

*D. N. Aidit*

**DARE, DARE, AND DARE AGAIN!**

– Political report presented on February 10, 1963, to the First Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia

*D. N. Aidit*

**THE INDONESIAN REVOLUTION  
AND THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF INDONESIA**

This pamphlet consists of three reports made by the author during his visit to China in 1963.

*D. N. Aidit*

**SET AFIRE THE *BANTENG* SPIRIT!  
EVER FORWARD, NO RETREAT!**

– Political Report to the Second Plenum of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia, Enlarged with the Members of the Central Auditing Commission and the Central Control Commission

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**MALAYAN  
PEOPLE'S EXPERIENCE  
REFUTES  
REVISIONIST FALLACIES**

– SIXTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MALAYAN PEOPLE'S  
ARMED STRUGGLE

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MALAYAN  
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— Sixteenth Anniversary of the Malayan People's  
Armed Struggle

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**T**HIS month (June), the patriotic, anti-colonialist sections of the Malayan population proudly commemorate the 16th anniversary of the Malayan people's armed struggle against British imperialism. Since the day, sixteen years ago, when the armed forces of British imperialism viciously and treacherously slaughtered the heroes and heroines of the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army who had helped Britain defeat Japanese Fascism, many attempts have been made to cloud the whole origin and issue of the Malayan people's struggle for national liberation.

British officialdom has conspired with unprincipled "historians", ignorant hack-writers, and traitors to the Revolutionary cause, to misrepresent the National Liberation movement of the Malayan people, led by the Communist Party of Malaya, as a "terrorist" organisation, an agency of "foreign subversive elements", etc.

Unfortunately for these perverters of truth and history, the Malayan people's valiant struggle throughout these years is an indelible record of truth; and anyone who is not afraid of truth can see for himself who the terrorists and the liars are. What is even more important, the impartial observer can see for himself that the imperialists and their agents in Malaya are doomed. Anyone who is unable to arrive at this conclusion from the evidence of the past sixteen years must be uncommonly obtuse.

## THE CORRECTNESS OF ARMED STRUGGLE

The decision of the Malayan people's patriotic forces, led by the Communist Party, to meet the armed onslaught of the imperialists with armed struggle was eminently correct. Violence must be met with violence. That is the first law of survival and of scientific Revolution. Furthermore, certain evils can only be eradicated by violence, and the biggest evil in human history — imperialism and colonialism — is removable only by sustained violence. In the entire history of the world, there has never been, nor will there ever be, an example of a nation, a people or a group within the sphere of imperialism-colonialism achieving liberation without some form of armed struggle (i.e., violence). There are, of course, any number of fake and half-baked "liberated" and "independent" countries or groupings which have come into being by the grace of imperial conferment of so-called "freedom". If the Malayan people had wanted this sort of "liberation" and "independence", they could have had it long ago. The "offer" was actually made to them, not once, but many times during the past twenty years; but they have treated such "offer" with contempt — true as they are, and will always be, to the cause of anti-imperialism in Malaya and throughout the world.

Those who questioned the wisdom of armed struggle when the vital decision was made sixteen years ago, were soon to find out their mistake; for, the more they yielded to imperialist violence and trickery, the more they suffered. This, on the converse side, is also the first law of survival and the first law of scientific Revolution.

The patriotic forces of the Malayan people, led by the Communist Party, correctly judged the situation and the

issue; and by taking the historic decision to counter imperialist violence with the people's violence, saved Malaya from being completely decimated and subjugated, and contributed vitally to the weakening of imperialism in Asia and the world as a whole.

The survival of the Malayan people as a nation today and the bright future awaiting them would have been out of the question had the correct decision to resist imperialist violence with people's violence not been taken in time and persistently implemented to this day.

## THE ROLE AND ETHICS OF VIOLENCE

Since Western colonisation began in the 15th century, an average of two organised wars of suppression every year has been recorded throughout the past 500 years or so. This does not take into account the so-called process of "pacification" which has accompanied every single act and phase of mediaeval, post-mediaeval and modern imperialist oppression. Imperialism as a concept, is inseparable from violence. Imperialism in motion (i.e., from its very inception to its very end) is the very embodiment of violence. Hence, whether in the atomic age or in the age of bows and arrows, the subjugation of other peoples' territories and rights has been successfully carried out only by the use of maximum physical pressure on the victims; that is to say, only by the use of the highest organised armed forces of the oppressing power.

