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INDONESIAN COMMUNIST LEADERS BEGIN SELF-CRITICISM

[The following message of greetings from a delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Indonesia to the Tenth Congress of the Communist party of Japan, has been translated from the November (No. 31) issue of Suara Pemuda Indonesia, the bulletin of the Indonesian Students Association, which is published in China.

[It is noteworthy as the first attempt by the surviving leaders of the PKI to make a public assessment of the reasons for the catastrophic defeat suffered by their party a little more than a year ago. The document indicates that an internal discussion has been going on and this may be the first public result.

[The two main lessons advanced by the document; i.e., that the PKI held illusions as to the character of the state power in Indonesia and thought that it was possible to capture the existing state structure by peaceful means and then utilize it to build socialism, are absolutely correct. It is to be hoped that the sources and ramifications of these two key errors will now be further explored.

[Despite the good beginning on these two points, other items in the document are not so promising.

[Instead of examining the role played by the leadership of the Chinese Communist party in covering up and fostering Aidit's grossly revisionist and opportunist line, the authors of the document join in adulating the "thought of Mao Tse-tung." It is understandable why the exiles of the PKI feel that they must adopt a diplomatic attitude toward the Maoist group, but it is nonetheless true that it is not possible to overcome great defeats by whitewashing those who share a major part of the responsibility.

[The document also reveals a strong ultraleft sectarian streak which may be due to overcompensation for the opportunism of the Aidit leadership but which more likely is a direct reflection of Maoist attitudes in the Sino-Soviet conflict.

[Thus the authors see no difference between the interests, aims and policies of American and Japanese imperialism. While there is no difference between the two imperialist powers in a fundamental sense, it is simplistic not to take into account the fact that they are also rival powers and that it is perfectly in order for a workers state

like the People's Republic of China, for instance, to try to explore the rivalry and to take advantage of it -- a course which the Maoist group has given little indication of following.

[A far worse error is to see no differences between the "modern revisionists"; i.e., the government of the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Khrushchevists, and American and Japanese imperialism. To reject a united front with the Soviet Union on such fallacious grounds in defending Vietnam against American imperialist aggression can prove to be as disastrous as the opportunist policy followed by the PKI in Indonesia under Aidit and with Mao's connivance and approval.

[Nevertheless, the beginning of a serious effort at self-criticism on the part of the surviving PKI leadership is to be welcomed. Other sectors of the revolutionary Marxist movement should help them in this course by offering their own opinions.]

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Dear Comrades,

The delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia [PKI] conveys its warmest and sincerest greetings to the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Japan, and therewith to all the Communists and working people of Japan. By leading the militant and courageous Japanese people in their struggle for democracy and national independence against U.S. imperialist domination, against the Japanese monopolists and militarists and against the modern revisionists, the Communist Party of Japan has been standing in the forefront of the struggle on a world scale against imperialism headed by the U.S. and the modern revisionists.

The Communists and the people of Indonesia express their warmest appreciation for the struggle waged by the Communists and the people of Japan, which also means concretely contributing to strengthening the struggle of the Indonesian people to achieve complete national independence and democracy.

In greeting the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Japan, we hope that the congress will succeed in contributing to further strengthening the struggle against U.S. imperialism, the modern revisionists and the domestic reactionary forces.

At present the Communists and the people of Indonesia are passing through a very difficult stage. White terror and tyrannical oppression launched by the military-fascist clique of generals headed by Nasution and Suharto after the September 30 [1965] Affair against the Communists and progressive people have dealt a serious setback to the revolutionary movement in Indonesia. Being responsible to the Indonesian and international proletariat, the PKI has begun seriously drawing the lessons and the necessary conclusions from this bitter experience.

We are sure that the PKI has been able to overcome the serious crisis it suffered under the counterrevolutionary terror.

At the present time, the PKI is not only rebuilding its organization which has suffered heavy destruction, but by seriously applying criticism and self-criticism within the leadership and the whole party, the PKI is now returning to the right path; namely, the revolutionary path of Marxism-Leninism. Step by step the Indonesian revolutionary forces and the partisans of democracy are carrying out the task of reorganizing and resuming the struggle against the military dictatorship headed by Suharto and Nasution.

Among the lessons to be drawn from this bitter experience, it must be said that one of the principal causes of the setback to the people's struggle at the time was the misjudgment of state power in Indonesia.

This misjudgment provided grounds for the formulation that there were two aspects to state power in Indonesia: a pro-people aspect and an anti-people aspect. According to this false theory, the state was no longer an instrument of the ruling class for suppressing other classes, but a common instrument of service to both the suppressing and the suppressed classes.

This theory fed the illusion that a fundamental change in state power; namely, the establishment of the people's power, could be achieved by peaceful means. That is by developing "the pro-people aspect" and liquidating "the anti-people aspect."

