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PANTJASILA, THE FIVE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

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FOREWORD

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PANTJASILA, THE FIVE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

[Following are translations of articles on the above subject, selected from Indonesian sources. Source information accompanies each article]

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PANTJASILA, THE FIVE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

I

[Following is a translation of an article by Sitor Situmorang in Mimbar Indonesia (Pulpit of Indonesia), 1 October 1960, pages 12 and 13. First part.]

Pantjasila as the basis of national personification was already expressed in the introductory manuscript of the UUD [Undang Umum Dasar - the Constitution], the 1945 constitution.

I. Pantjasila as an authentic social view of life is to be found in a communal society, i.e. the society of our villages.

The original concept of life and society of the Pantjasila in its pure form, before it was hampered by feudalism or destroyed by colonialism, became the foundation of that village life.

Pantjasila as an expression of spontaneous collectivism was elevated to become the cornerstone of a system based on the sovereign rights of the people, and shaped by the philosophies that developed in step with the flourishing era. This philosophy of modern perfection has been incorporated in the introduction to the constitution and is like a blend of pure original social views and a modern progressive one, i.e. a philosophy of a "just and cultured human society".

II. In "The Birth of Pantjasila", Bung Karno [familiar for President Sukarno] stresses its completeness and confirms its spirit of synthesis. As synthesis it can be "squeezed" more compact to become Tri-Sila [three basic principles]:

1. Acceptance of the Lord Almighty
2. Social democracy
3. Social nationalism

This in turn can be compressed even more to become Eka-Sila [one principle]: Gotong-rojong [mutual assistance]. We can immediately recognize Gotong Rojong as an "authentic collective philosophy".

The idea of mutual assistance is found in all communal societies. To be exact the spirit of mutual assistance is found in societies that go through their communal agrarian phase as a result of a flourishing social consciousness, before it moves on to a feudal phase, and after that to capitalism.

From an objective viewpoint Pantjasila may therefore be considered as something universal.

We may also consider it as the national foundation of the Republic of Indonesia and the spirit of the National revolution.

III. Pantjasila as the spirit of the national revolution includes politics, economics, social affairs, and science. It was subject to a metamorphosis when socialism started to blossom, and when various circumstances became prevalent in major parts of the 20th century world.

In various articles of the constitution, especially in Article 33, which governs the economic foundations, the authentic social philosophy is blended with the progressive and dynamic social ideas that are the very spirit of socialism.

The socialist spirit in this Article 33 is the origin of the socialist principles found in the explanations of the five roots of the Pantjasila.

Spontaneous and vital Pantjasila, together with the articles of socialism, are like two principles that complement each other in a dynamic manner.

This dynamic connection has to be developed in all sectors of socialist principles. This is the era in which we shall make socialism complete in Indonesia. When we have attained complete Indonesian socialism, then Pantjasila and socialism can be truly considered one and the same.

Between the present situation and the moment when we reach our ideals stretches the struggle and the tasks of the revolution, the national revolution that is not yet finished.

IV. Establishing Indonesian socialism is the task for the future with its many problems lying ahead of us. The extent of these problems is the extent of the uncompleted revolution. Socialism will be reached along the lines of revolution, but not by incidental revolutionary changes or even less by scattered improvements.

The revolution does not aim at incidental improvements, but will be radical.

The revolution is a principle that has to be guided as such, and not with profits in mind or along the lines of liberalism. Our revolution is comprehensive and total, although not totalitarian (dictatorial).

V. Our revolution is based on Pantjasila and is therefore not totalitarian. Because it is based on Pantjasila, our revolution will not be run materialistically and definitely not according to nihilistic Nazi doctrines that value nothing but force.

While the Declaration of Independence stresses individualism and the Communist Manifesto, collectivism, Pantjasila aims to complete the three-way connection: God - People - Society (Religion - Individual - History), to become one principle.

When Sukarno says that Pantjasila is "lifting one's self up", or a unification of the Declaration of Independence and the Communist Manifesto into a higher synthesis, it means that the Indonesian Revolution will convince us of the possibility and necessity of synthesis.

VI. To try to establish a society of Pantjasila, of complete Indonesian socialism is not a purely Utopian idea. The above explained synthesis based on the Declaration and the Manifesto is not meant to be an hallucination, the mere product of a suitable philosophy. Thus, Indonesian socialism is not meant to be a compromise as the result of a mere philosophical discussion.