It is also a fact that whether in the atomic age or in the age of bows and arrows, governance and violence have always been integral in the day-to-day schemes of

the oppressing power. This is true in respect of the oppressors' "governing" of their "own" toiling masses; but it is doubly true in respect of the oppressors' dealings with the peoples on whom they have clamped the shackles of colonialism. From this, it is clear that even after the initial act of armed, violent conquest and suppression of a people by the invading power, there is no such thing as a "period of peace" for the conquered, suppressed and exploited people in a colony. The mere absence of military action, however prolonged after the initial period of conquest, belies the true nature of imperialist exploitation and suppression in a colony.

Those who have studied imperialism-colonialism at first hand, better still, suffered and struggled as colonial victims, will readily understand that the end of the initial military campaign of conquest by the imperialist power merely marks the beginning of a long-drawn-out, punishing phase of violent "pacification" — what British officials call "maintenance of law and order". How hideously true this is can be seen from the fact that in every colony, the number of violent deaths through "pacification" and "maintenance of law and order" suffered by the oppressed peoples far exceeds even the number of those killed in the initial period of military conquest.

Finally, in the period of so-called "patronage" and "peaceful evolution", when the "rule of law" of the oppressing power is "established", the number of deaths from sheer exploitation, impoverishment and disease exceeds even the total for the initial period of military conquest and the period of "pacification". This is true of Malaya. It is true of every colony, past and present. Thus, the claim that there ever was or ever could be

such a thing as a "peaceful" advent or maintenance of colonialism stands exposed as a myth concocted by the oppressors themselves or their agents to fool their existing and would-be victims, and to stifle any twinges of public conscience.

The Malayan people, like all normal, patriotic and freedom-loving peoples, have never advocated, much less practised violence for the sake of violence. They ardently cherish peace; and were in fact, preparing for a peaceful assumption of power after their magnificent and selfless sacrifices in the resistance against the Fascist occupiers when they were violently and treacherously stabbed in the back by their wartime "allies" (the British Government). The Malayan people, too, had to learn afresh that imperialism never changes its nature, and that "Pax Britannica" — like the "peace" of all imperialist powers — is the "peace" of slavery, national obliteration and of death.

Those who love to philosophise on the ethics of violence should bear in mind that there is no such thing as a prerogative of violence. How could such "philosophers" seriously argue that the power with the biggest battleships and bombers could violently impose its will on others while the latter, by virtue of some divine proscription, might not use violence in self-defence? If such "philosophers" could not sustain their argument in the face of irrefutable facts, what ultimately is their aim in disseminating their one-sided "ethics"? In the final analysis, theirs is the "logic" and the "ethics" of the pirate, the plunderer, the murderer, the rank hypocrite! They are saying, in effect: "Hold on a minute, chaps! When I slit your throat, it's alright; but when you try to kick me in the teeth, it's all wrong, unethical, terroristic!"

## **THE CASE OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS UNIMPEACHABLE**

Those whose hearts and aspirations are unsullied have never had any misgivings about defending the armed struggle of the oppressed colonial peoples. Their intellect and their emotions are untroubled by hidden reservations that have been nurtured, like some secret vice, on the drug of special pleading. Imperialists and their apologists provide classic examples of duality of standards and elaborate duplicity. It is indeed an education to watch and hear an imperialist at church praying for "peace" on a Sunday and going out to shoot somebody's son or daughter on a Monday. This has happened and is happening everyday in Malaya, as no doubt, it has happened and is happening everyday in every place where imperialism still has a foothold.

From their own experience, Malayan patriots know that such state of things cannot be argued or coaxed out of existence. Like the process of creation itself, the final, physical destruction of the penultimate state of things must take place before the basis of the new can be laid.

The Western powers who comprise the overwhelming majority of the forces of the old order (i.e., capitalism-imperialism-colonialism), know this only too well. Their ruling class itself went through a similar, inevitable, violent overthrow of the penultimate state of things — feudal society — before it could usher in and establish its hegemony, the hegemony of the capitalist ruling class.

