

Some Questions of the Indonesian Revolution and the Communist Party Of Indonesia

At the Peking mass rally on September 4, Comrade D. N. Aidit gave a report entitled "Some Questions of the Indonesian Revolution and the Communist Party of Indonesia." In the first part of this report, he gave a brief outline of Indonesian history and the growth of the national movement and then dealt with the basic questions of the Indonesian revolution, the question of the national united front and the question of state power in the Indonesian Republic. In the second part of his report, he dealt with some experiences in building the Party. Following are excerpts from this report.—Ed.

THE national revolution which broke out in August 1945 was an upsurge in Indonesia's national-liberation struggle. With the proclamation of the founding of the Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 1945, the Indonesian people took the state power into their own hands. In the course of the revolution, the Indonesian people have waged a firm struggle against their main enemy—imperialism. However, another major enemy—the feudal landlord class which provides the most important social basis for imperialist domination—has not yet been overthrown. Therefore, Indonesian society is still semi-feudal in nature.

The anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle is still going on. Imperialism still has quite a big influence in political power and in the economy. U.S. imperialism has now replaced Dutch imperialism and become the No.1 enemy of the Indonesian people. Meanwhile, Dutch imperialism remains a dangerous enemy, and other imperialist countries, such as Britain, West Germany and Japan, are intensifying their penetration into Indonesia. The influence of feudal landlords still largely survives and is one of the props of the domestic reactionary forces.

The Indonesian working class and its political party—the Communist Party of Indonesia, born on May 23, 1920—from the very beginning integrated itself with the national movement and became the vanguard of its Left wing. On the basis of an analysis of the Indonesian society and the Indonesian revolution, the Constitution of the Indonesian Communist Party stresses that the Indonesian revolution is protracted and complex. In order to be able to guide the revolution, the Indonesian Communist Party must carry the people's revolutionary struggle forward by using the tactics of advancing steadily and carefully but surely. In the course of the struggle, the Indonesian Communist Party must consistently oppose two trends: capitulationism and adventurism.

Basic Questions of the Indonesian Revolution

The August Revolution has taught the Communists of Indonesia the following: the nature of the revolution in Indonesia; which classes support the revolution and which oppose it; the reasons why a national united front is indispensable for the victory of the revolution; which allies

of the proletariat are reliable, and which allies are wavering and, under certain circumstances, would betray the revolution. The August Revolution has also taught us that armed struggle is the most important form of struggle in the revolution. One of the main lessons derived from the August Revolution is that the national-democratic revolution of Indonesia can only be victorious when the working class seizes absolute leadership of the revolution. In order to achieve this, the Indonesian Communist Party must be able to combine the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution and it must "Indonesianize" Marxism-Leninism.

Since Indonesia is still a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society, the targets (enemies) of the revolution are imperialism and feudalism. The tasks of the revolution are to carry out a national revolution to drive out imperialism and to carry out a democratic revolution to eliminate feudalism. The driving forces of the revolution are the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and other democrats who suffer from imperialism and resolutely oppose it. The national bourgeoisie are capable of taking part in the revolution. At the present stage, the Indonesian revolution is not a socialist revolution of the proletariat but a national-democratic revolution or a bourgeois democratic revolution. The future of the revolution is socialism and communism and not capitalism.

The Communist Party of Indonesia advances the theory that there are three forces existing in Indonesia, namely, the progressive force, the middle force and the diehard force. Facts have proved the correctness of this. The Party's line towards these three forces is to develop the progressive force, unite with the middle force and isolate the diehard force. While uniting with the middle force, the Party also conducts struggles with it. The Party unites with the middle force in order to oppose imperialism and feudalism. But the Party struggles against it if it wants to weaken the independence of the Party and of the working people's movement or if it wavers in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism.

The Communist Party of Indonesia has put forward another theory: that in the armed struggle like that of the 1945-48 period of the revolution the Party should not have copied the theory of armed struggle in foreign countries but should have adopted a method combining three forms of struggle—guerrilla struggle in the countryside (the participants being mainly hired hands and poor peasants), revolutionary struggle by workers (mainly transport workers) in enemy-held cities and strengthening the work among the enemy armed forces. This is a very important theory which could ensure the victory of guerrilla warfare in a country of islands like Indonesia.

