

# Intensify Revolutionary Offensive and First Oppose "Five Devils"

*Following is a translation of a speech by D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party (P.K.I.), at the May 23 Djakarta rally celebrating the 45th anniversary of the founding of the P.K.I. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.*

**Your Excellency President of the Indonesian Republic, the great leader of the Indonesian revolution, beloved Bung Karno!**

**Your Excellencies Vice-Prime Ministers, Co-ordinator Ministers and Ministers!**

**Beloved comrades, leaders and members of the delegations of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties from Albania, Japan, Korea, Cuba, Rumania, China, the Soviet Union and Viet Nam!**

**Brothers, friends and dear comrades! Militant Djakarta workers and citizens!**

Today, May 23, 1965, we are gathered in the splendid main stadium of the Bung Karno Sports Centre to mark the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Indonesian Communist Party.

Witnessed by the clear sky, looked on by hundreds of thousands of eyes, listened to by millions of ears over the radio and television and watched by the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists and their henchmen, Bung Karno is among us at the height of the celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Indonesian Communist Party. This has worried the imperialists and their lackeys. In the last two weeks, the radio and press of the imperialists have raised a hue and cry over the fact that Bung Karno will attend and deliver a speech at the mass rally. "Malaysia" has stirred up and instigated its henchmen in Indonesia. They have made a lot of noise about the fact that, during the celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Indonesian Communist Party, the portrait of Sukarno is displayed together with those of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Of course, the question is not merely the display of the portrait of Sukarno. The question is still deeper, namely, the relations between Sukarno and the Communists. This is what makes the imperialists and their henchmen afraid, this is what makes the imperialists

raise a hue and cry, this is what worries them, this is what makes it impossible for them to eat and sleep well, and this is what makes them talk in their sleep. In fact, the matter has long become clear.

Bung Karno himself said at a reception of the Sixth Congress of the Indonesian Communist Party in 1959 that the Indonesian Communist Party "is a relative and brother, should it die, it is my loss." It is also Bung Karno himself who appealed to the Indonesian Communist Party at the closing session of the Seventh Congress of the Party in 1962 to "go ahead, march forward, let us jointly fulfil the Indonesian revolution." With amicable feelings and great responsibility, the Indonesian Communists have responded to the expressions and call of Bung Karno. The relation between President Sukarno and the Indonesian Communists is not a secret or illegal one; it is an honest kind of relation — proper and legitimate — between revolutionaries who believe in the truth of Marxism and serve the cause of revolution.

I say it once more that **the imperialists and their henchmen are worried and have raised a hue and cry. If the imperialists and their henchmen are shouting against our activities, it is good. It shows that we are right, that our actions are correct. If the imperialists like our actions and if they praise us, then that would be very bad indeed! How very bad it is for those who are praised repeatedly by Radio "Malaysia" and by the other propaganda agencies of imperialism!**

The Indonesian people hold that it is a matter of course that Bung Karno, a friend of the Indonesian Communist Party, takes part in the celebration of the anniversary of his own "relative" and "brother." Still, the Indonesian Communist Party expresses many thanks from the bottom of its heart to Bung Karno for attending the rally and the speech he will make.

Here, I would also like to express in the name of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party profound thanks to all the Vice-Prime Ministers, Co-ordinator Ministers, Ministers, nationalist and religious leaders, leaders of mass organizations, central and local administrators and military officers. In a word, thanks to all the brothers and sisters and friends who have sent us messages of greetings, and offered

their moral and material support for the success of our Party's anniversary celebrations.

I extend my heartfelt thanks to the entire Indonesian working people who have made both moral and material contributions and wholeheartedly devoted their thoughts and energy to bringing about the warm atmosphere and success of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Indonesian Communist Party. Also my most sincere and profound thanks to the sons and daughters of the people for their efforts to celebrate the occasion joyously with various programmes.

I express also profound thanks to the Communists, activists, cadres from the Central Committee to the factories, plantations, villages, suburban areas and coastal areas and elsewhere who have worked day and night for the warm atmosphere and success of the celebration of the Party's anniversary. In particular, I would like to express thanks from the bottom of my heart to the revolutionary artists who have devoted all their efforts for the success of the Party's anniversary celebrations. Thank you all, comrades!