As early as the date of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the elemental warning of the beginning of the end of the capitalist-imperialist order had been flashed throughout the world. In 1949, the victory of the Chinese people's Liberation movement, followed

by an accumulating avalanche of victories of oppressed peoples in many parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America, brought the capitalist-imperialist order to its final stage of disintegration.

This fact is so overwhelming that even the imperialists themselves openly admit it. When, a few years ago, the then Prime Minister of Britain, Harold Macmillan, spoke of the "wind of change" in the colonies, he was, in fact, echoing with fear and gloom the imperialists' acknowledgment of this fact. And try as his Government did to forestall or divert this "wind of change" into some safe channels in the interests of imperialism, the Liberation movements of the oppressed peoples went on from victory to victory.

Thus, according both to the laws of history and to the subjective admission of the imperialists themselves, the violent leap of the oppressed peoples towards freedom had, in our era, become inevitable, general, completely unimpeachable morally and ethically, and assuredly invincible.

In making the decision to embark on this road of struggle and re-creation, the patriots of Malaya, led by the Communist Party, not only have no cause for regrets, but have every cause for joy at being ranged on the side of the completely just and invincible forces of history. In this knowledge, they will traverse this road with renewed vigour and press on until the glorious goal is reached.

## **THE MODERN REVISIONIST ENCROACHMENT**

It would be idle to pretend that the Liberation movement in Malaya has not been infected by the outbreak

of modern revisionism that has caused so much trouble in the international Communist movement.

Yes, Malaya has its quota of modern revisionism. Our garden too is infected by the prevailing disease. Malaysians need not be ashamed in admitting this. Admission is the first token of resolve to carry out self-change; and this is eminently healthy, just as it is vitally necessary.

It should not surprise anyone that the Liberation movement in Malaya too is not immune to modern revisionism. After all, Malaya is a colony; and, as has been shown with such tragic clarity in the oldest and most respected citadel of Marxist-Leninist Revolution — the Soviet Union — no place under the sun is immune to the disease. Even after the whole world has been cleared of imperialists, the mind of man cannot be said to be completely resistant to petty-bourgeois reversion. Of course, as more countries and peoples become liberated from the clutches of imperialism, the material basis for the survival of the remnants of petty-bourgeois ideology and for the revival of retrogressive values and practices diminish. But unless the process of Revolutionary education and self-change is carried out as part of the process of struggle for liberation, consolidation and Socialist re-creation, two things could happen: (1) Some elements among the older generation could lapse into old habits of thinking and practice; (2) Some elements among the younger generation (none of whom have experienced the hard school of Revolutionary thinking, living and struggle) could create a new variant of social kink, that is, as it were, generic to the new society.

How could Malaya, which is still a colony, be free from a disease that has penetrated far more powerful citadels? After all, modern revisionism — like its historical antecedent, classic reformism — is part of the imperialist armoury.

It is well known that the imperialists do not rely on armed force alone to suppress, confuse and divide the oppressed peoples. They also rely a good deal on psychological warfare — at which British imperialism is particularly adept. Part of the “secret weapons” used by the imperialists in their psychological warfare consists of pseudo-revolutionary, pseudo-Marxist-Leninist, pseudo-anti-colonialist ideas. These are far more dangerous than atom bombs because they are usually well-camouflaged in Revolutionary and even “Marxist-Leninist” and “Communist” colours and are disseminated by people who are members of important Communist and Workers’ Parties and even Socialist Governments.

It is at first sight alarming that, on the very eve of the final victory of the anti-imperialist forces of the world against the doomed forces of capitalism-imperialism, the very threshold of the Socialist and anti-imperialist camp should be hit by a most virulent epidemic generated by the ideological germs let loose by the imperialists’ psychological warfare department. Yet, on further consideration, this contradiction is not at all strange or alarming, although it is admittedly serious.

It is precisely because imperialism is conscious of its impending doom that it has flung into battle its last, secret and most dangerous weapon. Throughout the history of the working class and anti-imperialist movement, the secret and most dangerous weapon of the capitalist-imperialist ruling class has always been the

weapon of ideological confusion, distortion and revisionism. General Templer, former commander of the British imperialist forces fighting against the Liberation Army of Malaya, used this very weapon and well earned his bread and butter from his imperial masters when he ordered his troops to combine killing with "winning the hearts and minds" of the people. The British colonial authorities used a similar weapon when they recruited renegades from the Communist Parties of Britain and other countries to preach the doctrines of modern revisionism among the people of Malaya. These renegades too earned their bread and butter from their imperial masters.

