

It becomes clear that the test of a Marxist-Leninist in the Western countries, with their long experience of bourgeois democracy and limited legal freedom, is how he approaches the question of the inevitable day when the ruling class repression in its dying desperation moves to suppress all liberal freedoms and legality.

If he is a revolutionary and not just a talker using Marxist phrases, he is working now to prepare for victory over the class enemy, for socialist victory.

The new developments of Marxist-Leninist theory, so simply but profoundly elaborated by Mao Tse-tung, give all who understand them greater confidence and show us how to fight now and how to prepare for greater battles ahead.

One can make no better start than a study of Mao Tse-tung's great work, *On Contradiction*.

In its conclusion, the article says: It was the use of the main law of Marxist dialectical materialism, contradiction, that enabled Mao Tse-tung to develop the theory of people's war in practice and especially to deal with the question of an army under the leadership of the Party. Before Mao Tse-tung, none of the great Marxist-Leninists had systematically studied this, but he came to the conclusion that, without an army, the people enter battle with their hands tied, and he insisted that how to build such an army is today a burning ques-

tion for the world's Marxist-Leninists. And what was the reaction? Watch our revisionists, those who mouth Marxist phrases, run for cover when the slogan, "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," is advanced. They are timid little people who fear imperialism, who regard it as so strong that it is essential to compromise with it and, in fact, enter its camp, who do not believe that all imperialists are "paper tigers."

The article says that Chairman Mao's theories on people's war are being put into practice with growing success. These theories are Marxist-Leninist world theories, not just something applicable to Chinese conditions.

During the period of the new-democratic revolution, the article says, Mao Tse-tung was in China insisting upon the independence and initiative of the Communist Parties within the united front. It was he who was right. This was because Mao Tse-tung's concepts were based on the correct handling of contradictions.

Finally the article states: Many more examples could be given of the newness and the correctness of the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung, but space precludes. Let me remind you only of Mao Tse-tung's approach which is based on the concept that from practice develops theory and from theory develops a higher level of practice. This is the way forward.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Teachings on People's War Are Indonesian People's Powerful Weapon for Smashing Suharto-Nasution Fascist Military Regime and Establishing People's Democratic Power in Indonesia

— Hailing the publication of the Indonesian version of the
Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung

by the Delegation of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Indonesia

THE Indonesian versions of various works by Comrade Mao Tse-tung which are extremely valuable to the Indonesian people's revolutionary struggle were published in 1967. They include the red booklet *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, *Chairman Mao Tse-tung on People's War* and the first volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Another extremely important collection, the Indonesian version of the *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung*, was published at the beginning of 1968. The Indonesian Communists and the revolutionary people of Indonesia warmly hail the publication of this work much needed in our struggle. The publication of this book is really a tremendous internationalist aid from the great Chinese people and the glorious Chinese Communist

Party, under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, to the armed struggle now being developed by the Indonesian people under the leadership of the Indonesian Communist Party for smashing the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime and for setting up the people's democratic power in Indonesia.

Having learnt a profound lesson through the experiences gained in blood by the Indonesian people in past struggles, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party in a "self-criticism" document published in September 1966, stressed: "To achieve its complete victory, the Indonesian revolution must also follow the road of the Chinese revolution." The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party

in a statement published on May 23, 1967 entitled "Holding High the Banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's Thought, Advance Further Along the Road of the Revolution!", further pointed out: "The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists unhesitatingly recognize Mao Tse-tung's thought as the peak of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, and are determined to study and use it as an effective weapon in the struggle for the liberation of Indonesia, which inevitably will have to follow the road of people's war as shown by Comrade Mao Tse-tung."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory on people's war is of great universal significance. It points out the only road that the oppressed people of the world, particularly the Asian, African and Latin American people, must traverse in their struggle for emancipation. This theory is an extremely important part of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teachings which develop Marxism-Leninism. This theory is an important component part of Mao Tse-tung's thought and also all-round, systematic and most complete Marxist-Leninist military science. This theory not only gives the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations confidence and courage to dare to wage a people's war, but also solves the question of how to wage a people's war and how to win victory. Chairman Mao Tse-tung's theory on people's war enables us to realize deeply that **"political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."** The only way to bring our revolutionary armed struggle to victory is: under the leadership of the political Party of the proletariat, to arouse the peasant masses in the countryside to wage guerrilla war, unfold an agrarian revolution, build rural base areas, use the countryside to encircle the cities and finally capture the cities and liberate the whole country. This theory comprises a whole series of comprehensive theses on the founding of a people's army which serves wholeheartedly the cause of the proletariat, and it teaches us to adopt the strategy and tactics of complete reliance on the people and bringing into full play the superiority of people's war. This theory is also a thesis on the building and role of the Communist Party, the force at the core leading the cause of the people's liberation.

