

# Victory Will Surely Belong to the Indonesian People

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## I

**M**ARXISM-LENINISM teaches us that the fundamental question for the proletarian revolution is to seize political power by armed struggle and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Of universal significance is Chairman Mao's teaching on the Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution, i.e., **"the seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution."**

The Soviet revisionist ruling clique, betraying proletarian internationalism, has been energetically peddling the revisionist line of "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition." It has been vainly seeking to impede the vigorous development of the revolutionary struggle by the world's revolutionary people, first of all the people of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, in their fight against colonialism and imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism.

However, the revolutionary people of Asia, Africa and Latin America have seen more and more clearly the bankruptcy of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique's fallacy about the "peaceful road."

Through their own practice in revolutionary struggle, the Asian, African and Latin American revolutionary people have realized that the road pointed out by Chairman Mao Tse-tung for seizing political power by armed force is the sole correct road for the revolutionary people to achieve liberation, i.e., the road of mobilizing the peasant masses in the countryside to wage guerrilla warfare, of carrying out agrarian revolution, establishing rural base areas, encircling the cities from the countryside and finally capturing the cities, all under the leadership of the proletarian party.

The revolutionary people of Indonesia led by the P.K.I., having learnt from the experience of their serious setbacks and temporary retreat, are now pressing ahead along the revolutionary road indicated by the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

The Fourth Plenary Session of the Fifth Central Committee of the P.K.I. uncritically passed a report endorsing the line of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. and adopted the line of "reaching socialism through the parliamentary road, by peaceful means" as the P.K.I.

line. From that time on, modern revisionism began to infiltrate into the Party. It was precisely this revisionist line that caused the Indonesian people and Indonesian Communists to be caught unprepared in the face of the white terror of the 1965 armed counter-revolution, with the result that hundreds of thousands of the finest sons and daughters of the Indonesian people were massacred. This revisionist line and "peaceful road" is diametrically contrary to Marxism-Leninism. Mao Tse-tung's thought, especially to Chairman Mao Tse-tung's Marxist-Leninist theses that **"political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"** and **"without a people's army the people have nothing."** The united front policy followed by the P.K.I. leadership in the more than a decade before 1965, especially the policy of forming a united front with Sukarno, was in essence a policy of class collaboration. This ran counter to Chairman Mao's teaching on the united front, i.e., **"The united front is a united front for carrying on armed struggle. And the Party is the heroic warrior wielding the two weapons, the united front and the armed struggle, to storm and shatter the enemy's positions."**

Led by the P.K.I., the Indonesian people have begun to rally their forces and have embarked on the road of armed struggle. The revolutionary united front now being established in Indonesia is primarily a worker-peasant alliance for armed struggle under the leadership of the P.K.I.

However, just when the Indonesian revolutionaries are wiping the blood off their bodies, rallying their forces and raising high the great flag of armed struggle and the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique is doing its utmost to sabotage and create confusion in the ranks of the Indonesian Communists. Clearly, the Soviet revisionist renegades are going all out to prevent the revolutionary Indonesian people, led by the P.K.I., from taking the invincible revolutionary path pointed out by Chairman Mao Tse-tung — waging a people's war, establishing rural base areas and encircling the cities from the countryside.

The activities conducted by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique to split the P.K.I. constitute a betrayal of proletarian internationalism upheld by the great Lenin and Stalin.

The Soviet revisionist clique has lavished praise on the Suharto-Nasution fascist military clique ever since

the latter's seizure of power in Indonesia. It describes that fascist military regime as one which pursues "an independent policy of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism." It calls Nasution, the fascist chieftain whose hands are dripping with the blood of the Indonesian Communists and people, "the anti-imperialist national leader" and the "revolutionary leader" of Indonesia. It provides that fascist military regime with a steady flow of "economic and technical aid" and has continuously been sending them arms.

For the P.K.I. and the Marxist-Leninists throughout the world, it is absolutely necessary to combat modern revisionism. In its Self-Criticism in September, 1966, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the P.K.I. pointed out that "the lesson learnt by the P.K.I. is that modern revisionism is the greatest danger confronting the international communist movement as well as the greatest danger confronting the P.K.I." and that "this danger, therefore, must not be overlooked and must be combated mercilessly."

## II

Today, the centre of world revolution has moved to China. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, China, as the bastion of world revolution, is developing steadily and is being increasingly consolidated. This is a factor most favourable to the world communist movement and especially to the Communists who are now engaged in armed struggle.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung is the most trustworthy successor to the great teachers Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao have successfully solved a series of theoretical questions concerning proletarian revolution in their respective periods. In the period of the development of capitalism, Marx and Engels laid down the theoretical foundation of scientific socialism. During the period when capitalism entered upon the stage of imperialism, Lenin and Stalin developed Marxism and ushered it into the stage of Leninism, solving a series of problems concerning proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship and the question of the victory of socialism in a single country. Leninism is Marxism in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Now, in the era of imperialism heading for total collapse and socialism advancing towards worldwide victory, Chairman Mao has comprehensively summed up the experience and lessons of the international communist movement. He has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-round way, and has raised it to a completely new stage, the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought. He has solved a series of problems concerning proletarian revolution in the present era and has solved, both in theory and in practice, the question of carrying on the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat with a view to preventing the restoration of capitalism and further consolidating this dictatorship. He has personally initiated and guided the

unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution in China. This is an important landmark of the highest and completely new stage to which he has developed Marxism-Leninism.

