



IDEAS OF "OCTOBER" ARE INVINCIBLE
J. V. STALIN — GREAT REVOLUTIONARY
INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE OCTOBER
REVOLUTION (STALIN)
REVISIONISM AND RELIGION
CONSERVATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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The Ideas of the Great October Revolution are Invincible

Fifty-six years ago the Bolshevik Party of Russia, headed by V. I. Lenin, started the armed uprising of workers, peasants and soldiers that we know today as the Great October Revolution. Like lightning it spread and triumphed throughout Russia and soon throughout most of the former Russian Empire, being crowned with the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

On the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution, J. V. Stalin wrote: "The October Revolution is not merely a revolution 'within national bounds'. It is, above all, a revolution of an international world-embracing order, for it denotes a radical turn in the universal history of mankind, away from the old, capitalist world, to the new socialist world.

"Revolutions in the past usually ended in changing one group of exploiters at the helm of the ship of state for another such group. The exploiters would change, while exploitation remained . . ."

The October Revolution, Stalin pointed out, differs from these revolutions in point of principle. It sets as its aim not the replacement of one form of exploitation by another form of exploitation, of one group of exploiters by another group of exploiters, but the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, the abolition of any and every exploiting group, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the establishment of the power of the most revolutionary class of all oppressed classes hitherto existing, the organisation of a new, classless, socialist society.

It is precisely for this reason that the victory of the October Revolution means a radical change in the history of mankind, a radical change in the historical destinies of world capitalism, a radical change in the movement for the emancipation of the world proletariat, a radical change in the methods of struggle and the forms of organisation, in the everyday life and traditions, in the culture and ideology of exploited masses throughout the world.

"Upon this is based the fact that the October Revolution is a revolution of an international, universal order . . ."

How was it possible that the comparatively small Bolshevik Party grouped around the Petrograd Soviet, could initiate this mighty mass movement which opened a new epoch in human history? This was possible, first, because the objective situation was ripe for such a movement; second, because the subjective factor, the

factor of consciousness, especially of the revolutionary vanguard party, was ready, trained and tested. Under Lenin's guidance, a new type of party had been forged, a disciplined party, equipped with the science of Marxism, using the weapon of self-criticism, and linked with the masses of the people. Such a party was capable of recognising and seizing the critical moment when all the contradictions in the objective circumstances were favourable to revolution. It was capable of working out political policies and slogans which were precisely the right ones, and of taking these policies and slogans to the masses so that they embraced them as their own and fought to implement them.

VICTORY IN CHINA

Thus the Great October Revolution triumphed and the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat was born. But the salvoes of the cruiser, "Aurora" shelling the Winter Palace echoed far beyond the borders of the future Soviet Union. Working people in every country eagerly grasped the revolutionary ideas of Marxism Leninism in their struggle for liberation from exploitation and oppression.

In China, these ideas gave new hope, new direction to the patriotic anti-imperialist movement, and a tiny group of the most advanced people founded the Communist Party of China.

After nearly thirty years of complicated, bitter class struggles, the now mighty Communist Party of China led the Chinese people to victory in their armed revolutionary struggle and proclaimed the People's Republic of China. Today one quarter of all mankind work and prosper in China under the red flag of the proletarian revolution as they go about the task of constructing their socialist society.

How was it possible that the tiny group that founded the C.P.C. could initiate the mighty mass movement that has radically changed the face of old China and revolutionised the lives of a quarter of the people of the world? This was possible, first, because the objective situation was ripe for such a change; second, because learning from the experience of the Bolsheviks, the Chinese communists forged a revolutionary vanguard party of the type that Lenin envisaged.

"A well-disciplined Party, armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party, a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party — these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy", said the great leader of the Chinese people, Mao Tsetung.

REVOLUTION IN ALBANIA

In Europe, too, in the Balkans, the publication by the Bolshe-

vik-led Soviet government of the texts of the secret treaties hatched up by the imperialist powers for the partition of spheres of influence between themselves, gave a great impulse to the anti-imperialist liberation movement in Albania, while the spreading of the knowledge that the Russian workers and peasants had established a state free of exploitation and oppression inspired the struggles of the toiling people. The organised communist movement in Albania began in 1929, with the founding of the Communist Group of Korcha. Twelve years later, after many bitter struggles, the Communist Party of Albania was founded by a meeting of the leaders of the Communist groups actually fighting the Italian fascist invaders of Albania. From all lists of members of the former groups, only 200 were chosen as proven worthy of being members of the Albanian Communist Party. Their immediate task was to unite all the patriotic elements among the Albanian people in a nation-wide armed struggle to liberate their country from the fascist invaders.

