

now directed against the Far East and the whole of Asia." He added that U.S. imperialism had no reason whatever to hang on in south Korea. The Korean question could only be solved by the Korean people themselves. He reaffirmed the Chinese Government's firm support for the just stand of the Korean Government for the peaceful unification of the country and all the efforts made for this purpose.

Important Tasks for All Marxist-Leninist Parties. Premier Chou noted that now "precisely at the time when imperialism is approaching nearer and nearer to its doom, modern revisionism has made its appearance in the service of imperialism and become rampant. To stand fast by Marxism-Leninism and oppose modern revisionism; to stand fast by the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement and oppose a split; to stand firm for proletarian internationalism and oppose big-nation chauvinism and national egoism—these are the important tasks which must be undertaken by all the Marxist-Leninist parties and the peoples of the socialist countries. The Korean Workers' Party and the Korean Democratic People's Republic have waged an uncompromising struggle against modern revisionism, and in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and made tremendous contributions in this respect."

Bright Revolutionary Prospect. "Marxist-Leninists are revolutionary optimists. We believe that over 90 per cent

of the people of the world are for revolution and only a handful of people are dead against it. The adverse currents stirred up by imperialism, the reactionaries of various countries and the modern revisionists can never change the course of history. The prospects of the revolutionary cause are immeasurably bright," Premier Chou declared.

The Chinese press gave wide coverage to the celebration activities in Pyongyang, the achievements of the Korean people in socialist revolution and socialist construction and feature stories about the militant friendship of the Chinese and Korean peoples. *Renmin Ribao*, in its editorial of September 9, wrote: "The strengthening of the friendship and unity of the Chinese and Korean peoples accords with the common interests of the socialist camp and helps the cause of world peace and the progress of mankind. The Chinese people will stand for ever by the Korean people and fight shoulder to shoulder and march hand in hand with them for the common cause and common ideals which they share."

In telegrams and letters sent to their counterparts in Korea, various Chinese people's organizations warmly congratulated the Korean people on their national festival. The Korean anniversary was also celebrated at mass meetings in Shenyang, Changchun, Harbin, Wuhan, Shanghai and Canton.

The Indonesian Revolution and the Immediate Tasks of the Communist Party of Indonesia

Excerpts From a Political Report Given by Comrade D.N. Aidit at the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. on September 2, 1963

1. A Brief Account of the Various Historical Stages In the Growth of Indonesian Society and of the Basic Questions of the Indonesian Revolution

The historical development of Indonesian society can be divided in the main into the following periods:

1. The period of primitive communes (up to circa 500 B.C.).
2. The period of the slave-owning system (circa 500 B.C.-500 A.D.).
3. Feudal society (5th to 17th century).
4. Feudal and colonial society (from the end of 17th century to the end of 19th century).
5. Colonial and semi-feudal society (from the end of 19th century to 1945).

6. Independence and semi-feudal society (from 1945 to 1949).

7. Semi-colonial and semi-feudal society (from 1949 on).

The Colonial and Semi-Feudal Period. During this period, Indonesia was completely under the colonial rule of Dutch imperialism and then, during World War II, under the colonial rule of Japanese fascism; both engaged in brutal political oppression and economic exploitation. All important branches of the economy were controlled by foreign monopoly capital.

The export of capital on a big scale carried capitalism into all corners of the country. With feudal economic relations being destroyed, the economic system no longer remained a natural economy; a commodity economy gradually advanced to a dominant position. The feudal system no longer remained independent but owed its

Comrade Kang Sheng's Welcoming Speech

KANG SHENG, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, speaking at the Higher Party School Meeting, warmly welcomed D.N. Aidit and other comrades of the Indonesian Communist Party delegation.

"Comrade Aidit," Kang Sheng said, "is the beloved leader of the Communist Party of Indonesia, a revolutionary activist respected by the Indonesian people, an outstanding fighter of the international communist movement and a close comrade and friend of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people." "Led by him, the Indonesian Communist Party has made great contributions to the struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism and against modern revisionism."

A Great and Steadfast Marxist-Leninist Party. "Since 1951, the Indonesian Communist Party has established as its leadership the Central Committee headed by Comrade Aidit. From that time the Party, which has always been under the correct leadership of the Central Committee led by Aidit, has charted and carried out a Marxist-Leninist line and policy, thereby providing the most important guarantee for the advance of the revolutionary cause of the Indonesian Communist Party and people. Since 1951, the Party, rallying all patriotic and democratic forces in Indonesia, has won great victories in the struggle for people's democracy against all kinds of reactionary forces at home, and in the struggle against U.S. and Dutch imperialism for complete national independence. The Chinese Communist Party and people regard every victory and every success of the Indonesian Communist Party as their own; they rejoice with them and are inspired by them."

Kang Sheng continued: "Within the ranks of the international communist movement the Indonesian Communist Party is a great, firm, Marxist-Leninist party. Under the leadership of its Central Committee headed by Comrade Aidit, the Party has been adept in combining the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with revolutionary practice in Indonesia and in summing up its revolutionary experience. It has evolved a systematic theory and policies which are guiding the Indonesian

revolution. As a result, the Party is enriching and developing Marxism-Leninism. This is exactly why the revolutionary cause of the Indonesian Communist Party and people has developed with vigour. Today, the Indonesian Communist Party, comprising several million members, has become the largest Communist Party in any country outside the socialist camp."

Friendship and Solidarity Between the Chinese and Indonesian Parties. "By persisting along a correct Marxist-Leninist line," Kang Sheng noted, "the prestige and influence of the Communist Party of Indonesia is growing daily at home and abroad. It has an ever increasing attraction for the Communists and revolutionary people of the capitalist world, particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The great success and rich experience it gained as a result of persisting along a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line is of great world significance for the international communist movement."

Kang Sheng stressed: "In the common struggle against imperialism, reactionaries of all countries, and revisionism, the Communist Parties of Indonesia and China have always supported and aided each other.