At present, the study of the military writings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the most urgent task of the Communists and revolutionary people of Indonesia, so that they can really master Chairman Mao's teachings on people's war and apply them creatively under the specific conditions of the Indonesian revolution, thoroughly liquidate the various errors of the Right opportunist and revisionist old line, and overcome various "Left" and Right erroneous tendencies which may possibly crop up in the protracted struggle to seize victory. Therefore, the publication of the Indonesian version of the *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung* has indeed met the urgent needs of the Indonesian people's struggle.

The Communist Party and revolutionary people of Indonesia through their experiences in struggle in the past decades have come to realize deeply

the correctness of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's teaching. This teaching is: **"Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords."** Particularly the experiences and lessons of the Indonesian Communist Party in the period from 1951 to 1965 and the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of Communists and progressive people since the third white terror perpetrated since October 1965 by the Suharto-Nasution fascist military dictatorial rule have proved most clearly the complete bankruptcy of all revisionist illusions such as "peaceful transition," "the parliamentary road" or the "lawful road." Since it began to abandon armed struggle in 1950 in exchange for a legal status and a place in the parliament, the Indonesian Communist Party had sunk deeper and deeper into the quagmire of "peaceful road" and of Right opportunism and revisionism. As a result the people were caught completely unprepared in face of the barbarous attacks of the reactionaries who had been sharpening their swords for a long time. In accordance with this experience and lesson gained in blood, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party summed up in its "Self-Criticism" as follows: "The Indonesian revolution must inevitably adopt this main form of struggle, namely, the people's armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution, which, in essence, is the armed agrarian revolution of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat."

In taking the road of armed struggle according to the teachings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the question of setting up revolutionary base areas is a very important question. Chairman Mao teaches us: **"As a rule, revolution starts, grows and triumphs first in those places in which the counter-revolutionary forces are comparatively weak. . . ."** Revolution starts and triumphs first in places where the enemy's forces are weak — this is a great guiding strategic thought of Chairman Mao. By following this guiding strategic thought, a solution can be found to the question of the establishment of revolutionary rural base areas, namely, the establishment of **"an armed independent regime of workers and peasants"** under the condition of encirclement by reactionary state power. This will enable the revolutionary force which is weak in the beginning to hold out under the encirclement by counter-revolutionary forces, to temper and develop itself and finally to completely smash the enemy. The establishment of revolutionary base areas means the establishment of the prototype of a state. Therefore, a base area cannot be established through peaceful means but in the course of smashing and defeating the enemy through fierce and unintermittent armed struggle. Success of this struggle can be achieved only by fully arousing the masses, particularly the peasant masses, and by unfolding an agrarian revolution. Therefore, armed struggle as the main form, agrarian revolution as the main content and the establishment of base areas as the mainstay are the three integral

aspects in Chairman Mao's thought on "an armed independent regime of workers and peasants."

To master and apply Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis on the establishment of revolutionary rural base areas is the urgent task of the Communists and revolutionary people of Indonesia. The establishment of base areas is of important strategic significance to the revolution. It is the way along which revolution proceeds from seizing political power in a region to seizing political power in the whole country. Therefore, it is the only way to achieve victory in revolution. It is just as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has stressed in his brilliant writing *A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire* (January, 1930): "Only thus is it possible to build the confidence of the revolutionary masses throughout the country, as the Soviet Union has built it throughout the world. Only thus is it possible to create tremendous difficulties for the reactionary ruling classes, shake their foundations and hasten their internal disintegration. Only thus is it really possible to create a Red army which will become the chief weapon for the great revolution of the future. In short, only thus is it possible to hasten the revolutionary high tide." In the past, the revisionist "theory of the method of combining the three forms of struggle" spread the point of view, which held that Indonesia does not possess all the conditions required for the unfolding of guerrilla war, which dreamt of the coming of a nationwide revolutionary crisis, and of achieving victory in the whole country simultaneously and easily through the method of combining "peasants' struggle in the countryside," "workers' struggle in the cities" with "work within the armed forces of the enemy."

However, without the revolutionary rural base areas, the work in the cities and other fields will have no backing and will be fruitless. The "theory of the method of combining the three forms of struggle," in essence, negated the necessity and possibility of the setting up of revolutionary rural base areas in Indonesia, thus liquidating revolutionary armed struggle. The "theory of the method of combining the three forms of struggle" also spread the illusion of relying on enemy troops. This actually denied the necessity of building up a people's army under the absolute leadership of the Indonesian Communist Party. At present, a small handful of renegades from the Indonesian Communist Party who have the support of the Soviet revisionists are doing everything they can to persist and continue in carrying into effect the idea of "combining the three forms of struggle" in an attempt to sabotage the Indonesian revolutionary people's armed struggle. The Communists and revolutionary people of Indonesia must resolutely eliminate all remnant influence of the "method of combining the three forms of struggle" and take the road of people's war as shown by Mao Tse-tung, rely on the peasants in setting up rural base areas, use the countryside to encircle the cities and finally seize the cities and the state power. The "Self-Criticism" of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian

Communist Party stressed: "The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must firmly reject the revisionist 'peaceful road,' reject the 'theory of the method of combining the three forms of struggle,' and hold aloft the banner of armed people's revolution. Following the example of the great Chinese people's revolution, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must establish revolutionary base areas; they must 'turn the backward villages into advanced, consolidated base areas, into great military, political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution.'"