Such examples of the imperialists' psychological warfare are neither new nor rare. The people of Malaya have on the whole learnt, by "negative example", from the antics of the imperialists. But what the people of Malaya, particularly the patriotic elements, must learn is the lesson provided by the outbreak of modern revisionism. Unless the fight against modern revisionism is carried out as an essential part of the day-to-day struggle against imperialism and for national independence, the struggle could suffer serious retardation. All sections of the patriotic movement in Malaya must, as a first step in this period of reassessment and nationwide self-correction, methodically expose and discard revisionist ideas in every phase of their activities.

They must beware of the cunning imperialist propaganda that the existing ideological differences concern only or mainly "Moscow and Peking"; or, they are matters which concern only Marxist-Leninists; or, such questions only concern theoreticians; etc. Imperialists spread such propaganda to disarm not only the Communist and

Workers' Parties of the world, but also the broad, patriotic, anti-imperialist movements. The disease-germs of modern revisionism hit everybody — whether Communists or monks, theoreticians or dreamers. Nor are such questions "best left to Moscow and Peking". Such attitude (again inspired by imperialists and their agents) would, if left unchecked, result in collapse of the faculty to make independent judgment and in failure to contribute to the anti-imperialist struggle at home or abroad.

#### **HOW TO IDENTIFY AND COMBAT MODERN REVISIONIST IDEAS**

There is no substitute for diligent and constructive study of Marxist-Leninist theory. Without a sound and daily-reinforced ideological foundation, the ability to perceive, discern, decide and act cannot but be unequal to the task in hand. Two trends — both equally harmful — in the field of theoretical studies should be combated. One is the trend of intellectual abstractionism — so common and baneful among those with a bourgeois academic background. This trend manifests itself in a kind of arrogant detachment from persons and events that are integral parts of the Revolutionary movement. A look around the Marxist-Leninist Parties that have failed, in contrast to those that have succeeded, will readily show how futile a Party led by intellectual abstractionists can become in a relatively short time.

The other trend is that of "intellectual slumming"; that is, a brand of petty-bourgeois sentimentality which says, in effect, that the working class can do no wrong and, therefore, needs no theories. People who talk and work like that should not complain when they find themselves



at the head of a neo-Fascist movement comprised of a horde of the dirtiest lot of *lumpen* degenerates from the working class and the peasantry who ever scorned theory.

There is no place in the anti-imperialist ranks for either of the above-mentioned trends. The standard of political consciousness must be raised all the time; otherwise, new imperialist tricks, or tricks practised by the neo-colonialists and modern revisionists will succeed in causing havoc in the ranks of the patriots.

Modern revisionist tricks are not difficult to spot. It is one of the unavoidable weaknesses of the imperialists and their apologists that they can disguise their phraseology and political posture to simulate revolutionary attitudes; but, with a little probing, their true imperialist and counter-revolutionary selves can always be uncovered.

The staunch and clear-cut leadership given by the Communist Party of Malaya throughout the most arduous years of the Malayan people's Liberation struggle has been the biggest single stumbling-block to the tricks of the imperialists and their agents of various shades. Certain Malaysians who call themselves "Socialists", do not scruple to malign the C.P. of Malaya — using such mud from the imperialist barrel as: "Failure of the C.P. to give a lead"; "no influence"; "adopting wrong policies"; etc. To their eternal shame, the modern revisionist leadership of certain Communist and Workers' Parties join in the game of baiting the most-tested and most devoted party in Malaya — hoping no doubt to create an opening for the establishment of a revisionist leadership that would pledge Malaya to a policy of "peaceful co-operation" with the imperialists of the West.

#### ACID TEST OF "MALAYSIA"

Thanks to the correct leadership of the Communist Party of Malaya, the new phase of struggle — against the dangerous imperialist scheme, "Malaysia" — was successfully launched. Today, the far-flung anti-imperialist action inside and outside Malaya, which developed directly or indirectly from the anti-"Malaysia" struggle, has become a major sector of struggle within the general anti-imperialist theatre of operations.