The Communist Party of Indonesia advances the theory that, in order to win the Indonesian revolution, all

its members and the mass of the working people should be educated in the spirit of combining patriotism with proletarian internationalism. The Communists of Indonesia should oppose national nihilism and bourgeois chauvinism.

To be able to guide the development of the political situation, the Party must pursue the general line of continuing to unfold the work of the united front and of building the Party so as to realize thoroughly the demands of the August 1945 Revolution. In other words, the Communists of Indonesia should hold high the three banners of the Party—the banner of the united front, the banner of Party building and the banner of the August 1945 Revolution. The general line of the Communist Party regarding the united front is to form an anti-imperialist united front of the working class, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie under the leadership of the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance against feudalism. The general line regarding Party building is to build a Party throughout the country that has a broad mass character and is completely consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally. The general line of the Communist Party of Indonesia concerning the revolution of August 1945 is to use all the experience in struggle, mobilize the broad masses and teach them to prepare themselves for all eventualities.

Questions of the National United Front

The Fifth National Congress of the Indonesian Communist Party set the formation of a national united front as its most urgent task. The congress pointed out that the basis for the front was the worker-peasant alliance.

On the question of the national bourgeoisie, the August Revolution provided the Indonesian Communist Party with important experience about the wavering character of this class. Under certain circumstances, the national bourgeoisie can take part in the revolution and side with the revolution with a clear-cut attitude, as shown in the initial period of the August Revolution. However, under other circumstances, it wavers and changes sides, as shown during the provocative Madiun incident manufactured by the Hatta government. The national bourgeoisie also surrendered to imperialism and agreed to the treacherous Round Table Conference Agreement. Therefore, the proletariat and the Communist Party of Indonesia must perseveringly strive to win the national bourgeoisie over to the side of the revolution and at the same time must guard against its possible betrayal of the revolution.

In the light of the tradition of the national-liberation struggle of Indonesia, there were three major political trends against Dutch colonial rule, namely, the nationalist trend, the religious (mainly Islam) trend and the communist trend. If, therefore, these three political trends form a NASAKOM, one can say that the national unity of Indonesia is achieved.

Apart from the worker-peasant alliance and the NASAKOM unity, national unity in Indonesia also finds expression in the form of the National Front under the chairmanship of President Sukarno. The Vice-Chairmen of the National Front are representatives of the three sides of the NASAKOM. The National Front has adopted a five-point programme as the guide for its activities. This five-point programme accords with the three current tasks

of the Communist Party of Indonesia (to consolidate the victories already won, overcome economic difficulties and continue the struggle against neo-colonialism).

The Question of State Power in Indonesia

The most fundamental question in every revolution is the question of state power. The Indonesian Communist Party appreciates the correctness of this formula not only in theory but also in practice and as a result of bitter lessons.

As early as 1951, the Communist Party of Indonesia put forward the demand for a national coalition government to be formed by those democratic parties and non-party democrats who agreed to annul the Round Table Conference Agreement.

In November 1960, the Provisional People's Consultative Congress adopted the "Political Manifesto of the Republic of Indonesia" as the main line of the state policy. The Political Manifesto, which was a speech made by President Sukarno on August 17, 1959, has truly become the common programme of the entire Indonesian people for carrying out the revolution.

In March 1963, President Sukarno issued another important document: the Economic Declaration. Representatives of the three sides of NASAKOM played an important role in drawing up this declaration.

Embodied in the Political Manifesto and Economic Declaration, progressive political and economic plans for carrying out the Indonesian revolution have, in effect, become official state policy.

Some Experiences in Building the Party

The question of Marxist-Leninist education is a very urgent and decisive one on which the success of building the Party depends. Since 1952, the Indonesian Communist Party has launched several large-scale campaigns to enrol new members, each time synchronized with activities to educate Party members. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works *On Practice*, *On Contradiction* and *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, which was published in 1957, have been of extremely great significance for the Indonesian Communist Party in learning to sum up its own experience and in resolving inner-Party contradictions.

The experience in building the Party leads to the conclusion that the Indonesian Communists have three characteristics: (1) the Party members are educated in the spirit of patriotism and proletarian internationalism; (2) in building the Party, they attach importance to organizational work, but lay even greater emphasis on the ideological aspect; (3) they firmly adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and are flexible in applying these principles.