Socialism as a revolutionary idea needs struggle, physical and spiritual, to wipe out the present disagreements and obstacles in the international relations of the various peoples. We stress at the present the national character of our revolution, but we entertain vital connections with international developments that also have a revolutionary character; these developments take the shape of arguments regarding revolutions and counter revolutions, i.e. the cold war.

These international tasks will have to be carried out in accordance with the Pantjasila through an active independent policy by means of a national and therefore non-partisan foreign policy.

VII. The material and spiritual revolutionary aims require perfection of leadership.

Revolutionary leadership relies on unified national strength, i.e., the national support of all forces in favor of Indonesian socialism. At the present, the power of the revolution is still being perfected by unification of political strength, supported by the power of the progressive elements of society.

The strength of the society and social energy are reinforced by political and ideological ideas of high caliber; this high caliber awareness of the problems and the program of the revolution is also culturally stimulated. The essential point of "guided democracy" is unified political and ideological leadership of the revolutionary energy and of the government, in order to complete the revolution.

VIII. Once Sukarno explained that in guided democracy, the leader is an idea, a conception, and therefore not a human being. Sukarno draws a moral from the task of an orchestra conductor: not the conductor but the score (i.e., the written music) is the leader when a symphony is played.

The leader of the guided democracy is the socialism of Indonesia. Guided democracy is the essence of revolutionary policy in reaching the desired perfect democracy, i.e., socialism equals Pantjasila. The foundation and essence of guided democracy is democracy. The idea behind "guided" belongs only to the period of struggle.

When the purpose of the revolution is reached, when it is over, when democracy is perfect and Pantjasila is fully adhered to, then "guided" does not apply any more to political power but to the rights and responsibilities of genuine and spontaneous democracy.

In other words: guided democracy in a political sense is the political foundation of Indonesian socialism, and during our struggle it has a transient meaning.

IX. The Pantjasila we experience today is only the base. As an image that surrounds individual and collective life, it is still only an ideal.

Pantjasila as socialism, as a definite tool is still in a stage of struggle, and especially, a policy of shaping power. Support of political power is brought about by way of guided democracy with the following urgent program: 1. Food and clothing, 2. Peace, 3. Reconquest of West New Guinea.

We are turning to the program of cultural revolution as an aspect of the revolution with many faces and intricacies.

X. Culture is usually interpreted as universal and everlasting, in the shape of a refined legacy of fine old customs, literature (philosophy) and art. We try to find our national personality in all that is made, ready at hand, in the shape of pure philosophy reflected especially in literature, art and way of life. This is the formal stationary way, determined not to be moved or to move others.

This stationary or objective scientific method is useful to grasp a given situation, i.e., especially the never changing aspects of our present social economic and social cultural life.

We take the static method that formally searches for authenticity and is useful for understanding the position of socialism; it makes us realize the condition of Indonesia in which we fight to reach socialism.

This method is also used in wording Pantjasila. The basic thoughts summarized in the introduction to the constitution have their origin in a communal society, as already mentioned. The spontaneous and vital spirit of Pantjasila was made topical and introduced in the movement of progress, using dynamic wording. Sukarno, in addition to bringing up the authenticity, has elevated it and made it a dynamic factor of the ideals for the future of Indonesia.

Dynamic formulations, in the spirit and principles of socialism, lift the foundation of the original society of mutual assistance from a prehistoric world to a historic world and to the present.

Pantjasila may be considered as criticism of and bringing to an end our feudal agrarian times and capitalism and imperialism, with their atheism and materialism.

Once again: This clearly places Pantjasila above the Declaration of Independence and the Communist Manifesto.

XI. The national revolution also includes a cultural revolution as part of total revolution. Pantjasila as a foundation of the revolution is permanent. As the spirit of dynamic revolution, it is socialistic and is led by socialism.

Our cultural revolution is one of socialist culture. Socialist culture has a fighting spirit and is not finished or ready at hand. The cultural revolution has methods and ways to reach its goals. The ways of our cultural revolution have been decided by Pantjasila as the foundation, and on the other hand by Pantjasila as the ultimate goal, and by Pantjasila as a dream to be realized by socialism.

XII. Pantjasila as the foundation of individuality has a static meaning. As socialist culture its meaning is dynamic. As the foundation of individuality, it looks back, but as socialist culture it faces the future.

