

traits of Chairman Mao on the campus of the University of Paris, hoisted the Chinese flag, and posted quotations from Chairman Mao to show their enormous admiration and respect for Chairman Mao, the great teacher of the proletariat. In France, Italy, West Germany, and in other countries, students carried Chairman Mao portraits and waved the red-covered *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* in demonstrations. Students in Rome put up "It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves" and other quotations from Chairman Mao to guide their struggle and inspire their fighting will.

Flames of Struggle Will Burn Still Brighter

The vigorous student movement has thrown fear into the reactionaries of West Europe and North America and sown confusion among them. All of them have resorted to the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of violent suppression and political deception to cope with the masses of progressive students. In France, where the student movement has gone forward with particularly great force following the closing of the University of Paris on May 3, the thousands of police, gendarmes and security forces sent by the de Gaulle government used poisonous gas, tear-gas bombs, shock grenades and other weapons to ruthlessly repress the unarmed students and teachers. At the same time, de Gaulle himself came up with his political deception. On the one hand, he hypocritically promised that his government was prepared to consider some "reforms"

in higher education, while on the other, he crudely threatened to do all in his power to "maintain public order." The reactionary authorities of the United States, West Germany and Italy have also subjected the daily growing student movement to barbarous repression.

Confronted by the expanding student movement, the revisionist cliques, renegades and scabs of all breeds in these countries have barefacedly played the despicable role of serving the monopoly capitalist class, and have thus been indignantly condemned and spurned by the students. Thrown into a panic by the seething mass movement, the French revisionist clique, from the very beginning, labelled the revolutionary students "anarchists," "Left adventurists," etc. But when the student movement made big strides, it about-faced and adopted the tactics of sham support but real betrayal, trying to sneak into the student movement to sabotage it from within. But it failed completely because its scheme was exposed by the students.

Our great teacher Chairman Mao has pointed out: "However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph." No matter how the reactionary ruling circles of West Europe and North America use their counter-revolutionary dual tactics, and no matter how the modern revisionists serve as their cat's-paw, the flames of the student movement in West Europe and North America will never be stamped out; they will burn with growing intensity as the revolutionary forces of these areas expand steadily,

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Solidly United Under the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought, the P.K.I. Is Leading The Indonesian People to March Onward On the Road of People's War!

— Statement of the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia in commemoration of the 48th anniversary of the founding of the Party

MAY 23, 1968 is the 48th anniversary of the founding of our respected and beloved Party — the Communist Party of Indonesia (P.K.I.). The Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people commemorate the anniversary of the Party by waging heroic struggles

against the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime, by taking up arms in the countryside and in the mountains and jungles, by persevering in the struggle in the prisons and concentration camps with an unbending and unflinching spirit and holding in contempt all the savage

torture and persecution by the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime. However brutal and ferocious the reactionaries may be, they cannot prevent the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people from commemorating the anniversary of their Party. They commemorate it by steeling their fighting will further in the unfolding of guerrilla warfare, by establishing rural revolutionary bases, by arousing the peasant masses to undertake agrarian revolution, and by persevering in protracted armed struggle to encircle the cities from the countryside and eventually seize the cities and win national liberation.

While commemorating the 48th anniversary of the founding of the P.K.I., we are fully aware of the fact that the road of long-term struggle ahead of us is fraught with difficulties and sacrifices. The rabid white terror that began in October 1965 and the opportunist-revisionist errors committed by the Party in its line in the period, 1951-65, had subjected the Indonesian people's revolutionary movement to severe blows and resulted in the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people. Supported by the U.S. imperialists and Soviet modern revisionists, the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime has further stepped up its oppression and exploitation of the Indonesian people. It has revived and strengthened the imperialist control over the Indonesian economy and has completely sold out the national interest of the Indonesian people. Out of its fear of the revolutionary influence of the great People's Republic of China, it unleashed an unprecedented, savage racist campaign against China and the Chinese nationals in Indonesia. Despite the fact that temporarily the P.K.I. and the Indonesian revolutionary people are confronted with enormous difficulties and despite the fact that temporarily the enemy is still strong and the revolutionary forces are still weak, we are full of revolutionary optimism in facing the future. In commemorating the 47th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Indonesia on May 23, 1967, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the P.K.I. said in a statement: "The victory of the counter-revolutionary forces in Indonesia and their superiority over the revolutionary forces have been achieved not because the counter-revolutionary forces are in rising development. This has happened because the revolutionary forces led by the P.K.I. had undergone major deterioration, as a result of the opportunist and revisionist errors of our Party. This had enabled the counter-revolutionary forces to deal heavy blows at the P.K.I. and the Indonesian revolutionary movement. This victory of the counter-revolutionary forces in Indonesia as well as their supremacy over the revolutionary forces are temporary in nature. It is taking place at a time when the forces of counter-revolution on a global scale are heading for their total downfall. The mainstay of the Indonesian counter-revolutionary forces is shaky. Internally, the Indonesian counter-revolutionary forces rely on a decadent social system, namely, the vestiges of feudalism which is totally opposed by the vast masses of the Indonesian people.