The great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution is a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the course of this revolution, hundreds of millions of Chinese people have learnt to grasp the all-conquering ideological weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is something unparalleled in the history of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle and also in the history of the international workers' movement. Once grasped by the masses, Mao Tse-tung's thought becomes the most powerful force to liquidate imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries. Chairman Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist and the great teacher of supreme genius of the international proletariat today.

Mao Tse-tung's thought has now become the ideological foundation of the international communist movement. Like the great teachers Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, Chairman Mao Tse-tung is the great leader of the Chinese people as well as of the Indonesian people and the other peoples of the world. To study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought in earnest, scrupulously and creatively, to defend it courageously and propagate it with enthusiasm is the honourable task not only of the Chinese people but also of the revolutionary people throughout the world, and the P.K.I. and the Indonesian people in particular.

Today, the attitude towards Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Mao Tse-tung's thought is the touchstone and the dividing line between the revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries, the true revolutionaries and the pseudo-revolutionaries, and the true Marxist-Leninists and the counter-revolutionary revisionists.

The revolutionary people and Marxist-Leninists of the whole world love the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Therefore, the Indonesian Communists and people and the revolutionary people and Marxist-Leninists of all other countries must expose, politically, ideologically and theoretically, China's Khrushchov and his like, who oppose Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must strike them down and they must never be allowed to rise again.

## III

At the time when the P.K.I. and the Indonesian people were suffering heavy blows, the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, the Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people and the revolutionary people and Marxist-Leninists throughout the world have extended enormous support and assistance to the P.K.I. and the Indonesian people. The assistance given by the

Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the whole world, particularly by the great Chinese Communist Party and Chinese people, to the struggle of the Indonesian people and their firm stand to oppose the common enemy of the world's revolutionary people — imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism with the C.P.S.U. leading clique as its centre, and the reactionaries of all countries — have immensely inspired the Indonesian Communists and people to wage a more resolute struggle for the complete overthrow of the Suharto-Nasution fascist military dictatorship.

The primary reason for the setbacks suffered by the Indonesian revolution is the failure of the P.K.I. to master Mao Tse-tung's thought. However, as pointed out in the statement entitled "Hold High the Banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's Thought and Continue to Advance on the Road of Revolution!" which was issued by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the P.K.I. on May 23, 1967, "The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists accept without the slightest hesitation

Mao Tse-tung's thought, the acme of Marxism-Leninism of the present day. We have made up our minds to study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought as a powerful weapon in the struggle for the liberation of Indonesia. The struggle for Indonesia's liberation will inevitably follow the road of people's war charted by Comrade Mao Tse-tung."

The Suharto-Nasution fascist military clique has slaughtered and jailed hundreds of thousands of Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people. But, the revolutionary Indonesian people can never be exterminated. The flames of revolution in Indonesia can never be extinguished, nor can the Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people be subdued. They have picked themselves up, wiped off the blood, buried their fallen comrades and gone into battle again. The flames of the people's revolutionary struggle are burning with increasing intensity in many parts of Indonesia. Darkness will soon pass and victory will surely belong to the Indonesian people!

## U.S. Failure Is Now Obvious

Commentary by Chien Binh in the Vietnamese paper *Quan Doi Nhan Dan* on the excellent situation on the south Vietnam battlefield

THE Vietnamese army paper *Quan Doi Nhan Dan* recently published a comprehensive commentary by Chien Binh entitled "U.S. Failure Is Now Obvious."

The commentary points out that U.S. imperialism has suffered disastrous defeat and is heading for complete failure in the war of aggression it launched against Vietnam. It urges the Vietnamese armed forces and people to heighten their vigilance and go on fighting a protracted war to seize complete victory in the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

The local war, unleashed by the U.S. aggressors in south Vietnam, has entered upon its third year, the commentary goes on. The United States now commands a force of as many as 1,200,000 men on the south Vietnam battlefield, a force armed to the teeth with up-to-date weapons with some half a million U.S. troops as its mainstay. The United States has wagered enormous stakes on this war and will throw in still more. Nevertheless, its failure is now obvious.

The commentary points out that *the primary manifestation of the U.S. failure is the fact that the "backbone" of the U.S. forces is being broken.*

This "backbone" comprises the units which are deployed from Con Tien and Doc Mieu (on Highway Number 9) to My Tho Province, the gateway to the Mekong Delta. Anyone who follows the military de-

velopments in the south can see that this "backbone" of the U.S. forces is being broken.

Apart from recent reinforcements, the various divisions and brigades of the U.S. forces in south Vietnam have suffered severe defeats and their combat power is clearly waning. In 1967, a total of 22 battalions of U.S. infantry and 20 battalions of U.S. and puppet armoured troops were wiped out; in 1965 and 1966, a total of 23 battalions of U.S. infantry and 11 battalions of U.S. armoured troops were annihilated. Many brigades were so soundly thrashed that they lost their capacity to fight. As for the U.S. marines, they are being pinned down in the Quang Tri and Thua Thien sector and are unable to do anything to avert their approaching doom. Many of the marine units have been whittled down to about half of their previous numerical strength.

The mobile forces, the "marrow" of the "backbone" of the U.S. forces, are being gradually worn down. Of the nearly half a million U.S. troops, there are only 42 mobile battalions and these, too, are dispersed in different places because of the omnipresence of people's war. Therefore, the U.S. mobile forces have been even more conspicuously reduced. One American correspondent recently sounded the alarm that the attacks mounted by the People's Liberation Armed Forces have strained the U.S. forces to the point that they have no mobility left.