"The friendship and unity of the Indonesian and Chinese Communist Parties are deep and unbreakable. They are built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; on defending Marxism-Leninism and opposing revisionism and dogmatism; and on the principles of independence, equality, reaching agreement through consultation and mutual support set forth in the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and Moscow Statement of 1960. They are based on the common struggle against U.S.-led imperialism and for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism, and on the common cause in striving for victory of the proletarian world revolution."

In conclusion, Comrade Kang Sheng pointed out that "the rich experience of the Indonesian Communist Party and the theoretical generalization of this — found in the works of Comrade Aidit — are of great educational value to us. We must be modest and learn from the Indonesian Communist Party's revolutionary experience and from Comrade Aidit's works."

existence solely to imperialist support. Feudalism was no longer an integrated whole. Only the remnants of it remained. Such was the condition of semi-feudalism.

During that period, the interests of all classes suffered from imperialism; the only exceptions were the landlords and the agents of imperialism. It was at the beginning of this period that Indonesia's national-liberation movement sprang up. From then on, in waging their struggle against Dutch colonialism the Indonesian people used various modern organizational forms, such as the State Railway Workers' Union (S.S.-Bond), the Railway Trade Union (V.S.T.P.), Budi Oetomo, Islamic Association (Seri-

kat Islam), the East-Indies Party (Indische Party), the East-Indies Social Democratic Association (I.S.D.V.), etc.

The Communist Party of Indonesia is the product of integrating the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the Indonesian working-class movement. After the birth of the Indonesian Communist Party on May 23, 1920, the national-liberation movement in Indonesia found its core in the Indonesian Communist Party. The struggle of the Indonesian people for independence grew vigorously day by day and in 1926 the first national uprising led by the Indonesian Communist Party broke out, dealing a blow to Dutch imperialism. The uprising was defeated and after

this the Party was forced to go underground. In the years that followed such nationalist political parties as the Indonesian National Party (1927) and others came into being.

During the Japanese fascist occupation, the Indonesian people carried on their revolutionary struggle, sabotaging enterprises and mobilizing the peasants to stage uprisings (for instance in Singaparna, Indramaju, Tanah Karo and other places), mobilizing the troops to stage uprisings (as in Blitar), and organizing resistance among the intellectuals, college students, youth and students. As the people's sufferings increased, their struggle too grew in intensity. After Japan's surrender to the allied powers in World War II, the Indonesian people proclaimed their national independence on August 17, 1945, and founded their republic.

The Period of Independence and Semi-Feudalism. In announcing the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 1945, the Indonesian people seized state power in Indonesia from the hands of the Japanese fascists. During this period, in order to defend the independence and sovereignty of the republic, the Indonesian people continued uninterruptedly to fight Dutch imperialism in various fields. At that time, it may be said, the feudal landlord class, another main enemy, received no blows during the revolution and so semi-feudal conditions remain by and large unchanged. This is the basic reason why the August Revolution of 1945 could not be thoroughly completed.

The aims of the August Revolution of 1945 were not achieved owing to, among other things, the following factors:

1. Implementation of an irresolute anti-imperialist policy and the making of continuous compromises — this is shown in the signing of the Linggardjati and Renville agreements and later the Round Table Conference Agreement, which was even worse;

2. Failure to work out an anti-feudal policy of resolutely striking blows at the feudal landlords and winning the peasants to the revolution;

3. Failure to understand the policy of establishing a united front with the national bourgeoisie in the bourgeois democratic revolution;

4. Failure to establish working-class sole leadership of the revolution although this does not mean that the leadership of the revolution at that time was in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

The failure of the August 1945 Revolution showed that the Indonesian bourgeoisie was unable to lead the bourgeois democratic revolution in the era of imperialism or a new-type bourgeois democratic revolution. The failure of the revolution also proved that the Indonesian proletariat at that time was not yet capable of leading the new-type bourgeois democratic revolution to complete victory. During the August Revolution of 1945, the Indonesian proletariat played an important part in the state power, including the armed forces, and in other fields.

In September 1948, the reactionary Hatta government carried out a policy of White terror against the Indonesian Communist Party. This was widely known as the Madiun Incident. In the struggle against the White

terror, many Indonesian Communist Party leaders laid down their lives. I have said that "the Indonesian Communist Party joined the August Revolution under circumstances in which the Party had not summed up its experience in united-front work and still lacked experience in building up the Party and in armed struggle."

The Semi-Colonial and Semi-Feudal Period, or the Period of Semi-Feudalism and Without Complete Independence. The Programme of the Indonesian Communist Party points out: "The Round Table Conference Agreement concluded between the Hatta government and the Dutch Government on November 2, 1949, determined the semi-colonial status of Indonesia. The so-called transfer of sovereignty made on December 27, 1949, in accordance with the above-mentioned agreement aimed to create illusions among the Indonesian people by declaring that Indonesia had gained complete independence and that 'the transfer of sovereignty' was 'genuine, complete and unconditional.'" In actual fact, by concluding the Round Table Conference Agreement, the Hatta government enabled the Dutch imperialists to restore their influence in the economic field in Indonesia. But the national-liberation movement and the democratic movement of the Indonesian people were not to be held in check. Under pressure of the broad masses, the Indonesian Government in April 1956 unilaterally abrogated the unequal and traitorous Round Table Conference Agreement and later also unilaterally cancelled its "debts" to the Netherlands. Later, with the strength of the masses grown more powerful, the enterprises owned by Dutch monopoly capital were taken over one by one and nationalized in 1957; moreover, West Irian was returned to the domain of the Indonesian Republic in 1963. But this does not mean that these positive anti-imperialist measures have brought about fundamental changes in Indonesian society.