In science we meet Pantjasila as the foundation and condition; we find it as a dream among the people from Sabang to Merauke. Science, instinct, and conviction break through the layers and the might of feudalism and colonialism and meet again in the people's dream. Its rays shine forth from the Pantjasila that pictures the eternal ideals of the people as a social and collective acknowledgement of the Lord.

Knowledge and conviction together are socialism.

XIII. Indonesian socialism repudiates the philosophy of materialism, as Sukarno has so often explained. This means that it repudiates the idea that all phenomena are reflections of material things. On the other hand, Sukarno takes advantage of historical materialism in his explanations, and teaches us that material evidence decides or influences very much the expression and pattern of life in its most general sense. Based on his conviction and struggle, Sukarno admits being a Marxist. Together with Sukarno the socialist, we view history in a dialectic manner as something that moves forward. Progress is the result of struggle on an ever higher level.

As a revolutionary socialist, Sukarno does not follow socialism as a mere lesson in philosophy, nor as merely a problem of thought or an ideal. As leader of the revolution, he considers it instruction for the struggle of the people who demand revolutionary changes. Philosophic and theoretical discussions about Marxism in connection with the interpretations of Indonesian socialism are academic. Its results will be decided by the political and social forces that are most consistent and best equipped to receive the trust and the help of the people in a democratic manner.

All the revolutionary pro-socialist energy in action is also directed against colonialism, imperialism and feudalism inside and outside the country. We must support this energy.

(to be continued)

THE FIVE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

II.

[Following is a translation of an article by Sitor Siturorang in Mimbar Indonesia (Pulpit of Indonesia) 8 October 1960, pages 11 and 12, a continuation of the article in issue 1 October 1960, pages 12 and 13].

XIV. Revolutionary Pantjasila must: 1). make reality of guided democracy, supported by all the energy in favor of revolutionary socialism, 2). obtain a leadership that can unify its principles as closely as possible (tactical - strategic).

Guided democracy and leadership in accordance with the socialist and revolutionary struggle in Indonesia, with its special requirement of Pantjasila, is now found in the figure of Sukarno as president and leader of the revolution.

Sukarno in this position cannot possibly become the object of philosophical and theoretical discussions, since that would mean shattering the leadership and the ranks of guided democracy.

There is no room for groups opposed to socialism in a guided democracy.

Those who acknowledge socialism but do not agree with its revolutionary character must also be eliminated.

Those in favor of socialism -- nationalists, Moslems, Communists, etc., are experiencing a distinct trial of strength that can advance all groups.

All groups that support guided democracy one by one and collectively identify themselves with the spirit and leadership of Sukarno, first and foremost in practical political areas, but finally also, on the basis of unity, in philosophical fields.

In the field of philosophy, especially regarding philosophic materialism that Sukarno definitely explained to be different from historic materialism, the opinions of Sukarno have been clear since 1927, on the basis of Marhaenism.

In practical matters, i.e., the practice and experience of the Indonesian revolution, Sukarno is now perfecting the leadership of Indonesian socialism in his capacity as president and leader of the revolution.

Whether Sukarno may be called a Marxist or a revolutionary is a problem that has no connection with the facts of the national revolution.

Whether Sukarno may be called a Marxist or a revolutionary is a problem that has no connection with the facts of the national revolution. In attaining Indonesian socialism as regards philosophy and revolutionary action, the fundamental conditions have been boldly outlined by Sukarno, based on the support of revolutionary energy.

Sukarno stresses the necessity of creative thinking and of new concepts regarding the project and directives of consolidating and executing socialism to the very end. This represents that task: Peace by way of revolution.

Enemies are, among others, those who want to put a dam around it. Consolidation and peace by way of revolution cannot be reconciled with activities that want to confine it and stop its flow because they are unable to dilute it.

In cultural matters this confining activity, disguised as non-political, is used to turn the meaning individuality upside down and to make Pantjasila a museum showpiece.

Groups, opposed to socialism, that used to be against Pantjasila agree now with it in an opportunistic manner, attributing to it a static and stagnant meaning that has nothing to do with socialism. Those acknowledging socialism, but who are against revolutionary Pantjasila, especially confused intellectuals and philosophers, are now being taken advantage of by those who are against socialism.

XV. Those who want to confine the revolution to culture usually defend themselves by saying that politics and ideology are not part of culture.