All participants in the rally and especially those from remote areas who came on foot, please accept the heartfelt thanks of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party.

I would like to say a few words to the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties who attached great importance to the invitation of the Central Committee of our Party and sent highly representative delegations. It shows the love of the fraternal Parties for the Indonesian Communist Party, the Indonesian people and revolution. This will inspire the Indonesian Communists and people to carry out more resolutely the struggle to smash imperialism and old and new colonialism. I, in the name of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, the Indonesian Communists and working people, express deep thanks to the fraternal Parties for their concern and love. We also express our thanks to the Communist and Workers' Parties that have not directly participated in the anniversary celebrations of our Party but have sent us messages of greetings. We wish the leaders of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties good health and wish their Parties still greater success in applying Marxism-Leninism to their own countries, in serving the interests of the people and revolution of their countries, and in the common struggle to smash imperialism and to build a new world without exploitation of one nation by another and of man by man.

Beloved Bung Karno!

Brothers, friends, and comrades!

Why is the Indonesian Communist Party celebrating its 45th anniversary on a wide scale? Before answering this question, I want to refute the nonsense of the imperialists and their lackeys. They say that the In-

donesian Communist Party is trying to starve the Indonesian people through its large-scale 45th anniversary celebrations. The money and manpower drawn for these celebrations prove that the consciousness of the Indonesian working people is very high both politically and organizationally. By relying on such a people, we not only can do away with hunger, but also root out the source of hunger — imperialism and feudalism. After the celebrations, the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party will have a balance of 60 million rupiahs from the total amount of contributions it received. And if there is enough means of transport, the coconut, cassava, sweet potatoes and fruits can fill several warehouses. This shows that the Indonesian people will not suffer starvation and will never cry hunger provided that there is no prolonged drought or serious flood. Perhaps Indonesia will be the only place where cassava is even used to hold back the waters or burnt to drive away mosquitoes because there is plenty of it and only transport is lacking.

, If there is still poverty in Indonesia, which I do not deny, it is not because of the "grand celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the Bandung Conference by Sukarno" or "the Indonesian Communist Party's anniversary celebrations" but because of the existence of the remnants of imperialism and feudalism and the existence of bureaucrat-capitalists as well as village and off-shore devils. The Indonesian people will surely wipe out all this before long.

The reasons why the Indonesian Communist Party holds big celebrations on its 45th anniversary are: one, the 45th anniversary should indeed be marked in an unusual manner; two, to hail and consolidate the great victories of the Indonesian people, namely, Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations, the success of the third plenary session of the Provisional Peoples' Consultative Congress and the success of the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the Bandung Conference; and three, to raise the revolutionary enthusiasm so as to continue the struggle and launch a still fiercer revolutionary offensive in all fields.

On the eve of the anniversary celebrations, the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party held its fourth plenary session from May 11 to 13. At the session, **the Indonesian Communists were unanimously determined to implement still more resolutely the revolutionary general line in accordance with the theory of the Political Manifesto, that is, through the national front with NASAKOM\* as its core, the workers and peasants as its pillars and the Five Principles of the State Foundation as its moral base, to realize the national and democratic revolution and march forward to Indonesian socialism. In the framework of**

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NASAKOM expresses the unity between the three main political trends in Indonesian society: "nas" stands for nationalists; "a" for religious groups, and "kom" for Communists. — *Ed.*

**implementing the revolutionary general line, the Indonesian Communist Party will intensify its revolutionary offensive, directed first of all at the "five devils": 1) "Malaysia"; 2) the seven village evils; 3) world devil U.S. imperialism; 4) bureaucrat-capitalists and 5) modern revisionism.**

If we want to build our country safely, we should thoroughly smash and dissolve the neo-colonialist project of "Malaysia" which has been set up deliberately to check our revolution. There is no other way. Therefore, the Indonesian Communist Party warmly welcomes the decision of President Sukarno not to go to Tokyo to meet Tunku Abdul Rahman but to remain among the Indonesian people. In order to smash "Malaysia" and reply to the increasing support of British and U.S. imperialism to "Malaysia," the Indonesian Communist Party has demanded that the workers and peasants be armed. The Indonesian Communist Party is convinced that only the armed people and especially the armed workers and peasants can halt invasion by imperialist troops, and defeat any invasion should they dare to come. The imperialists are not afraid of well-trained armed forces because they themselves have such armed forces equipped with even better weapons. However, the armed people will force the imperialist troops into a position where they cannot operate or even make it impossible for them to lie down and rest. The struggle of the Vietnamese people is a vivid proof of this truth. Of course, the imperialists will be more frightened if they face the combination of the well-trained armed forces and the armed people. There is great possibility for us to have such a combination because the two-in-one relations between our people and the armed forces are daily becoming closer in the implementation of the task of the Indonesian revolution.