The fact that Indonesia is not yet economically independent most clearly demonstrates that Indonesia has not attained complete independence. Imperialists, and first of all the U.S. imperialists, can still make use of Indonesia's raw materials, tap its mineral resources and exploit its cheap labour power. So they have held back the development of the national industry, both the state-owned part and that owned by the national bourgeoisie.

According to the speech of the Dutch Foreign Minister Luns at the United Nations, in 1958, Dutch capital taken over by Indonesia amounted to about \$1,200 million. Thus, if Luns' figure is correct and if there has been no new investment, foreign investments in Indonesia today must amount to \$1,040 million, i.e., \$2,240 million minus \$1,200 million. The actual situation now is like this: imperialist capital, and first of all U.S. capital, has in recent years steadily increased its new investments in Indonesia. Since 1945, the United States has increased its investments in oil enterprises as follows:

Investments in the Shell Oil Company have increased by \$84 million; in Standard Vacuum, by \$40 million; in Caltex, by \$47 million. According to a report made by the U.S. Ambassador Jones to the American Men's Association, U.S. "economic aid" since 1950 has already reached the amount of \$639 million. It is estimated that this figure is smaller than the actual one. Foreign invest-

ments, such as those in Indonesia, which take the form of "economic aid," are one form of neo-colonialism. The peoples of the Asian, African and Latin American countries are firmly opposed to neo-colonialism.

With the help of the compradors and bureaucrat-capitalists, the imperialists have damaged the state-owned economy and, directly or through the so-called International Monetary Fund, and making use of what is called the "programme to stabilize the economy," have succeeded to a certain extent in injecting the poison of neo-colonialism into the Indonesian economy. Thus, the Indonesian economy is to a great extent dependent on the capitalist world economic system. Since Dutch imperialism was ejected from almost every economic field and from West Irian, U.S. imperialism has replaced Dutch imperialism to become the most dangerous, the enemy No. 1 of the Indonesian people.

As the reality of the Indonesian countryside shows, the feudal nature of land relations remains unchanged while the peasants are living in poverty and dependence on the feudal landlords. This can be proved by the following facts:

Firstly, the landlords have a monopoly of the land tilled by the landless peasants.

Today the fundamental goal of the struggle of the Indonesian Communist Party and the peasants is to abolish landlord monopoly ownership of land and to realize the slogan "land to the peasants."

Secondly, peasants pay the landlords ground rent in kind, which, amounting to 50 per cent or more of what a peasant produces, impoverishes most of the peasants.

In view of this kind of exploitation by the landlords, the revolutionary movement puts forward for the peasants a demand for a better ratio of distribution; this is generally known as the demand of six to four, which means that at least 60 per cent of the produce should go to the peasants who till the land while the land-owners at most should only get 40 per cent.

Thirdly, peasants working on landlords' land are virtually slaves because there is the system of corvee and all kinds of forced labour.

Fourthly, heavy debts are strangling the overwhelming majority of peasants who are being enslaved by the landlords and usurers. For example, the average monthly interest is from 10 to 100 per cent; the upcoming harvest as green shoots in the field is sold at an average price equivalent to 25 to 50 per cent of the price at harvest time; there are many other examples.

The drawing up of the Decree on the Harvest Distribution Contract and the Basic Decree on Land is the result of the peasants' revolutionary struggle combined with the revolutionaries' struggle in parliament. Although these two decrees only limit, but do not abolish, feudal exploitation in the countryside, their implementation has been very slow and suffered much sabotage. While supporting these two decrees, the Indonesian Communist Party has explained to the peasants its own land programme.

So, present-day Indonesian society is still a semi-feudal society that has not yet achieved the complete independence we often talk about.

The revolutionary forces in Indonesia are composed of all classes and groups suffering imperialist and feudal oppression. They are the proletariat (the working class), the peasants, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and other democrats. They must be united in an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal national united front based on the worker-peasant alliance and led by the working class. The moving force of the Indonesian revolution includes the firmly anti-imperialist working class, the peasants, petty bourgeoisie and other democrats whose interests suffer at the hands of the imperialists. They are also the progressive forces in Indonesia because they are firm in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution, because they are the working people and, moreover, can accept socialism. But from the viewpoint of importance and size, the basic force of the Indonesian revolution is the peasantry.

In Indonesian society there exist three kinds of forces, namely, the diehards (who are the obstacle to the revolution and the object of the revolution), the middle force and the progressives, each having a concept of their own regarding the Indonesian revolution. In relation to these three forces, the political line of the Indonesian Communist Party is to develop untiringly and to the best of its ability the progressive force, unite with the middle force and isolate the diehard force. In order to change the balance of forces in Indonesian society, it is most important to carry out this political line. Up to now, the implementation of this line is in conformity with what we have stipulated, that is, the progressive force grows stronger, the national unity has been further strengthened and the reactionaries are becoming daily more isolated. In the national united front against imperialism and feudalism, the tactic of uniting with while struggling against the national bourgeoisie is manifested in the practical activities of the cadres and members of the Indonesian Communist Party in various spheres of life and in Indonesia's revolutionary struggle.

At its present stage, the Indonesian revolution is a bourgeois democratic revolution in nature, not a proletarian socialist revolution. But the bourgeois democratic revolution in Indonesia is no longer of the old type, nor a part of the out-dated world bourgeois democratic revolution; it is of a new type and, moreover, part of the world proletarian socialist revolution firmly opposed to imperialism.

In view of the fact that the Indonesian revolution is a new-type bourgeois democratic revolution, it is the historical task of the proletariat to contend for the leadership of the revolution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said that the condition for winning the leading position in the revolution is to put forward "basic political slogans in accordance with historical development," that the Party should "set an example" in realizing "these specific aims," "establish proper relations with its allies and develop and consolidate this alliance," and that "the Communist Party must expand its ranks, maintain ideological unity and observe strict discipline." Having studied the above-mentioned thesis of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, we are able to say that, as of late, the Indonesian working class and the Indonesian Communist Party have already brought about these conditions. Of course, these conditions, though already realized, still need to be continuously reinforced.