Four years later, by the end of November, 1944, the Albanian National Liberation forces were a regular army of 70,000 fighters who, with arms and ammunition captured from the enemy in battle, had defeated the modern forces of fascist Italy and later, Nazi Germany, driving the last foreign soldier from their soil and completing the liberation of the country. The Albanian Communist Party, the heart, the mind, the conscience of the Albanian people led them in the proclamation of the People's Republic of Albania on January 11, 1946.

How was it possible that this little group of 200 communists, under the terror of fascist occupation of their country, could initiate such a powerful mass movement and transforming force? This was possible first, because the objective situation was ripe for such a movement and transformation; second, because the Albanian communists forged a disciplined revolutionary vanguard party of the type that Lenin envisaged.

After the October Revolution, for nearly forty years, the U.S.S.R., under the leadership of the C.P.S.U. (Bolshevik), advanced on a scale and at rates unprecedented in human history. Backward, poverty-stricken, illiterate, old Russia, became a modern socialist state with an advanced, large-scale industrial economy and socialist agriculture, and social services. Enormous problems and dreadful difficulties were overcome using revolutionary methods previously unknown to mankind. When following the outbreak of the Second World War, most of the capitalist countries of the world were either prostrated or impotent in the face of the military power of German and Japanese fascism, the Soviet Union under the Marxist-Leninist leadership of J. V. Stalin, absorbed the heaviest blows of the fascist armies, then dealt them a decisive and crushing rebuff. The Red Army of the Soviet Union became the main force for the liberation of the peoples of Europe from the fascist menace.

DEGENERATION OF THE C.P.S.U.

But in traversing the previously unknown path of the building of socialist society, not all the lessons were learned. Some serious mistakes were made. The Bolshevik Party, the Party of Lenin, began to degenerate, to lose its proletarian class character. Less than three years after the death of Stalin, a gang of traitors seized the leadership of the C.P.S.U., attacked the very foundations of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and set the Soviet Union on the road to the restoration of capitalism. Today the former socialist Soviet Union has become a country with a special type of state capitalist economy and relations. The law of value and the pursuit of profits prevail. Lenin's body still lies in the mausoleum of the Kremlin, the cruiser "Aurora" is preserved as a museum exhibit, but the biggest imperialist monopolies are back with their investments, their permanent offices, branches, in Moscow, Leningrad, to exploit the Soviet people and the natural wealth of their territory.

Today the former socialist Soviet Union has become the social-imperialist Soviet Union, colluding and contending with United States imperialism for domination of the world and its division into their spheres of influence. Brezhnev and Nixon are birds of a feather.

How was it possible that such a mighty socialist state as the Soviet Union was in the days of Stalin, with such a glorious history, could degenerate so rapidly back to capitalism? This was possible primarily because the Communist Party of the Soviet Union lost its bearings, lost its class orientation as the revolutionary vanguard party of the proletariat, and its Leninist structure of democratic-centralism. It has not changed its name — it has simply changed its class essence and aims. At its 22nd Congress, it even went so far as to proclaim openly that it was no longer the party of the proletariat, claiming instead to be the "party of the whole people", while the dictatorship of the proletariat was said to be replaced with the "dictatorship of the whole people". This utter nonsense, these flagrant rejections of the teachings of Marxist-Leninist science are a disguise to hide the reality that the U.S.S.R. today has reverted to a dictatorship of the new, bureaucratic Soviet bourgeoisie.

The key to victory or defeat for the proletariat and the socialist revolution consists in whether or not the proletariat is able to build and maintain its revolutionary vanguard party of the Leninist type, a well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people.

The Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of China has summed up the experience of the proletarian revolution in China and throughout the world. It has drawn the lessons from both failures and successes at home and abroad, and has generalised these lessons in the Constitution of the C.P.C. recently amended to make it conform more accurately to the reality of the world, re-

vealed in the light of this experience.

LESSONS OF THE 10TH CONGRESS, C.P.C.