Of course politics and ideology are not culture but struggle. Socialism is, of course, neither politics nor ideology in a liberal sense. The politics and ideology of socialism are not, as in the liberal democratic world, identical with the ideas "manipulation, machination and intrigue". A socialist is not a professional politician as those liberal democratic figures who are already diluting the flow of the revolution.

During these times of change, remnants of liberal democratic activities still remain. Indonesian socialism, however, can only win through socialists and not through professional politicians of liberal democratic leanings.

As an instrument of the revolution to reach a just and prosperous society with a high culture, socialism needs a cultural movement.

Socialism in its totality, including cultural revolution, needs a cultural movement supported by political and ideological socialist consciousness.

A socialist cultural movement is in the first place a means to fertilize political and ideological consciousness in connection with the cultural revolution.

The socialist cultural movement is not founded to promote creative cultural power; it must develop cultural consciousness with and inside the revolution.

Care and preservation of legacies are the duties of the general cultural movements.

The cultural movement for the revolution is propelled by ideals of renovation of cultural foundations: science, art, education, etc.

The socialist cultural movement considers the foundations science, art and education as reflections of the social economical and social cultural evidence that have to be renewed in all sincerity.

The socialist cultural movement knows that the renovation activities, like revolutionary law, are in need of a critical review of old definitions as well as new formulations. Critical review and new formulation can only be achieved with a complete and integral consciousness of direction and program of the revolution in a social economical and social cultural sense (Political Manifesto).

The people and society of Indonesia are subject to changes and are entering revolutionary situations in the social economical and social cultural sense.

To be able to solve its problems we need a corresponding culture because we aim at revolution and all its consequences. The socialist cultural movement by way of political and ideological convictions connects creatively and dynamically culture and social reform.

Once more: The cultural movement is not intended to create in a formal sense. It is only God who really creates.

XVI. Pantjasila accepts socialist doctrines to create the social cultural conditions we need.

Pantjasila as part of culture is non-dogmatic.

Indonesian socialism may have theories on creative power as a form of thought, but not in a dogmatic sense, because Pantjasila acknowledges non-material factors in the origin of culture such as the influence of tradition, religion, etc.

Over-all cultural revolution along the lines of Indonesian socialism means total revolution under creative cultural conditions. The shape and spirit of culture can not be decided before hand in a dogmatic manner. A dogmatic view and bossy dictatorship in the realm of culture are counterrevolutionary.

XVII. Based on Pantjasila, total revolution must be given a creative meaning. Uprooting of the old social order is the spirit of total revolution as advertised by socialism.

This meaning explains to us slogans such as: Umwehrtung aller Wehrte! [German for: all prior standards of appreciation have to be revised]. Revolution rejects yesterday! These are radical slogans supported by social strength.

Umwehrtung aller wehrte! Revolution rejects yesterday! Here are slogans of struggle.

Discussions of philosophical or formalistic nature keep on producing all kinds of concepts, each of which [sentence unfinished presumably by error of printer].

The character of our total cultural revolution is contained within the nature of our total social revolution, which is socialistic in nature.

Based on Pantjasila, Sukarno advances the "multi-complex" feature, which puts the basic principles foremost and the feature of simultaneousness in our national revolution. Although the political, economical and social revolution is fundamental, the cultural revolution is not just a thing of which the results will be brought by the future.

Just as the counterrevolutionaries try to influence culture, the revolutionaries must influence culture, based on the features of multi-complex and simultaneousness. Under the leadership of Sukarno, the Indonesian revolution repels the theory of a spontaneous revolution. Consciousness, desire and action also play a decisive part in the revolution.

The Indonesian revolution also repudiates dogmatic views and sectarian debate between kinds of socialism, such as are taking place in other countries. The Indonesian revolution under Sukarno's leadership unifies the spontaneity of the ideal of pure Indonesian democracy with the dynamism of theoretical socialism and the socialism that is now a political, economical, social and cultural reality in a large part of the world.

This is Pantjasila as "hogere optrekking" [Dutch for: reaching for a higher level] of the Declaration of Independence and the Communist Manifesto and as an important part of world revolution, as indicated by Sukarno.

This evidence has to be reflected by prosocialist cultural activities, especially in the fields of education, science and art.

XVIII. Pantjasila has already been explained in several ways, i.e. as foundation, as condition, as spirit and as draft. This is Pantjasila as an "open system", as a way of life, as totality of a conviction that possesses myth and strength.