The future of the Indonesian revolution is socialism and communism, not capitalism. This special feature lies

not only in the fact that our present era is an era of transition to socialism but that a concrete revolutionary struggle is now being unfolded in Indonesia, striving for the victory of the new-type bourgeois democratic revolution, the people's democratic revolution, or the national-democratic revolution, which is the first stage of the revolution, so as to continue to develop it in the future into a socialist revolution, or the second stage of the Indonesian revolution. The present-day revolutionary movement in Indonesia led by the Indonesian Communist Party is an integrated revolutionary movement; its task consists of two revolutionary stages, the democratic stage in preparation for the socialist stage and the future socialist stage as a continuation of the democratic stage.

For the Indonesian people, there is no other road to take apart from the socialist road. The capitalist road has been blocked because neither the Indonesian working people nor the imperialists will allow Indonesia to take that path. The Indonesian working people do not allow Indonesia to take the capitalist road because they want to take the socialist road. The imperialists do not allow Indonesia to take the capitalist road because, as far as they are concerned, a semi-colonial or a neo-colonial Indonesia is the only one that suits them. The imperialists will not allow the Indonesian capitalists to develop freely because this kind of development is tantamount to tolerating the birth and growth of a competitor they do not like. This being the case, Indonesian capitalists are regarded as people who can only become imperialism's compradors. To take the semi-colonial or neo-colonial road means to let present condition continue, but this is also impossible because the whole population, especially the working people, already have a strong desire to change the present situation and this can be achieved only by taking the socialist road.

To take the socialist road, the Indonesian Communist Party has set itself the task of building, consolidating and reinforcing the vanguard role of the proletariat in the Indonesian revolution. Only in this way will it be really possible to turn the present national and democratic revolution in Indonesia into a part of the world proletarian socialist revolution, thereby assuring Indonesia's revolution of a socialist and communist future.

2. Building of the Party Since 1951

An important event in the reconstruction of the Party was the plenary session of the Central Committee at the beginning of 1951 called under pressure from the Leninists in the Central Committee. In this meeting the opponents to the "New Road" were defeated and a new political bureau was formed. The Party journals, both *Revolutionary Tribune* published underground and *Red Star*, played important roles in the preparation of the victory of the Leninists. The new political bureau exercised its leadership with energetic efforts in accordance with the line of the "New Road" and successfully laid down a Marxist-Leninist constitution for the Indonesian Communist Party. Materials concerning the Party constitutions and the experience of Party building of other Communist Parties, the Chinese Communist Party in particular, gave us great assistance in working out our Party's Constitution. Combined with the concrete experience of Party building gained by the Indonesian Communist Party in the course

of its history, our Party Constitution played an important role in the reconstruction of the Party.

The experience of the Indonesian Communist Party in the period of Party reconstruction can be summarized as follows: in conditions where the Party was in a state of organizational, political and ideological confusion, what was most urgently needed was to work for the firm solidarity and ideological unity in the organ of central leadership (the Central Committee). After this, steps should be taken, from the upper level downwards, to re-establish Party organizations at the lower levels. As soon as the committees of the lower level Party organizations had taken root and begun to develop, there would be further development of inner-Party democracy.

In the course of the work of establishing a nationwide mass party, the Indonesian Communist Party encountered all sorts of special problems brought about by the actual situation of our state and our nation. In the first place, Indonesia is an archipelago made up of thousands of islands on which the Party had to establish organizations and committees. The solution to this problem lay not only in drawing the people who lived on these islands into the Party but also in the solution of the problems of communications, transport and liaison networks. In these circumstances the extremely great significance of the ideological unity of the whole Party became all the more obvious. Only through such unity was it possible for all the regional committees and leading cadres to base themselves firmly on the general line and Programme of the Party while carrying out their work independently and with full measure of initiative. This is the special meaning of our wanting to found the Party on a nationwide scale.

The next problem was that of the various nationalities and the citizens of foreign descent in Indonesia. The Indonesian nation is made up of many nationalities differing in language, customs and levels of social development, as well as of citizens of foreign descent, such as citizens of European, Arab and Chinese ancestry. The most fundamental problem of striking root among the nationalities is the peasant problem. The Party's cadres have carried out their work and established the Party organization by basing themselves resolutely on the Indonesian Communist Party's land programme. One of the most important factors in the development of the Party among all nationalities has been the Party's policy striving for complete equality of rights among all nationalities. Because of this policy, the Party has begun to take root among all the nationalities and healthy competition has developed within the Party in developing those things in each nationality which are helpful and beneficial to the working people so as to achieve complete national independence and total solidarity in the anti-imperialist struggle. In carrying out this policy the Indonesian Communist Party has also launched a struggle against big-nation chauvinism and parochial nationalism. These two tendencies both have their origins in bourgeois ideology.

On the question of citizens of foreign descent, the Indonesian Communist Party has always demanded the carrying out of the policy of equal rights for "native inhabitants" and citizens of foreign descent and opposed all racial discrimination. Owing to the occurrence of

racialist counter-revolutionary incidents in the recent past (May 1963) which mainly involved the destruction of Chinese property, the Indonesian Communist Party has laid down its policy towards citizens of foreign descent in even more concrete terms. This policy is called the policy of revolutionary integration. That is to say, the Indonesian Communist Party is strengthening its work among citizens of foreign descent organizing them into the Indonesian Communist Party or the revolutionary mass bodies, so that they will take an active part in the revolutionary struggle. This policy is of great significance both in eradicating surviving influences of racialism in the ranks of the proletariat itself and in destroying manifestations of exclusivism among citizens of foreign descent. This policy has also shown citizens of foreign descent a way forward, and more and more of them are realizing that, in dealing with racialism and chauvinism on the part of the "native inhabitants," they cannot adopt an attitude of "keeping aloof from politics" and that they must adopt an attitude of dealing with racialism and chauvinism through active participation in revolutionary political activities. The policy of revolutionary integration is also of great value in defeating the policy of so-called "assimilation," which in fact amounts to forcing citizens of foreign descent to change their names and alter their customs and their cultural traditions. The policy of revolutionary integration is, in fact, a policy strengthening the course of the Indonesian nation to socialism, in contrast with the bourgeois policy of "assimilation," which, in fact, strengthens the course to capitalism.