The people's war is the most effective weapon in opposing the imperialists and all reactionaries. The brilliant history of the struggle waged by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung has proved this point. The people's war now developing in Vietnam, Laos, Burma, Thailand and other countries has also clearly proved this point. In south Vietnam, the U.S. imperialist aggressors, armed with all the latest types of weapons, are suffering one defeat after another and are being driven into a passive position under the pressure of the people's armed forces led by the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out incisively that the victory of the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation "once again demonstrates that a nation, big or small, can defeat any enemy, however powerful, so long as it fully arouses its people, firmly relies on them and wages a people's war."

At present, the Indonesian revolutionary people, under the leadership of the Indonesian Communist Party, have already taken up arms and declared war upon the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime. The fire of armed struggle is already burning in Kalimantan, Java, Sumatra and Sulawesi and other major islands. Certainly, there are still many difficulties confronting the Indonesian people and their armed struggle is a protracted one. However, just as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful."

At the present stage of the Indonesian people's struggle, the publication of the Indonesian version of the *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung* comes as invaluable internationalist aid from the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people to the Indonesian Communist Party and the Indonesian revolutionary people; the Indonesian Communists and the Indonesian people will firmly grasp Chairman Mao Tse-tung's teachings on people's war, the powerful weapon with which to smash the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime and to set up the people's democratic power in Indonesia.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "A revolutionary war is a mass undertaking; it is often not a matter of first learning and then doing, but of doing and

then learning, for doing is itself learning." The armed counter-revolution staged by the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime which is stained by the blood of hundreds of thousands of patriots has roused the Indonesian people to wage an armed revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Indonesian Communist Party. Through grasping Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teachings on people's war, the Indonesian people will "learn warfare through warfare," kindle the flames of people's war throughout the country,

burn up all the reactionaries on Indonesian soil and build a free and democratic new Indonesia.

Smash the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime with people's war!

Long live the great thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung—the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present era, the most respected and beloved leader of the revolutionary people of the whole world!

Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's Thought, Is Universal Truth

—Organ of Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France denounces
fallacies of Regis Debray, author of *Revolution in the Revolution?*

L'HUMANITE NOUVELLE, organ of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France, published an article criticizing the book *Revolution in the Revolution?* written by the Frenchman Regis Debray on the question of the road of people's revolution in Latin America. The article points out that the book is a big counter-revolutionary mystification and is in essence an attack on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. The "theories" Debray preaches actually serve the interests of the international bourgeoisie.

"Regis Debray's book is the manifesto of a political line which is anti-revisionist in appearance . . . but anti-Marxist-Leninist in reality. It leads all honest people disgusted with revisionism to a side track, down the drain, to a blind alley," the article says.

Repudiating Debray's argument denying the leading role of the proletarian Party in the national-democratic revolution, the article says, "the essence of his argument evolves around the problem of the role of the Marxist-Leninist Party in the struggle for national liberation. This problem of prime importance has been fully elucidated by Lenin and Mao Tse-tung. In his most celebrated writings, such as *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party, On New Democracy*, etc. . . . Mao Tse-tung has in fact pointed out the role of the Party in national revolution.

"If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs."

"A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party—these are the

three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy."

The article notes that Debray preposterously opposes these correct theses of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's, alleging that this viewpoint is valid in China, but not in Latin America.

It goes on to criticize the purely military viewpoint spread by Debray. It says, "The immediate corollary of Debray's position on the problem of the Party is 'the purely military viewpoint.' For him, the gun commands politics."

The article also criticizes Debray's viewpoint that the military organizations of the revolutionary armed forces in Latin America should be "set up from the top: first the standing regular forces—the nucleus; then the semi-regular forces; finally the militia." The article says, "According to Debray, the people's army should not come from the masses, but should be imposed on the masses from outside."

The article points out that the following passage from Chairman Mao Tse-tung should be deeply pondered: "The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present, the Red Army should certainly not confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organizations. . . . Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence."

The article says, "After these considerations, one can see the essence of Debray's book. This is not easy because what is important in it was said in a vague manner, by allusions. Thus one comes to realize that the role of this book is to attack Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and to deny the universal significance of Mao Tse-tung's theories."