We connect Pantjasila further in a dynamic sense with socialism as a confrontation in flourishing revolutionary times with the basic principles of the socialist struggle in all aspects of life.

In this manner we arrive at the meaning of Indonesian socialism. All these explanations are part of the system of Usdek. In Usdek, Pantjasila enters the world of doctrines as a well rounded system that requires scientific specification in the shape of new thoughts and concepts. It becomes a scientific structure of especially dynamic science, science of struggle that does not only ponder things, but also fights on the basis of creative arguments, i.e., individuality in actual reality.

XIX. Establishing Pantjasila along the lines of and within socialism as a cultural struggle requires coping with new ideas and concepts. We have already dealt with several thoughts and basic concepts as part of the principle of guided democracy and guided economy.

We have already explained the basic principles of guided democracy regarding its execution in connection with the leadership of the revolution. In its further execution, our creative experts must develop various systems within its framework.

The foremost thoughts already explained by Sukarno are:

1. Leader of our democracy is not a person, which means that we repudiate the Fuehrer principle of the Nazis with its personality and racial cult.

2. The highest leadership of our democracy is "magic wisdom of discussion and representation" in contrast to the concept "magic power of leadership" of dictatorial nations with their Fuehrer cult.

3. As in a pure society of mutual assistance, discussion as the essence of democracy leads the way to the spirit of collectivism which we equip for the present with the techniques and principles of democratic representation: elected representation, especially for the purpose of discussions, without counting votes, in arriving at a decision on the basis of political and functional classification (democratic functional).

4. We abandon the Trias - politica on the level of the highest leadership of the revolution, which in its execution requires unity to preserve the dynamic nature of the revolution. Here we have some basic ideas to be approached by statesmen, philosophers and scholars as builders of a system. All this must be achieved in the shape of institutions, instruments and tools to carry out assigned tasks; in other words, we have to make Sukarno's leadership and the devotion of his personality become an objective abstract idea in the existence of our country.

Our philosophers and thinkers must therefore develop a "science of struggle", a creative science by way of a national existence that avoids chauvinism and myths that are in disagreement with the popular foundations.

Fighting science, fighting education and fighting diplomacy are some of the basic elements of ideas about the cultural movement that our intellectuals will have to develop, (abandoning textbooks).

XX. To reach results the foundation for all this remains emancipation of the people, especially laborers and farmers who form the very special support of a democracy. Here is work for indoctrination to bring about the political consciousness of the people and turn it into obvious social strength (by active and trained leaders), but this should be performed without the doctrine of struggle between the classes of society. Sukarno as the symbol of guided democracy and as personification of the unity of people and government (socialist), suggested this.

For the more distant future, however, the emancipation of the people in its most general sense becomes the object of education.

XXI. Now we enter the world of education with new thoughts and concepts as front line fighters of the real and total cultural revolution; as main support of dynamic revolutionary Pantjasila contrasting with the anthropological (rigid) kind that conservatives want to perpetuate to fence the revolution in.

Education as a teacher of the simultaneous revolution includes duty to construct as well as to demolish. In the field of education, we face several basic problems and this fact: in the meantime education

must also be burdened with the duty to pass on culture as the superhuman (moral) builder on the basis of an idealistic, aristocratic and individualistic philosophy, which means a very special perfection (the scholar-knight).

Reactions against this conservative point are showing themselves but have not yet produced clear concepts and have only indicated pragmatic and practical views.

Now that we have the Political Manifesto, our education faces the problem of lining up its task with its social economical, social cultural and cultural program.

THE FIVE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF INDONESIA IN AND
OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY

[Following is a translation of an article by Senopati in
Pos Indonesia (Indonesian Post) 9 October 1960, page 1.]

During this year's session of the general assembly of the United Nations, Sukarno attempted to have Pantjasila inserted in the charter of the UN. At this moment we do not know yet if this proposal will formally be presented to the UN, nor can we guess the reactions of the member countries of the UN. In connection with the celebration of Armed Forces Day of this year, the importance of Pantjasila for our people and country in general and the armed forces in particular was stressed again in several official messages. In this connection the spokesman of the armed forces said: "Just now symptoms of fear are visible because there is a tendency to revise Pantjasila or to interpret it in a way deviating from its pure and original meaning. We shall have to intensify and sharpen our alertness".