Since 1952 the Indonesian Communist Party has held several large-scale campaigns to increase Party membership, and has never in fact failed to accompany each with a simultaneous movement for educating Party members. In particular, new members have to study the Programme and Constitution of the Party while old members have to study Party documents and Marxist-Leninist theoretical works systematically. For example, the movements for leading cadres to study Lenin's *Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder* in 1951 and 1952 played a decisive role in ridding the Party of the defect of sectarianism. The movement for studying Comrade Liu Shao-chi's *On the Mass Line* was of the greatest help to the cadres of the Indonesian Communist Party in building a Party rooted in the masses. Similarly, Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works *On Practice, On Contradiction* and *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* were of the greatest significance to the Indonesian Communist Party in learning to summarize its own experience and in resolving contradictions within the Party.

With the formal inauguration of the First Three-Year Plan for organizational and educational work on August 17, 1956, a new, unified system of Marxist-Leninist education was begun in Party schools at all levels. All kinds of Party schools and training groups were organized from the central down to the basic-level organizations. Their educational content was closely linked to the tasks of the Party in a given period. Thus, through education within the Party it was possible to equip ourselves ideologically and sweep aside ideological obstacles, so as to bring about the successful completion of all the Party's tasks.

During the First Three-Year Plan four courses were taught at Party schools and in training groups at all levels. They were the history of social development, basic problems of the Indonesian revolution, questions of the national united front and the questions of building the Party. In the Central Party School an additional course was taught: dialectical materialism and historical materialism.

The Second Three-Year Plan was called the Plan for Educational and Organizational Work, and during the period of this plan educational work was further strengthened. The Indonesian Communist Party pointed out with great emphasis that while to build up the Party organizationally was important, it was still more important to build up the ideological level of the Party.

Another important course was added at Party schools at all levels: the international workers' movement. The main aim in starting this course was to strengthen education in patriotism and proletarian internationalism so as to combat national nihilism and chauvinism.

The proletarian internationalism of the Indonesian Communists has been tested many times by domestic and foreign events. One of these was the incident of the Hungarian counter-revolutionary revolt (in 1956) and question of Soviet aid to the Hungarian Workers' and Peasants' Government for its suppression. The Indonesian Communist Party fully and unhesitatingly supported the actions of the Soviet Government. Another test was the carrying out of the Presidential Decree No. 10 in 1959 which was intended to strike at small traders of Chinese descent and at friendship between the Republic of Indonesia and the People's Republic of China. The latest outbreak of racialist counter-revolutionary disturbances was for a similar purpose. We may say that the Indonesian Communist Party has passed these tests. The Indonesian Communists resolutely combated racialism and defended the friendship between the Republic of Indonesia and the People's Republic of China. Taking this attitude has not done the Indonesian Communist Party any harm; it has actually had the opposite effect: in taking this attitude the Party has been able to call on the whole nation to deliver a powerful blow against racialist counter-revolutionary disturbances, and so speed up still more the growth of the Party.

The experience of the Indonesian Communist Party in carrying on systematic Marxist-Leninist education demonstrates that it is most important to put the emphasis from the very beginning on educating the cadres at the central level (in the Central Committee and the big-area committees) as they are the backbone of the whole Party organization. When this has been done this education will spread down to the lower levels.

In the First Three-Year Plan we trained a great number of cadres and activists: 301,884 of them in fact—over 30 times the number of full and candidate Party members in 1951.

In carrying out our educational plans, we also held specialized discussion meetings on some political and organizational questions, and meetings for theoretical discussions, and we initiated various kinds of rectification movements to overcome the mistaken thoughts and tendencies that can emerge at every stage of the struggle.

By carrying out the plans made for building up the Party—and in particular by its work in the educational field—the Party has achieved one of its greatest successes since 1951: the Indonesian Communists have achieved Marxist-Leninist ideological unity.

One of the most important experiences in building up the Indonesian Communist Party has been in carrying out work in a planned way. From 1951 onwards, working to a plan has become the generally used method of work within the Party.

Practical experience in building up the Indonesian Communist Party has fully demonstrated that working to a plan and planning revolutionary activities is not only desirable and possible but is, moreover, necessary. From the theoretical viewpoint the method of working to a plan is completely correct and Marxist-Leninist.

Another advantage of this working method is that it can train cadres to carry on all kinds of work at the same time, to combine different kinds of work, to combine stirring work with hard and diligent efforts, and to know at every moment which task is the most important.

Starting from August 17, 1963, our Party began to implement its grand third plan, that is, its Four-Year Plan of cultural, ideological and organizational work. Like our past plans, this is also a plan for revolution. Therefore, if the targets set under the plan are fulfilled, this will exercise an extremely important influence on the progress of the Indonesian revolutionary movement. Many urgent tasks in Party building are listed in the plan.

In carrying out the tasks of cultural work set by this plan, the Indonesian Communist Party will launch a large-scale movement to raise the cultural level of the working people, particularly Communists; this includes the wiping out of illiteracy, the development of general education ranging from primary- to middle-school education, special education in the arts and other specialized knowledge and even the establishment of all sorts of colleges and universities.

The more the Party develops, the greater the varieties of work Party cadres will undertake. The present stage of struggle demands that right now we train cadres from Communists with general and specialized knowledge, that is to train cadres to become "both Communists and experts." This is one of the main targets of the Four-Year Plan.