The theory of "two aspects within the state power" in fact deprived the proletariat of freedom in the united front with the national bourgeoisie, subordinating the

interests of the proletariat to those of the bourgeoisie, and reducing the proletariat to the role of a mere servant of the national bourgeoisie.

To recover its position as leader of the people's struggle for independence, it is absolutely necessary for the PKI to correct its error; namely, the theory of "two aspects within the state power," and apply the correct Marxist-Leninist principles about the state and revolution.

Events in Indonesia have proved the total bankruptcy of all forms of the theory of "peaceful transition" to socialism. They have shown us what a great sacrifice must be paid by the proletariat due to illusions about "peaceful transition" and discarding the principles of a "people's war" in solving the contradiction between the people and the reactionary classes, such as the comprador bourgeoisie, bureaucratic capitalists and feudalists.

The way to achieve victory for the people of Indonesia is through a people's war adapted to the concrete conditions in Indonesia. This is the path of Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time, who has inherited, defended and developed creatively Marxism-Leninism as a whole, and brought it to a new stage.

The PKI, which is now more united, has drafted three urgent tasks under the heading of "Three Banners of the Party" [Tri Pandji Partai] to guide the People's Democratic Revolution to victory:

First: Carry out the task of rebuilding the PKI on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist line, free from any kind of opportunism and consistently against subjectivism and modern revisionism; and at the same time to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses, especially the workers and peasants.

Second: Prepare to lead a protracted armed struggle integrated with the agrarian revolution of the peasants in the villages.

Third: Establish a united front of all forces which are against the military dictatorship of the rightist army generals headed by Suharto and Nasution; namely, a united front based upon an alliance of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the proletariat. (Statement of the PKI, August 17, 1966.)

The program, "Three Banners of the Party," formulated after a serious internal struggle within the party over questions of principle, has united the rank and file of the party and given full confidence to all Indonesian Communists that the PKI will be capable of leading the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people toward a new upsurge in the near future.

The experience of our people shows that at the present time there is no difference between U.S. imperialism, the ruling class in Japan and the modern revisionists. On the one hand the modern revisionists have expelled one of the PKI cadres from their country; and, on the other hand, they have invited Adam Malik, the foreign minister of the Indonesian fascist regime, with open arms. These facts, plus the establishment of the "Tokyo Club," are only some examples of how the ruling class in Japan, the modern revisionists and the U.S. imperialists are working shoulder to shoulder in a united action against the people of Indonesia and their vanguard, the PKI.

Therefore, our party is of the opinion that the struggle against U.S. imperialism and against the fascist regime of Suharto-Nasution is only verbiage if it does not at the same time carry on a struggle against modern revisionism.

The modern revisionists are in fact the ideological and political mercenaries of the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces. Modern revisionism is a bourgeois ideology concealed under a cloak of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore it is impossible to bring the modern revisionists into a united action against U.S. imperialism.

Through its own experience, the PKI has learned that the struggle against modern revisionism must be carried out in conjunction with a struggle against any kind of modern revisionism that appears within its own ranks.

At the present moment, modern revisionism, which has been the principal danger in the international Communist movement, is becoming more dangerous because of its smooth-tongued, hypocritical and lying behavior.

The people of Indonesia, who are now struggling against the fascist regime of Suharto-Nasution, are fully convinced that by arming themselves with Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the Three Banners of the Party, they will prove capable

of overthrowing the fascist regime of Suharto-Nasution and bringing the Indonesian revolution to final victory.

Our people and our party are grateful to all the fraternal parties of Marxism-Leninism, including the Marxist-Leninists of Japan, for the solidarity and aid given us.

Now, and even more in the days to come, the people and the Marxist-Leninists of Indonesia and of Japan must unite ever closer in the struggle against the common enemy: U.S. imperialism and its lackeys; namely, the ruling class in Japan, the fascist regime in Indonesia and the modern revisionists, who are now all working shoulder to shoulder.

On the question of Vietnam, the Indonesian fascist regime at present is following the deceitful policy of the "peaceful solution" propagated by U.S. imperialism and the modern revisionists and backed up by the ruling class in Japan. In face of this treacherous policy, the Marxist-Leninists and the people of Japan and Indonesia must strengthen their unity in the common struggle to aid the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism, to liberate the South, to defend the North, and to unite all again into a single whole.

We are fully convinced that by holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the Marxist-Leninists of Japan will be able to achieve a greater success in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, the Japanese reactionary forces and the modern revisionists.

Long live the Marxist-Leninists of Japan, the vanguard of the Japanese people!

Long live militant friendship between the Marxist-Leninists and the people of Japan and Indonesia!

The Delegation of the CC of the PKI

October 22, 1966

Joesoef Adjitorop