Externally, the Indonesian counter-revolutionary forces rely on U.S. imperialism and are supported by the revisionist leading clique of the Soviet Union. This, too, is not a stable mainstay but a shaky one." The developments since this period have shown that the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime is faced with inextricable and daily increasing difficulties. With all the "aid" from the imperialists and modern revisionists, this regime cannot overcome its economic and financial difficulties. The contradictions within the ruling clique resulting from the scramble for power and profit have become more and more acute. What is most important is the fact that led by the Communist Party of Indonesia, the Indonesian people have risen in arms to resist the counter-revolutionary rule.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung teaches us: **"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."** In extremely difficult circumstances and after a relatively short period, the P.K.I. published in September 1966 the "Self-Criticism by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party" and corrected the basic errors of line committed by the Party in the past. The lessons drawn from the experience in blood of the P.K.I. and the Indonesian people's revolutionary movement are not only of great significance to the P.K.I. and the Indonesian revolution; they are also important lessons for the struggles of the revolutionary people throughout the world and for the international communist movement. They have most clearly and profoundly proved that, whenever the revolution departs from Mao Tse-tung's thought, it is bound to suffer losses. They have also proved that the revisionist road of "peaceful transition" preached by the modern revisionists with the C.P.S.U. leading group at the centre is the road to the destruction of the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries.

The "Self-Criticism by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party" has unequivocally stressed: "To achieve its complete victory, the Indonesian revolution must also follow the road of the Chinese revolution. This means that 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." The P.K.I. has adopted three banners which are in conformity with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought and which play an important role in guiding the Indonesian revolution. By consistently carrying out the tasks set by the three banners, we will possess the three main weapons to win victory for the people's democratic revolution in Indonesia: first, a Marxist-Leninist Party, which constitutes the

leading core of the revolution; second, the people's armed forces under the leadership of the Party as the main form of organization of the revolution; third, a revolutionary united front under the leadership of the Party as the embodiment of all revolutionary forces in Indonesia.

From their own experience, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists regard Mao Tse-tung's thought as the sole guiding ideology of the P.K.I. in building itself anew into a Marxist-Leninist Party capable of leading the Indonesian revolution. In its May 23, 1967 statement, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the P.K.I. has stressed: "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."

At present, under the leadership of the P.K.I., the Indonesian people have set out on the road of armed struggle. The flames of armed struggle have risen on the main islands such as Kalimantan (especially West Kalimantan), Java (especially East Java), Sumatra and Sulawesi. The people have started to organize their own armed forces, to punish the despotic landlords and local bullies. Overcoming various kinds of difficulties, the P.K.I. has begun to transfer the emphasis of its work from the city on to the countryside, and to switch from peaceful struggle to armed struggle, from legal to illegal and from open to underground activities. Under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, in line with the general principles of Party building at the present time, that is, Party building which serves the armed struggle and stresses the work in the countryside and underground work, the Marxist-Leninists of Indonesia are rebuilding the Communist Party of Indonesia.

In rebuilding the P.K.I. into a Marxist-Leninist political Party which is capable of leading the Indonesian revolution, we must continue to liquidate thoroughly the remnants of the errors of opportunism and revisionism, weed out their ideological roots and eliminate the conditions for their growth, clean up individualist ideology and develop the spirit of being ready to make sacrifices for the interests of the people and the Party. For this purpose, as pointed out clearly by the Political Bureau on the occasion of the 47th anniversary of the founding of the P.K.I.: "We must more assiduously study, master and practise Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought."

We are now commemorating the 48th anniversary of the founding of the P.K.I. at a time when the international conditions are extremely favourable to the Indonesian revolution as well as to the world revolution. The all-round victory of China's great proletarian cultural revolution is of tremendous world significance. The great proletarian cultural revolution has made China a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, hundreds of millions of Chinese people have studied, grasped and applied Mao

Tse-tung's thought — the most powerful ideological weapon for opposing all enemies of the revolution. The victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution has assured that China which has become the most powerful bulwark of the world revolution will remain red for ever. The great victory of the proletarian cultural revolution won by the Chinese people under the direct leadership of the great Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China is a telling blow to the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism, the modern revisionists with the C.P.S.U. leading group at the centre and all reactionaries of the world including the Suharto-Nasution traitorous regime. Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the great proletarian cultural revolution has made Mao Tse-tung's thought the victorious banner of the world revolutionary people's struggle.

Under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the Albanian Party of Labour, a Marxist-Leninist Party, the People's Republic of Albania has become a powerful bastion against imperialism and modern revisionism and a beacon of socialism in Europe.

The struggle of the people of various countries against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, against modern revisionism with the C.P.S.U. leading group at its centre and against all reaction is surging forward with each passing day. The Vietnamese people have scored one victory after another in their heroic struggle to smash the aggression by U.S. imperialism, defend the north, liberate the south and reunify their fatherland. The achievements and victories of the people of various countries in their revolutionary struggles are a direct assistance to the Indonesian people's struggle to smash the Suharto-Nasution fascist military dictatorial regime.

On the occasion of the commemoration of the 48th anniversary of the founding of the P.K.I., the Indonesian Communists and the Indonesian revolutionary people express their gratitude and deep respect to the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of all countries for their internationalist support to the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people.

By uniting solidly under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the P.K.I. will surely lead the Indonesian people ever onward on the road of people's war and surmount every difficulty to win victory.

Long live the armed struggle of the revolutionary people of Indonesia!

Down with the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime!

Long live the great Indonesian Communist Party!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time and the most respected and beloved great leader of the revolutionary people of the world!

May 23, 1968