In carrying out the tasks in ideological work set in the Four-Year Plan, the Indonesian Communists take as their task the acceleration of the work which we started in the First and Second Three-Year Plans. In this respect, we shall pay special attention to training teachers for Party schools and theoretical workers.

During the period of the Second Three-Year Plan, the Indonesian Communist Party established the Central Party School equivalent to college level and with a study period of three years. This is to meet the needs of the Party for theoretical workers. The Party's practical experience in revolution has been enriched and is developing at a very rapid rate, but the work to sum up these experiences theoretically still lags behind.

It is also one of the urgent tasks in the Four-Year Plan to carry on Marxist-Leninist ideological education among artists and writers. The Party now exercises a

far-reaching influence among artists and writers, but it does insufficient Marxist-Leninist education among them. As a result, their creative work still lags behind the political progress of the Party.

The wider revolutionary concepts spread in Indonesian society, the greater grow the number of progressives who want to study Marxism. The Four-Year Plan lays down that we should organize certain forces to help them. Then, not only the people inside the Party, but the progressives outside the Party, with the assistance of the Party, will study Marxism.

As to organizational tasks under the Four-Year Plan, it is laid down that the number of Party members and members of the mass organizations should be doubled.

Work among the masses, especially among the peasants, will also be carried on and strengthened continually. Essentially our revolution is an agrarian revolution. Though the Party has made tremendous progress in its work among the peasants, its achievements are still far from being sufficient. The Party must strengthen the work of investigation and study in the rural areas and accelerate the training of peasant cadres. In recruiting new Party members special emphasis must be put on recruiting peasants.

Correct methods of leadership are an important factor for progress in organizational work. The Sixth National Congress of the Indonesian Communist Party emphasized this point and the Seventh National Congress once again emphatically pointed this up. The First Plenary Session of the Party's Central Committee, convened in February 1963, held further concrete discussions on the question of methods of leadership. This concerns the question of integrating the general call with concrete guidance, of linking leadership with the masses. The plenary session emphatically pointed out: methods of leadership must be combined with a correct style of work, that is, the style of work of integrating theory with practice, keeping close contact with the masses and conducting self-criticism. During the Four-Year Plan, this method of leadership must be resolutely carried out not only within the Party but also in the mass organizations.

Fulfilment of these tasks will enable the Indonesian Communist Party to develop further on a wider scale and achieve further consolidation; it will also equip our Party cadres with ability, courage and culture. To complete these tasks, the Indonesian Communist Party calls on its cadres to firmly carry out the following: to work well, study well and maintain a high moral standard. When this Four-Year Plan is completed, the Indonesian Communist Party will be in a better position to take great and important steps to complete the Indonesian revolution.

3. The Programme of the Indonesian Communist Party, the Political Manifesto, and Certain Tactics Of the Indonesian Communist Party

For those who want to understand the present revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people, it is most important to know the common points and differences between the Programme of the Indonesian Communist Party and the Political Manifesto of the Republic of Indonesia. On the one hand, the Indonesian Communist Party has its own programme, a complete programme which was basically formulated by the Fifth National

Congress of the Indonesian Communist Party in 1954 and amended and supplemented by the Sixth National Congress in 1959 and the Seventh National Congress in 1962. On the other hand, the Indonesian Communists have the Political Manifesto, namely, the speech of President Sukarno delivered on August 17, 1959, and the details for its concrete implementation which have become the common programme of the Indonesian people and have been approved by the Provisional People's Consultative Conference as the Outline of the National Policy of the Indonesian Republic.

The resolute struggle waged by the Indonesian people under the leadership of the Indonesian Communist Party has successfully convinced the broad masses of the correctness of the Programme of the Indonesian Communist Party. The Programme of the Indonesian Communist Party is one against imperialism and feudalism, so naturally there is a very close link between the Political Manifesto and the Indonesian Communist Party Programme; moreover, the struggle of the Indonesian people waged under the leadership of the Indonesian Communist Party has clarified the contents of the Political Manifesto and ensures its scientific interpretation and resolute implementation.

Both the Programme of the Indonesian Communist Party and the Political Manifesto which has become the common programme of the Indonesian people point out that there are two stages in the Indonesian revolution, namely: the national-democratic stage and the socialist stage. This constitutes the common starting point of the general strategy of the Indonesian revolution. Though the Programme of the Indonesian Communist Party and the Political Manifesto have different ways of presenting the basic questions of the Indonesian revolution at the present stage such as the targets, tasks, strength, character and future of the revolution, actually they have their common points.

There are certain differences between the Programme of the Indonesian Communist Party and the Political Manifesto. The Programme of the Indonesian Communist Party is the programme of the working class to carry through the Indonesian revolution, while the Political Manifesto is the common programme of all the Indonesian people to carry through the Indonesian revolution (a programme for co-operation with other classes). From this it can be seen clearly that the most important difference lies in the question of the leadership of the revolution. The Programme of the Indonesian Communist Party clearly points out that to achieve the aims of the Indonesian revolution the revolutionary leadership must be in the hands of the working class. It is impossible to expect that the question of the leadership of the working class should be included in the Political Manifesto. The Political Manifesto only points out that the workers and the peasants are the supporters of the revolution and it says nothing about which class shoulders the task of leading the revolution.

In its programmatic statement, the Programme of the Indonesian Communist Party is clearly divided into a general programme and a programme of specific demands; while making a clear distinction between the two, it also shows their mutual relations. The general programme is the strategic programme and the line, while the programme of specific demands is the executive guide for carrying

out the general programme or, in other words, it paves the way for implementation of the general programme. The demand for the formation of a Cabinet of Mutual Help and Co-operation (Kabinet Gotong Rojong) with NASAKOM as its core is a tactical demand to realize the future strategic demand: the people's government or the people's democratic government. Should the Political Manifesto be carried out by those who do not understand the differences and mutual relations between the two, confusion will result. The Indonesian Communist Party persists in its Programme, so that it can continue to give a correct interpretation of the Political Manifesto and lead the people correctly and resolutely to carry out the Political Manifesto.