For us members of the Communist Party of New Zealand, engaged on many fronts in the struggle between the two lines, especially for the establishment of a consistently Marxist-Leninist form of organisation, method and style of work of our Party, there are many rich lessons in the documents of the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of China. They should be carefully studied in relation to our own experience. Overall, they are an object lesson in the application of the Marxist-Leninist scientific method of examining the experience of practice to discover truth and adopt more correct policies, ideas and methods, thus ensuring the continuous development of the revolutionary party based on the principles of democratic-centralism that Lenin evolved. If we use this method consistently, subjecting all our ideas, methods, forms of organisation and practices, regardless of whether or not they have the authority of established tradition, to careful scrutiny in terms of whether practice shows them to be correct or incorrect. Marxism-Leninism will triumph. This is what we mean by rectifying the Party's style of work. We shall build our Party into that disciplined, monolithic, vanguard revolutionary Party of the proletariat that is the key to the eventual victory of the socialist revolution in New Zealand.

Regardless of difficulties and temporary reverses, regardless of the zigzags and ups and downs of the road, the revolutionary experience of the world proletariat during the fifty-six years since the Great October Revolution proves that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are correct and will guide the working people of every country in building the new socialist world free from exploitation and oppression.



J. V. Stalin— Great Revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist

(Editorial of "Zeri i Popullit", the Albanian "People's Voice").

J V. Stalin, this glorious disciple of V. I. Lenin, who stood for thirty years at the head of the Soviet Communist Party and state, died 20 years ago. All revolutionaries and freedom-loving peoples remember Stalin as a great revolutionary and an outstanding Marxist-Leninist who devoted his whole life to the defence of the victories of the revolution and of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, to the cause of the liberation of the proletariat and of all the oppressed peoples.

Closely linked with Stalin's name are the brilliant victories of the Soviet people following the October Socialist Revolution, the building of the socialist society in the Soviet Union, the glorious victory in the second world war against the fascist hordes, the development of the communist and workers, national liberation and democratic movements in the world. J. V. Stalin developed and enriched Leninism, the theory of the construction of socialism, of the struggle against opportunism, revisionism and imperialism.

After Lenin's death he defended Leninism with firm determination against all the enemies of the working class — Trotskyists, Bukharinists, bourgeois nationalists, modern revisionists; he further developed the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin about the party, the revolution and the state, and applied them with persistence and farsightedness. He became a comrade, teacher and great defender of all the oppressed, of all those who were fighting for social and national liberation.

Because Stalin was such, the imperialists, the modern revisionists and all the enemies of communism and of the freedom of the peoples have sought with all their forces to tarnish his image as a dauntless revolutionary and to denigrate his glorious performance.

By attacking Stalin they aimed at burying Marxism-Leninism, at discrediting socialism and communism, paving the way to revisionism and counter-revolution, at overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat. By attacking him, they aimed to curb the revolution and rob the peoples of the socialist and liberated countries of their historic gains. All this has been proved by the present-day revisionist degeneration of the Soviet Union and by the complete departure from Marxism-Leninism of all those parties which joined the slanderous campaign against Stalin.

The leaders of the Soviet Union and the other revisionists in

some former socialist countries have cut all ties with Marxism-Leninism, they have transformed the communist parties into revisionist parties, they have replaced the dictatorship of the proletariat with their own bureaucratic-bourgeois dictatorship and they have restored capitalism.

The modern revisionists, by their traitorous line, transformed the Soviet Union from a centre and base of the world revolution, from a great assistant and defender of the peoples, into a centre of world counter-revolution, into an imperialist state, enemy of socialism and of the freedom of the peoples.

Through a "holy" alliance they linked themselves with U.S. imperialism which today represents the greatest counter-revolutionary force counterposed to the struggle of the peoples for freedom and socialism. Together with it, they are striving to destroy socialism, to stifle revolution and establish their domination over the whole world. Their counter-revolutionary collaboration has been clearly seen in the course of events in Indo-china and in the Middle East, in the Indian Ocean and in the Mediterranean, in Europe and elsewhere.

The Soviet Union, when J. V^o Stalin was at its head, helped the peoples of Europe in their liberation from the nazi-fascist yoke and in the building of their independent existence, whereas the present-day revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union carried out the fascist aggression against Czechoslovakia and are maintaining their domination over a series of European countries. They collaborate with the Bonn militarists and trample underfoot the interests of the peoples of Europe and of all those who have fought against Hitlerite fascism.