I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to express thanks to President Sukarno for the promise he has made to arm the workers and peasants when necessary.

If we want to be self-sufficient in food, the indispensable prerequisite is to liberate the productive forces in the rural areas. There is no other way. In this respect, it should begin at least with the elimination of the village evils, namely: 1) the despotic landlords who refuse to implement the basic agrarian law and the law on crop-sharing agreements; 2) usurers; 3) seedling buyers; 4) bureaucrat-capitalists in the countryside; 5) dishonest middlemen; 6) village bandits and 7) corrupt administrators. The complete elimination of the seven village evils is merely a precondition for the implementation of the slogan "land to the tillers" or the stipulation of the Political Manifesto "to thoroughly wipe out the vestiges of feudalism." The Indonesian Communist Party, while joyously celebrating the 45th anniversary of the Party, is determined to integrate more closely with the peasants, help them completely wipe out the village evils and raise production. If the village evils are not immediately and completely wiped out from our countryside, it will be impossible to success-

fully realize the decision of the Provisional People's Consultative Congress on the turning of the steering wheel to realize self-reliance in economy and construction and the principle of "making agriculture as the base and industry as the backbone."

If we want to eliminate the vestiges of imperialism on Indonesian soil, we should launch more frequent and more stubborn struggles against U.S. imperialism, the world devil and ringleader of all imperialists. There is no other way. **In the present world situation, it would be a sad joke should one oppose imperialism but not oppose U.S. imperialism. The fierce struggle of the Indonesian people to smash U.S. imperialism proves that they are serious in their anti-imperialist policy.** The pressing task of the Indonesian people at present is to confiscate and nationalize all U.S. enterprises, including the oil enterprises, as a reply to the U.S. "active aid" to "Malaysia" and its barbarity against the people of Indonesia and other countries. In addition, the Indonesian people are determined to offer more positive and greater support, together with the other progressive and revolutionary forces, to the peoples now fighting against U.S. imperialism, such as the people of the Dominican Republic, the Congo, the people of Southeast Asia, especially the Vietnamese people, and to force the United States to get out of Viet Nam within this year.

If we want to develop the Indonesian economy in a healthy way and first develop the revolutionary and progressive politics in our country, we should intensify the revolutionary offensive against the economic dynasty of the bureaucrat-capitalists. There is no other way. The bureaucrat-capitalists are the pilferers of state property. In their criminal activities, they establish an alliance with the imperialists and the Trotskyites. Therefore, the "holy alliance" between the bureaucrat-capitalists, the Trotskyites and the imperialists must be completely shattered. The Indonesian Communists hold that steps taken by President Sukarno and the Indonesian Government against the Trotskyite personalities and the banning of the Murba Party — the chieftain of the "body in support of Sukarnoism," are decisive steps in saving the NASAKOM concept and saving the Indonesian Republic and President Sukarno from the disaster which was almost imposed upon our Republic towards the end of last year. For this reason, the Indonesian Communist Party expresses its highest respects to President Sukarno and the Indonesian Government.

**If we are to continue marching along the revolutionary road, we should constantly launch revolutionary offensives against modern revisionism and continue our fight against modern dogmatism at the same time. There is no other way. It would be empty talk if the anti-imperialist struggle is not combined with the struggle against opportunism.** For the international communist movement and the general revolutionary movement in the world today, the most dangerous opportunism is modern revisionism. While celebrating the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Indonesian Com-

unist Party, the Indonesian Communists are unanimously resolved to continue their offensive against modern revisionism in all fields. Only by so doing can the Indonesian Communist Party remain revolutionary and maintain its prestige both in the ranks of national unity with NASAKOM as its core and in the international communist movement.