Many rich experiences have been gained during the anti-"Malaysia" campaign. No doubt, many of these would, by now, have provided invaluable lessons for subsequent actions.

The anti-"Malaysia" phase of the anti-imperialist struggle has also provided an acid test for friend as well as foe. The Liberation movement of Malaya gained many friends at home and abroad as a result of its determination to carry out the policy of confrontation against "Malaysia" to the end. At the same time, many false friends were exposed — chief among these, the modern revisionist "comrades" who tried to inject their idea of rapprochement with "Malaysia", or of "toning down" the confrontation policy.

It did not take long to discover that these "comrades", following certain outside modern revisionist trends, have virtually accepted "Malaysia" as a *fait accompli*, and are trying to foist their betrayal policy on their contacts. No true anti-imperialist can compromise on "Malaysia". It must be crushed, and the imperialist forces and establishments of occupation and oppression removed, before there can be any talk of ending the anti-"Malaysia" campaign.

More than that; the present phase of the anti-“Malaysia” campaign needs to be intensified and heightened to coalesce with the general anti-U.S. imperialist struggle now reaching new heights in S.E. Asia. Since June, 1948, several new factors in the National Liberation struggle have emerged — chief of which is the desperate onslaught by the U.S. imperialists against Malaya’s close neighbours in the Indo-China region. The patriots of Malaya can be proud of their record of solidarity with their brothers and sisters in neighbouring territories. However hard-pressed, the patriots of Malaya have never hesitated to render fraternal support to their fellow anti-imperialists. The development and enhancement of the spirit of nationalism side by side with the heightening of the spirit of proletarian internationalism are the direct result of the painstaking leadership of the Communist Party of Malaya — an achievement which earned for it the hatred and pompous “rebuke” of the modern revisionist baton-wielders and their Titoite friends.

The development and enhancement of the spirit of nationalism and proletarian internationalism was also a victory over the school of parochial “revolutionaries” and “peaceful evolutionists” who, for some time, plagued certain sections of the Liberation movement. Parochialism and parliamentarian cretinism must be obliterated from the ranks of the Malayan National Liberation movement, for, they provide one of the main breeding-grounds for modern revisionism and capitulationism.

#### THE JUDGMENT OF HISTORY

Those who oppose or obstruct the Malayan people’s struggle for freedom do so from two standpoints: (1) The

standpoint of imperialists; and (2) The standpoint of modern revisionists. The standpoint of the former is understandable and needs no explanation. The standpoint of the modern revisionists is, however, more complex. The modern revisionists would protest and shout from the house-tops that they too are against “Malaysia”; but they oppose and try to sabotage the anti-“Malaysia” confrontation campaign because such campaign “creates tension” and “might lead to war and a general conflagration”. The modern revisionists profess to support the Malayan National Liberation movement; but they openly and wantonly condemn the armed struggle of the Malayan people as a wicked waste of life and as a youthful manifestation of the desire to “die beautifully”, and unashamedly build up bourgeois reformist “leaders” to head off the Malayan revolution into “safe” channels. The modern revisionists claim that they respect the sovereign rights of the oppressed peoples to self-determination; but they proceed to join in sponsoring the imperialist-infested United Nations to send “investigation” and even “supervisory” teams to Malaya and other areas of tense struggle, in an effort to use the so-called “U.N. force” to subdue the Liberation forces of the patriots. Thus, the danger of the imperialist-modern revisionist doing a “Congo” in Malaya is ever-present and must be guarded against most vigilantly.

The particular role which the Malayan patriots have been called to fulfil these past sixteen years has been arduous. History has decreed that S.E. Asia shall be one of the final graveyards of imperialism; and the patriotic peoples of the region, with many years of invaluable experience and an inexhaustible heritage to draw from, will fulfil the task of burying imperialism with a degree

of determination and finality which only those who have learnt to turn suffering into strength can evince. The judgment of history has already condemned imperialism; that is more than half the battle won.

The Malayan people will unite and strengthen their determination as never before to speed the day of final liberation.

馬來亞人民的經歷駁斥了  
修正主義者的謬論  
——紀念馬來亞人民武裝鬥爭十六周年

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