When held in the hands of the Indonesian Communist Party and people, the Political Manifesto is a weapon to unite the Indonesian people to wage the struggle for complete national independence and democracy and against imperialism, feudalism, the bureaucrat-capitalists and comprador elements.

The question of slogans plays an important role in the struggle to carry out the Party's policies. In 1956 the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party put forward the strategic slogan of "Unite and strive for the realization of the demands of the August 1945 Revolution!" This slogan has played a very important role in widely disseminating the correct understanding of the basic questions concerning the Indonesian revolution, that is, the bourgeois democratic revolution of a new type. In addition, the Fifth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party put forward in 1957 the tactical slogan of "Changing the balance of forces so as to realize President Sukarno's plan 100 per cent!" and this has played a significant role in uniting all kinds of revolutionary forces so as to fulfil the demand for the organization of a national coalition government or the formation of a Cabinet of Mutual Help and Co-operation with NASAKOM as its core.

In order to guide the development of the political situation, the Indonesian Communist Party is carrying out the following general line: continuing to build up the national united front and continuing to build up the Party so as to fulfil thoroughly the demands of the August 1945 Revolution. Following this general line, the Indonesian Communists hold aloft the Party's three banners: 1) the banner of the national united front; 2) the banner of Party building; and 3) the banner of the August 1945 Revolution.

To the Indonesian Communists, holding aloft the banner of the national united front means at the present time strengthening its work among the peasants, strengthening its work among the national united front organizations and enhancing the unity of NASAKOM, namely, the unity of the nationalists, the religious circles and the Communists on the basis of the common programme of the Political Manifesto. Without a vigorous and resolutely anti-feudal peasant movement, a broad, firm national united front against imperialism cannot be established, nor can there be a mighty national united front organization or powerful NASAKOM co-operation.

To hold high the banner of Party building means to carry on and to perfect the work of building up a nation-

wide Party which is fully consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally. The Indonesian Communist Party can accomplish its historical tasks only if it has a large number of cadres who are imbued with communist morality and are professionally skilled. Such cadres, the most politically conscious executors of the Party's political and organizational lines, can have a decisive effect on the Party's achievements.

To hold high the banner of the August 1945 Revolution means to rally as many of the people around us as possible and to strive for the thorough realization of the demands of the August Revolution, that is, to eliminate the existing forces of imperialism and feudalism in Indonesia. The banner of the August Revolution is an affirmation of the importance of utilizing the experience of the struggle during the period of the August 1945 Revolution. The experience of that revolution taught us that guerrilla warfare was of extreme importance in the defence of Indonesian sovereignty. But had we adopted the method of combining the three forms of struggle, that is, guerrilla fighting (mainly by the peasants) in the rural areas, revolutionary struggles of the workers (mainly communications and transport workers) in the cities, and effective and more intensified work among the enemy's armed forces, the guerrilla war at that time would have been more effectively waged and, moreover, would have been successful.

To hold high the banner of the August 1945 Revolution also means to carry out three forms of struggle, that is, to work well among the peasants in the rural areas, among the workers (mainly communications and transport workers) in the cities, and to forge close ties between the armed forces and the people so that these armed sons of the workers and peasants will not be used by the reactionaries against the people.

In order to mobilize the strength of the entire nation, the Indonesian Communist Party raises high the three banners of the nation—democracy, unity and mobilization—which were raised for the first time at the Party's Seventh National Congress. At first, the slogan of holding high the three banners of the nation was put forward for the purpose of firmly opposing wartime martial law, which suppressed democratic life in a most severe way, of consolidating the national united front rooted in NASAKOM and of mobilizing the masses of the people to liberate West Irian and overcome the crisis in clothing and food supplies. Holding aloft the three banners of the nation, the Indonesian Communist Party shouts the slogan "Struggle with one hand on the gun and the other on the hoe!"

Today, while holding high the three banners of the Party and three banners of the nation, the Indonesian Communists call on the masses of the people to carry out the three most pressing tasks of the nation: 1) to consolidate the victories already won; 2) to overcome its economic difficulties; and 3) to oppose neo-colonialism. Hence we usually say: Hold high the two sets of three banners and carry out the three tasks.

4. The Communist Party of Indonesia and the International Communist Movement

The essence of the differences in the international communist movement at present boils down, in the final analysis, to a question of the international communist

movement's strategy and tactics in the world socialist revolution. On a previous occasion I pointed out that the differences in the varying views in the international communist movement stem from the question of what way will enable us to bury imperialism most quickly. The question is "What is the best way to bury imperialism?" The wrong way would prolong the existence of imperialism, and that would be to its advantage. To defend with unsparing efforts what is obviously wrong and what has been proved more and more clearly to be advantageous to imperialism, would be a different matter, a matter no longer within the scope of how to bury imperialism.

Why is it that it is precisely the imperialists and revisionists who are at the bottom of the rift in the international communist movement? Because the international communist movement is the main obstacle to the imperialists, who concentrate all their energy on smashing the international communist movement. Apart from their usual tactics (violence and intrigues), they use the revisionists, first of all, the Yugoslav modern revisionists.

Today, when the international communist movement has become the most influential political force in our age, the imperialists and revisionists are directing their spearhead against it.

Past experience proves that an enduring unity must have a solid foundation—a foundation that cannot be affected by changes in circumstances and that never gets rusty with time. Particularly at this stage of the international communist movement, the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960 are, as the Indonesian Communist Party has often pointed out, the foundations on which the international communist movement today must anchor itself. That is to say, the international communist movement must eliminate the poison of revisionism and hold firm to the kernel of Marxism-Leninism. This means to cherish revolution warmly and to oppose imperialism in all its respects. At the same time, we must continuously oppose both classic and modern dogmatism, because dogmatism, too, impedes the advance of revolution.