The above-mentioned are the five irrevocable decisions of the Indonesian Communists on the occasion of the Party's 45th anniversary. The Indonesian Communists believe that the three sacred principles of "Tavip,"\* or the three sacred principles of President Sukarno, or the three sacred principles of national emancipation — political sovereignty, economic self-reliance and a culture with a national identity — are all extremely helpful for the Indonesian Communists to realize their irrevocable decisions. Therefore, the Indonesian Communists take the three principles of national emancipation as an important part of their general programme. It is these three principles that have become the basic slogans of the 45th anniversary of the Party.

Political sovereignty means to completely free ourselves from depending on any side in the political field. This means to implement freely and without any restraints both the internal and external policies fully representing the interests of the Indonesian people.

Economic self-reliance means to completely free ourselves from economically relying on any side and to base ourselves on the economic strength that we actually possess; this means to thoroughly eliminate the vestiges of feudalism and consistently implement the line of our national economy: make "agriculture as the base and industry as the backbone" and "take agriculture and the plantations as the main force and attach importance to the mining industry." This means to free ourselves and enable us to freely wipe out the vestiges of imperialism in the economic field completely and eliminate the bad influence of imperialism on the economy of our country.

A culture with a national identity means to completely free ourselves from depending on any side in the cultural field, that is, to base ourselves on our national identity in culture. This means to liberate ourselves and enable us to eliminate without restraint the vestiges of imperialism and feudalism from the cultural field completely, accept and develop the progressive part of world culture so as to freely develop our literature, art and science serving the people and revolution.

Bung Karno has given the people effective weapons of struggle. Among them are the NASAKOM idea in 1926 — Bung Karno said himself that his idea has be-

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\* The title of President Sukarno's 1964 Independence Day speech, meaning "A Year Daring to Skirt Dangers." — Ed.

come a living reality — later the idea of the Five Principles of State Foundation in 1945, the Political Manifesto in 1959 which was followed by the policies for its implementation, and then the idea of self-reliance that he advanced this year. If we say that these militant weapons had not yet been mastered by the people prior to the emergence of the Political Manifesto, the situation has now been changed. These weapons, both old and new, have been mastered and used by the people swiftly, sensibly, cleverly and accurately. The people have even created new weapons and learnt new techniques in the use of weapons in their hands with the militant weapons given by Bung Karno as their capital.

In accordance with the NASAKOM theory of Bung Karno, the Indonesian people are now engaged in a stubborn struggle to put the NASAKOM theory into practice in all fields. The realization of NASAKOM in all fields is the indispensable prerequisite for the defence and development of political sovereignty, for economic self-reliance and for the development of a national identity in culture. It is also the indispensable prerequisite for carrying out more smoothly the two-point order of the people for opposing "Malaysia," for the further strengthening of national defence, for giving greater support to the liberation struggle of Malaya and North Kalimantan, and for dissolving "Malaysia." The realization of NASAKOM in all fields is also the indispensable prerequisite for us in unfolding the struggle of the new emerging forces against the old established forces and realize the international NASAKOM — we will begin to materialize the international NASAKOM by holding the Conference of the New Emerging Forces next year. The realization of NASAKOM in all fields is the key to both the progress of the Indonesian people and their positive contributions to the struggle of the people of Asia and Africa and of the new emerging forces the world over. In a word, the realization of NASAKOM in all fields will realize the call of Bung Karno made almost 40 years ago, that is to turn the co-operation of the three ideological trends into "a tremendous and powerful tide and a storm which cannot be halted."

The Indonesian Communist Party is not isolated in the struggle to defeat the enemies of the Indonesian people, namely, imperialism, feudalism, bureaucrat-capitalism and comprador-capitalism. Thanks to its loyalty to the NASAKOM idea, the Indonesian Communist Party has good comrades-in-arms among the nationalist and religious believers. Thanks to its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Indonesian Communist Party has support from the Marxist-Leninist parties and the revolutionary and progressive movements throughout the world.

**The Indonesian Communist Party belongs not only to the Indonesian Communists but also to the entire people and nation.** If the Indonesian Communist Party takes correct actions then the whole people and nation will benefit. If the Indonesian Communist Party commits errors, then the whole people and na-

tion will also suffer. Therefore, the Indonesian Communists will open its doors to criticism from anyone outside the Party and at the same time continuously study and creatively practise Marxism-Leninism.