The work of the Indonesian Communists in building and strengthening the Party cannot be separated from the development of the international communist movement, which exerts a great influence on the building of the Indonesian Communist Party. It is unfortunate that serious differences of views on questions of substance have arisen in the international communist movement. The situation would have been better for the international communist movement and for the Indonesian Communist Party without these differences and public polemics. However,

in the past few years, no Communist could keep aloof from these serious differences on questions of substance in the international communist movement, or take a neutral attitude towards them.

The Communist Party of Indonesia has taken a correct approach to the differences of views in the international communist movement, and therefore has avoided losses in building the Party. This is shown by the continuous growth and consolidation of the Party and the steady increase in its members' understanding of Marxism-Leninism and the strengthening of their Marxist-Leninist spirit. The existence of differences in the international communist movement has helped the Indonesian Communists understand even more clearly the correctness of having an independent attitude. This is the only correct attitude to be taken in this period, an attitude which is loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and loyal to the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, and which is relentless towards subjectivism, classic and modern revisionism, and classic and modern dogmatism.

International Communist Movement

Reply to Khrushchov

Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil

Following are excerpts of the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil adopted on July 27, 1963, and published in the August 1-15 issue of the Brazilian fortnightly "A Classe Operaria."—Ed.

IN its attempt to reply to the arguments raised by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in its June 14 letter, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in an open letter published in *Pravda* on July 14, accused the Chinese comrades of "organizing and supporting various anti-Party groups who come out against the Communist Parties in the United States, Brazil, Italy, Belgium, Australia and India," and mentioned by name members of the leading organ of the Communist Party of Brazil.

The accusation of the C.P.S.U. leaders is extremely absurd and without any reason whatsoever; it runs counter to the interests of the revolutionary movement.

On what ground did the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. make the above-mentioned charge? The leaders of the C.P.S.U. are well aware of the events that have happened in the communist movement in our country since 1956. As a result of these events, two Parties have appeared: the Communist Party of Brazil and the Brazilian Communist Party.

Facts Which Provoked the Split

It is well known that following the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., a powerful revisionist trend appeared in

An important aspect of the experience gained by the Indonesian Communist Party in Party building is to carry out its work according to plan. Since 1951, this has become a method of work universally adopted in the Party. In 1956, the Party started its First Three-Year Plan for organizational and educational work, which was followed by the Second Three-Year Plan for educational and organizational work. Now the Party is in the initial period of a Four-Year Plan for cultural, ideological and organizational work.

The great progress we have made in building the Party is definitely inseparable from the correct political line pursued by the Party. It may well be said that the correctness of the Party's policies is the decisive factor in this progress. The correct policies, which reflect the interests of the revolutionary classes in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle, have rallied more and more people of various social strata round our Party or into our ranks.

The progress in the building of the Party has, on the other hand, created favourable conditions for carrying out the policies of the Party.

the communist ranks, with Agildo Barata as its main spokesman. At that time, the majority of the members of the Communist Party of Brazil and its Central Committee were against the various manifestations of revisionism. Although certain mistakes were committed in the course of the ideological struggle, measures were taken to protect the Party from the influence of the ideas incompatible with the proletariat, and to safeguard the unity of the Party. Luiz Carlos Prestes also took part in this struggle against revisionism. But, after the development in the C.P.S.U. in June 1957 in which Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich and other comrades were excluded from the Party's leading organization, Prestes made a sudden change which seemed difficult to comprehend. He expressed complete agreement with the ideas then upheld by Agildo Barata and his clique. From then on, he has become a fervent defender of revisionism, and notorious persons of this group have all gathered around him. He has become a fanatic apologist for capitalist development in Brazil, working still more energetically than he did when he supported the stand of Earl Browder in 1945.

In March 1958, Prestes, by dint of anti-Party tactics, made the Central Committee adopt a typical opportunist policy. This policy has not only brought serious harm to the Brazilian revolutionary movement but also openly repudiated the militant tradition of the Party.

However, this new political line began to meet with growing opposition in the Central Committee and among Party members. The revisionists were losing ground.