The cadres of the Indonesian Communist Party are stimulated and they take a more deeply critical attitude in studying and drawing upon the experience of the international communist movement. Events are spurring them on to make an ever deeper study of Marxist-Leninist theory. It is the policy of the Indonesian Communist Party to put all the available material on the international communist movement within the reach of all, in order that they can use the approach of the Indonesian Communist Party to the questions facing the international communist movement to study and discuss this material in a critical spirit.

You comrades are already quite familiar with the attitude of the Indonesian Communist Party towards the current problems of the international communist movement. The Indonesian Communist Party was one of the first Marxist-Leninist parties to propose talks between the Soviet and the Chinese Parties. We are therefore glad that talks between the Soviet and Chinese Parties were held in July, and that they were not terminated but will be resumed in the future. Since we are aware of the seriousness of the questions at issue and their essence, we do not hope for more than this.

Experience up to now proves that in adopting an independent attitude towards the problems in the international communist movement, the Indonesian Communist Party has been able to enhance inner-Party unity. To be independent is not to be neutral, but is to hold firm to Marxism-Leninism, to play a positive role in eliminating the rift in the international communist movement. By holding aloft the banner of independence of a Marxist-Leninist party, we give expression to the principle of equality and independence guiding the relations between the Communist Parties of the world. Thus, serious as the contradictions within the international communist movement may be, we are able to safeguard and strengthen unity within the Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The adoption of an independent attitude has taught the cadres of the Indonesian Communist Party to take a critical attitude in their approach to various problems and enabled the Party to reject dogmatism and keep it well away, thereby greatly advancing the work of the Party in "Indonesianizing" Marxism-Leninism, in other words, in fully combining the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the revolution in Indonesia. The Indonesian Communist Party has consistently safeguarded its close friendship with other fraternal Parties and refrained from interfering in their internal affairs. That is to say, it has consistently taught its members in day-to-day activities constantly to learn from other fraternal Parties; at the same time, it expects that other Parties will not interfere in its internal affairs. This is entirely in accord with the principle guiding the relations between Marxist-Leninist parties as set forth in the Statement of 1960. It is clear to all that we can benefit from both the positive and the negative experience of other fraternal Parties. We can even learn from a bad teacher, that is to say, we can learn how not to become like such a teacher.

The Communist Party of Indonesia adopts an attitude of resolutely combating imperialism with the slogan "We love peace but we love independence still more." That is to say, the most important thing is that only by directing the revolutionary struggle against imperialism with the United States at its head can peace be preserved and the unity of the international communist movement be strengthened.

The Statement of 1960 stresses the importance of the struggle against modern revisionism. From our experience we are clear that the Yugoslav modern revisionists are continuing in a way that was severely criticized by the 1960 Statement. This is borne out by the fact that they have been spreading the idea of a "third road" in an attempt to lead astray the struggle of the countries now fighting imperialism and neo-colonialism. Everyone knows that this "third road" idea has been opposed in Indonesia. People hold high the banner of the idea of revolution, the revolutionary idea that there are two mutually opposed forces in the world today — the new emerging forces versus the old dying forces. The Yugoslav revisionists engage in demagogy and are trying to obstruct the formation of a NASAKOM cabinet in Indonesia. The Indonesian people are implacably opposed to the Malaysian confederation, while the modern Yugoslav revisionists have voiced their agreement. The Yugoslav revisionists are also painstakingly undermining and splitting the rev-

olutionary movement of the people of various Asian and African countries.

Yugoslavia has been increasingly degenerating into a country serving the interests of the capitalist bloc. This is borne out by the fact that U.S. economic aid accounts for one-third of Yugoslavia's budget every year and by 1962 the total amount had reached 3,500 million U.S. dollars. Following the publication of the 1960 Statement, i.e., since 1961, Yugoslavia has "liberalized" its foreign trade, stimulating its import and export trade, while paralysing domestic industrial production.

Therefore, as is stressed in the 1960 Statement, it is obligatory for us to expose the modern revisionists of Yugoslavia resolutely.

At the present time no Communists can cut themselves off from the serious and real differences existing in the international communist movement, nor can they assume a neutral attitude towards them. Because of its correct attitude towards the differences arising in the communist movement, the Indonesian Communist Party has suffered no damage in its growth; the contrary is the case. This can be seen from the fact that the Indonesian Communist Party has registered a steady growth, its theoretical level has steadily risen and the Marxist-Leninist spirit of its cadres and members is being continuously enhanced.

In face of the serious differences of views within the international communist movement, the Communists of Indonesia are more aware than ever of the correctness of their attitude in this period, namely, one of independence, loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, loyalty to the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, struggle against subjectivism and struggle against classical and modern revisionism and classical and modern dogmatism. Faced with the serious and substantial differences of views within the international communist movement, the Communists of Indonesia regard this as a temporary phenomenon and are therefore imbued with realistic optimism.

The comrades will see from what I have said above that we Indonesian Communists have learnt a great deal from the Chinese revolution and from the revolutions of other countries, too. Now as always, we shall be modest in learning from the Chinese revolution and the revolutions of other countries.

We shall continue modestly and sincerely to study Marxism-Leninism. At the present stage of the struggle of the international communist movement especially we should study Marxism-Leninism more, in order to acquire a real understanding of the meaning of Marxist-Leninist teachings. Only by so doing can we avoid becoming sham Marxist-Leninists or wobbling statesmen; only so can we firmly uphold the real Marxist-Leninist stand.

Indonesian Communists feel that they have embarked on the correct road, the road of fully combining the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the revolution in Indonesia. We have to a certain extent "Indonesianized" Marxism-Leninism. But it is not possible that there is now no room for improvement here. Therefore, as regards our work and study, we hold firm to our slogan: "Know Marxism-Leninism well and grasp the facts."