With all their forces the Soviet Union and Stalin supported the struggle of the peoples for national liberation against colonialism and imperialism, whereas the present-day Soviet leaders have become extinguishers of the revolution and of the national liberation struggles. They have undermined the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people and have given great aid to the U.S. aggressors to "withdraw with honour" from Indo-china. Moreover, they implement an expansionist and hegemonistic policy in the Middle East, the Indian Ocean, etc.

As a fiery internationalist, Stalin was a supporter and inspirer of the international communist movement, whereas the Soviet Khrushchevite leadership has sought to dictate its own traitorous and anti-Marxist course on it, to turn it into a tool of the Soviet foreign policy.

In the light of the present-day international events Stalin's image as a dauntless and uncompromising fighter against imperialism, reaction, the renegades to socialism, enemies of freedom and peace, is still more imposing. His Leninist teachings illuminate the road for the revolutionaries and peoples of the whole world. Because Stalin stands and will always stand as a glorious banner in

the struggle for socialism, for freedom and independence, the imperialists and the revisionists are furiously continuing their efforts to cast his name and work into oblivion, to distort and reject his revolutionary teachings, the great principles of Marxism-Leninism which he defended and implemented with determination.

But despite all these efforts of the imperialist-revisionist propaganda, despite the deceptive campaigns they have not been and will never be able to tarnish Stalin's image in the least. They suffered great defeats and still greater defeats lie in store for them. Stalin's name and activity are vividly preserved in the hearts of the revolutionaries and of the peoples of the world and they are in an inexhaustible inspiration in their struggle for freedom, independence and socialism, for the realisation of the great ideals of the whole of progressive mankind for which he fought. Stalin's work is a banner of inspiration, determination and courage for the peoples and the genuine revolutionaries in the Soviet Union, who will without fail rise up one day for the overthrow of revisionism, for the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the triumph of the eternal teachings of Lenin and Stalin, for the return of the glory of October.

Our Party, guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and of comrade Enver Hoxha, alongside all the other Marxist-Leninist parties and true revolutionaries in the world, just as previously, will defend Stalin and his work, convinced that this will thus defend the triumphant revolutionary theory of the proletariat, the great cause of the revolution and of socialism, the freedom and independence of the peoples. Our Party and people, bowing with respect before the immortal memory and work of J. V. Stalin, express their firm determination to always carry out their national and internationalist duties, to fight through to the end against U.S.-led imperialism and against Soviet-led revisionism, to march always onward, towards new victories, under the all-conquering banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.



The International Character of the October Revolution

— J. V. Stalin.

(On the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution).

The October Revolution is not merely a revolution "within national limits." It is primarily, a revolution of an international, world order; for it signifies a radical turn in the world history of mankind, a turn from the old, capitalist, world to a new, socialist world.

Revolutions in the past usually ended with one group of exploiters replacing another group of exploiters at the helm of government. The exploiters changed, exploitation remained. Such was the case during the liberation movements of the slaves. Such was the case during the rebellions of the serfs. Such was the case during the period of the well-known "great" revolutions in England, France and Germany. I am not speaking of the Paris Commune, which was the first glorious, heroic but unsuccessful attempt on the part of the proletariat to turn history against capitalism.

The October Revolution differs from these revolutions in principle. Its aim is not to substitute one form of exploitation for another form of exploitation, nor one group of exploiters for another group of exploiters, but to abolish all exploitation of man by man, to abolish all exploiter groups, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, the power of the most revolutionary class of all the oppressed classes that have ever existed, to organise a new, classless, Socialist society.

It is precisely for this reason that the victory of the October Revolution signifies a radical change in the history of mankind, a radical change in the historical destiny of world capitalism, a radical change in the liberation movement of the world proletariat, a radical change in the methods of struggle and the forms of organisation, in the life and traditions, in the culture and ideology of the exploited masses throughout the world.

This is the basic reason why the October Revolution is a revolution of an international, world order.

This also is the root cause of the profound sympathy for the October Revolution cherished by the oppressed classes of all countries, who regard it as a pledge of their own emancipation.

A number of fundamental questions could be noted on which the October Revolution influences the development of the revolutionary movement throughout the world.

1. The October Revolution is remarkable primarily for having caused a breach in the front of world imperialism, for having over-

thrown the imperialist bourgeoisie in one of the biggest capitalist countries and put the Socialist proletariat in power.