Our Pantjasila has already become an abstraction, not alone accepted and explained in a rational manner, but also part of an emotional and supernatural atmosphere. This means strength for Pantjasila, because under these circumstances there will be little room for voices of repudiation. On the other hand it also contains weak aspects because in such an atmosphere efforts to outline sharply the meaning and contents of Pantjasila are felt to be unnecessary, so that elements in favor of "revising and deviating interpretations can penetrate noiselessly". Apparently, the spokesman of the armed forces deems it necessary to call attention to the last mentioned aspect on Armed Forces Day of this year.

Several years before and after the general elections for the representative body, the central issue in our national existence was the reconciliation of Pantjasila with the ideals of the Moslem nation.

There was also the reconciliation of Pantjasila with the ideals of a secular state, but this issue was pushed into the background by the above mentioned central issue.

It is now evident that the reconciliation of Pantjasila with the ideals of a Moslem nation has become the central issue in our national existence, although it will definitely not be easy to predict how things will develop in the long run.

It is in the existence of nations as in human life: now one issue asserts itself, then another issue pops up. The world moves on, however.

For some time, especially after the speech of President Sukarno on 17 August 1960, when he explained that the Pantjasila is on a level higher than the Declaration of Independence of the US and also the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels; we are facing new issues. These are the reconciliation of Pantjasila with the views reflected by the Declaration of Independence (liberalism) on one hand and those of the Communist Manifesto on the other.

Pantjasila and the Declaration of Independence

As we noticed above, when the Declaration of Independence is mentioned, the word liberalism emerges in our thoughts. Liberalism in turn will be followed by shadows of a system that has profit-making as its essence. We associate this with capitalism, a system that we identify with sacrificing human prestige and social justice (socialism) to profit for the capitalist, while, according to us, it also leads to imperialism and colonialism.

In short, the word liberalism is for us identical with exploitation of one human being by another, of one group by another group, or of one nation by another nation.

We, feeling ourselves victims of liberalism, capitalism, imperialism, and colonialism, repudiate (not only rationally but also emotionally) everything that we suspect of being connected with liberalism. When we think of Pantjasila and liberalism, our reaction is short and clear: repudiate and resist.

Pantjasila and the Communist Manifesto

The relation between Pantjasila and the Communist Manifesto (Communism) is for us generally not as simple as the relation between Pantjasila and the Declaration of Independence (colonialism).

Probably, because in the development of our thoughts, especially those of the generation between 1920 and 1930, the elements of Marxism and also several elements of Leninism served rationalism, argumentation and agitation well in the struggle against the former Dutch oppression.

But generally we also feel that there are problems in making up our minds about the relationship of Pantjasila, especially its principle of God Almighty on the one hand, and Marxism on the other. So much the more with the Leninist type of Marxism, which is especially connected with the elements of materialism and atheism, distinctly present in its principles.

Marx and Engels were clearly atheists and materialists; they never hid this. Many find however, that among the ideas of Marx and Engels some are useful in understanding society, as for instance, historic materialism. We can use and accept this without accepting their ideas about God (or more precisely: their ideas about the non-existence of God).

Marx himself apparently never hoped that all the ideas he once developed would be accepted in their entirety as absolute. It must have been in connection with this tendency that he declared in later years: "I (Marx) am not a Marxist."

In other words, reconciling Pantjasila and Marxism in a general sense and not in an absolute sense as pictured above is apparently not an insoluble problem.

But when we approach nearer to what is called Leninist Marxism, it appears that our problem is not so simple.

Who reads Lenin and Stalin, we mention "Socialismus und Religion" (Lenin 1905), "Das Verhaltnis der Arbeiter partei zur Religion" (Lenin 1909), "Dialectical and Historical Materialism" (Stalin, 1938) will receive a very strong impression that Leninist Marxism in its absolute sense demands not only acceptance of a method of analyzing society (historical materialism), but acceptance also of dialectic materialism. Their writings show that it is of an atheistic and materialistic nature, and it is clear that it contains anti-religious elements. Lenin declares among other things in "Das Verhaltnis de Arbeiterpartei zur Religion": "Wir mussen die Religion bekampfen" (We must fight religion).

That is why we wrote above: To reconcile Pantjasila (God is Almighty) and Leninist Marxism does not appear to be a simple problem.

When it is said that Pantjasila is being "softened" so that it will not clash with Leninist Marxism, there will be people who look upon this as tendency towards "revising" of Pantjasila or to interpret it in a meddlesome manner.

- END -