPI has flourished, if it has grown from 150,000 members to 2 million members, this is not because of me, it's not because I say things that make them happy. No! That the CPI has grown from 150,000 members to 2 million members, that it has become very large and strong, is because the CPI consistently defends the workers and the peasants, because it consistently stands behind unity of the Republic of Indonesia, because it consistently holds the Red-and-White Flag throughout the entire territory of the country, because it defends the have-nots. This is what has made the CPI large.

And now for the question of revolutionary national unity, my passion, which was taught by your great teacher, Lenin. I myself say, Brothers, that the greatest enemy of the Dutch is our national unity. When I was still young, only 22 years old, I read a speech by H. Colijn, one of the champions of Dutch imperialism. Colijn said in the Second Chamber of the Dutch States-General, he said quite clearly, that as long as we (Dutch) can prevent the Indonesian people, prevent all the forces of the Indonesian people from uniting, from joining together as one, Dutch power will remain in the Netherlands Indies, it will remain like Mount Blanc, said Colijn, like Europe's majestic Mount Blanc.

Yes, Brothers, I thought it over and I drew conclusions from this statement of Colijn's. If we want to put an end to Dutch power in Indonesia, we must forge unity of the Indonesian people. If we want to destroy the imperialists who are here in Indonesia, we must build revolutionary unity of the entire Indonesian people.

And that is why, Brothers, as an individual, as a leader, as the President of the Republic of Indonesia, I feel very happy indeed that this revolutionary unity is growing and growing.

Brothers, it's not just me, my doings, not that I have given the green light, that I have been spoiling the CPI. No! Every moment, I have repeatedly said, I serve the people, I serve the interests of the people, I want to unite with all the Indonesian people, to implement the Message of the People's Suffering. This Message of the People's Suffering is the aspiration of the revolution. And this is why all measures, all our energies, yes, all our thoughts must be concentrated upon saving the Indonesian revolution which, as Brother Aidit said just now, is part of the revolution of the new emerging forces of mankind. This Indonesian Revolution is the beacon light for our own liberation.

It is our task, Brothers, to save this revolution. In Medan, in Kutaradja, I stated clearly that we all of us are determined and resolved to bring West Irian into the sovereign territory of the Republic of Indonesia before the end of this year. But, I said, our task is not just to bring West Irian into the territory of the Republic. The liberation of West Irian is part of the job of perfecting the instrument to fulfil the Message of Suffering of the People, perfecting the instrument, the instrument that is the State. The State is an instrument. I have said repeatedly that the State is an instrument, an instrument to bring about a just and prosperous society, to implement the Message of Suffering of the People.

And what are the contents of the Message of the Suffering of the People? A just and prosperous society, a society in which every person lives in happiness, free from the exploitation of man by man.

Now, this instrument called the State is not yet perfect, it is not yet strong enough, not yet intact enough as long as West Irian is colonised by another country. And this is why we must perfect this instrument that we call the State by bringing West Irian into the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia.

And what we must struggle for, what we must save is the Indonesian revolution. We must save this Indonesian Revolution, and that is why, Brothers, I urge all the Indonesian people, with NASAKOM as the kernel, not to let this final objective of ours out of their sight. A ship, as Brother Aidit said, a golden ship. Yes, Brother Aidit used the word, a golden ship, taking us towards this glorious objective of ours.

The objective is clear, Indonesian Socialism which, as Brother Aidit has just said, is indeed the aspiration of the CPI.

This is just a message of greetings, Brothers.

This is my greeting to the Closing Session of the CPI's Seventh Congress "Go ahead! Go ahead! Let us go forward together to complete the Indonesian Revolution!"

Some Notes on Changes in the British Working Class

J. Wetherby

WHAT follows are notes on the changing structure and conditions of the working class in Britain. It is a view through a dusty window. The changes that have taken place over the past decades are, in general, recorded. But what is taking place under our noses are detailed changes that are not recorded.

Factory Sizes

The size of the establishment where work is carried on is a key factor, which naturally affects organisation, though once a certain size has been reached there is little difference. There is, in Britain, a slowish growth towards big manufacturing units. Those employing 2,000 and more covered 20.6 per cent of all employed in 1955 and 21.3 per cent in 1962. There is not much change here. At the other end, those employing under 100 covered roughly 20 per cent in each year.

There is a fairly even range of distribution between employment in different sized groups, except for the 100-500 group.

Establishments employing 1,000 and over account for 34 per cent of all workers in manufacture; 27 per cent in E. and W. Ridings; 46 per cent in Northern; 18 per cent employed in London and S.E. are in establishments of 2,000 and over; 26 per cent in the Midlands.

Range of employment by size of enterprise

1/5 in units of under 100 employed
1/3 in units of 100-500 employed
1/7 in units of 500-1,000 employed
1/7 in units of 1,000-2,000 employed
1/5 in units of 2,000 and over employed.

The establishments employing up to 500 form 95 per cent of the total number and cover just over half of those employed.

The number of different sized establishments

varies according to industry; in vehicle manufacture establishments with 1,000 or over accounted for 74 per cent of all employees; in metal manufacture 52 per cent; in shipbuilding 51 per cent; in engineering and electrical manufacture 43 per cent.

For clothing and textiles the proportion was 13 and 6 per cent. Clothing had 42 per cent employed in establishments of 100-500 and 41 per cent in those of 11-100. Textiles had 51 per cent employed in the 100-500 range.

What is noteworthy is the number employed in small units. In London and South Eastern area, there are 14,400 establishments, four-fifths of them in the under 100 range: over a quarter of them with under 25 employees; 70 per cent of all engineering and electrical manufacturing establishments are in the 25-100 employment range and employ together 15 per cent of the workers in that industry.

All this is apart from the shops employing 10 or less; and apart too from distribution, where there are 77,000 units in wholesale and 562,000 in retail. These figures include individual traders.

No doubt in distribution, with the growth of the large store and the centralisation of ownership of the larger stores, opportunity for organisation grows. It is indeed being taken advantage of.

But a substantial proportion of the non-unionists stem from these small unit factories or shops. The tendency for the number of them to grow, or at least of the middle size sector to grow, is likely to set in. The widespread availability of power delivery due to electricity and the change in transport methods, the cost of property in central positions and the need to go where the labour power is, particularly of married women in suburbs or new towns, leads to this. And it is in not so many industries that there is an overriding technical cost advantage in large