While celebrating the 45th anniversary of the Indonesian Communist Party, **the Indonesian Communists deem it necessary to reiterate their determination to be outstanding—and still more so—elements of NASAKOM unity. The Indonesian Communists are convinced that as long as the Indonesian Communist Party remains revolutionary, and not dogmatic or revisionist, then the role of the Indonesian Communist Party in the NASAKOM unity will become still more important and increasingly positive.** The Indonesian Communist Party is revolutionary, not dogmatic and revisionist, the nationalist group is revolutionary but not chauvinistic and the religious group is revolutionary but not orthodox. These are the guarantee for the development of the living reality of NASAKOM.

On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Indonesian Communist Party, **the Indonesian Communists deem it necessary to express their determination to remain a reliable Marxist-Leninist detachment within the ranks of the international communist movement, and to fight for its unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and for the realization of the task of the world revolution.**

**The integration of patriotism with proletarian internationalism in a militant and creative manner and with a character of its own will continue to guide the action, stand and steps of the Indonesian Communist Party.**

The entire Indonesian nation is now in a daily surging and ripening revolutionary situation. The role played by the masses of the people in the political life of our country is becoming increasingly great and decisive. The imperialists are being squeezed out of their special position. In their retreat they are offering more aid and support to the domestic counter-revolutionaries. In such circumstances, only when we are good at adopting an attitude of revolutionary offensive can we push the revolution of our country forward. And only with rigorous and strict discipline can we achieve good results in the revolutionary offensive.

**Therefore, I appeal to the Indonesian Communists: Be brave, able and steeled and tempered Communists with strict discipline, both the Party's discipline and the discipline of the state. This is our answer to the daily increasing provocations by the decadent imperialists and their lackeys.**

The Indonesian Communist Party, which was born 45 years ago, has undergone long and tortuous struggles, legal and illegal, armed and otherwise, and is now one of the most important factors in the political life of our country. This has been achieved only because of the loyalty of the Indonesian Communists to the revolutionary tradition of the Indonesian people, their loyalty

to the heroic vitality of the 1926 national uprising and their loyalty to the heroic vitality of the 1945 August Revolution.

The Indonesian Communist Party, with less than 8,000 members in 1951, the year of its rebirth, now has more than 3 million members. By adding the 3 million Communist youth of the People's Youth League, the number is more than 6 million. There are about 20 million sympathizers of the Indonesian Communist Party throughout Indonesia. **On the strength of its membership, the Indonesian Communist Party is the third biggest in the world and the biggest outside the socialist camp. Thus, Communists in our country have a heavy responsibility to shoulder, both to the Indonesian people and the international revolutionary movement.**

Both our friends and enemies are paying close attention to the development of the Indonesian Communist Party. The imperialists have sent many scientists, mostly pseudo-scientists, to pry into and investigate the activities of the Indonesian Communist Party. Some of them even went to the villages and wrote many books.

Both our friends and enemies want to know why the Indonesian Communist Party has developed so quickly. Actually it is not difficult to answer, because Bung Karno had already made it clear in his address at the closing reception of the Seventh Congress of the Indonesian Communist Party in 1962. Bung Karno said: "The Indonesian Communist Party has become strong, the Indonesian Communist Party has spread everywhere, and the Indonesian Communist Party has become powerful. This is because the Indonesian Communist Party has consistently served the workers and peasants, because the Indonesian Communist Party has always loved our fatherland, Indonesia. It is precisely because of all this that the Indonesian Communist Party has grown strong."

I appeal to the Indonesian Communists to learn by heart Bung Karno's analysis of the reasons why the Indonesian Communist Party has become great and strong. Bung Karno's analysis is very correct. **The reason why the Indonesian Communist Party has become strong is simply because it has heart and soul been mindful of the misery of the people.**

Let us march forward continuously in the spirit of the revolutionary offensive, heeding the misery of the people!

Long live the great Indonesian Communist Party!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism and the international communist movement!

Long live the Indonesian working class and people!

Glory to the Party and fatherland!

Long live NASAKOM!

Long Live Bung Karno!