The class of wage workers, the class of the persecuted, the class of the oppressed and exploited has **for the first time** in the history of mankind risen to the position of the **ruling** class, setting a contagious example to the proletarians of all countries.

This means that the October Revolution **has ushered in a new era**, the era of **proletarian** revolutions in the countries of **imperialism**.

It took the instruments and means of production from the landlords and capitalists and converted them into public property, thus opposing Socialist property to bourgeois property. It thereby exposed the lie of capitalists that bourgeois property is inviolable, sacred, eternal.

It wrested power from the bourgeoisie, deprived the bourgeoisie of political rights, destroyed the bourgeois state apparatus and transferred power to the Soviets, thus opposing the socialist rule of the Soviets, as **proletarian** democracy, to bourgeois parliamentarism, as **capitalist** democracy. Lafargue was right when he said, as far back as 1887, that on the morrow of the revolution "all former capitalists will be disfranchised." The October Revolution thereby exposed the lie of the Social-Democrats that it is possible at present to effect a peaceful transition to Socialism through bourgeois parliamentarism.

But the October Revolution did not, and could not, stop there. Having destroyed the old, what was bourgeois, it began to build the new, the socialistic. The ten years of the October Revolution have been ten years of construction of the Party, the trade unions, the Soviets, the co-operative societies, cultural organisations, transport, industry, the Red Army. The indisputable successes of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. on the construction front have demonstrated that the proletariat can successfully govern the country **without** the bourgeoisie and **against** the bourgeoisie, that it can successfully build industry **without** the bourgeoisie and **against** the bourgeoisie, that it **can** successfully direct the whole of the national economy **without** the bourgeoisie and **against** the bourgeoisie, that it **can** successfully build Socialism in spite of the capitalist encirclement. Menentus Agrippa, the famous Roman senator of ancient history, is not the only one who can lay claim to the old "theory" that the exploited cannot do without the exploiters any more than the head and other parts of the body can do without a stomach. This "theory" is now the corner-stone of the political "philosophy" of Social-Democracy in general, and of the Social-Democratic policy of coalition with the imperialist bourgeoisie, in particular. This "theory" which has acquired the character of a prejudice, is now one of the most serious obstacles in the path of the revolutionisation of the proletariat in the capitalist countries. One of the most important results of the Oc-

tober Revolution is that it dealt this false "theory" a mortal blow.

Is there still any need to prove that such and similar results of the October Revolution could not and cannot but have their serious effect on the revolutionary movement of the working class in capitalist countries?

Such generally known facts as the progressive growth of Communism in capitalist countries, the growing sympathy of the proletarians of all countries for the working class of the U.S.S.R. and, finally, the many workers' delegations that come to the Land of the Soviets, prove beyond a doubt that the seeds sown by the October Revolution are already beginning to bear fruit.

2. The October Revolution has shaken imperialism not only in the centres of its domination, not only in the "mother countries". It has also struck blows at the rear of imperialism, its periphery, having undermined the rule of imperialism in the colonial and dependent countries.

Having overthrown the landlords and the capitalists, the October Revolution has broken the chains of national and colonial oppression and freed from it, without exception, all the oppressed nations of a vast state. The proletariat cannot emancipate itself without emancipating the oppressed nations.. It is a characteristic feature of the October Revolution that it accomplished these national-colonial revolutions in the U.S.S.R. not under the flag of national enmity and conflicts among nations, but under the flag of mutual confidence and fraternal rapprochement of workers and peasants of the various nationalities in the U.S.S.R.; not in the name of **nationalism**, but in the name of **internationalism**.

It is precisely because the national-colonial revolutions took place in our country under the leadership of the proletariat and under the banner of internationalism that pariah nations, slave nations, have for the **first time** in the history of mankind risen to the position of nations which are **really** free and **really** equal, thereby setting a contagious example for the oppressed nations of the whole world.

This means that the October revolution has **ushered in** a new era, the era of **colonial** revolutions which are being conducted **in the oppressed countries** of the world **in alliance** with the proletariat and **under the leadership** of the proletariat.

It was formerly the "accepted idea" that the world has been divided from time immemorial into inferior and superior races, into blacks and whites, of whom the former are unfit for civilisation, and are doomed to be the objects of exploitation, while the latter are the only vehicles of civilisation, whose mission it is to exploit the former. This legend must now be regarded as shattered and discarded. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is that it dealt this legend a mortal blow, having shown in practice that liberated non-European nations, drawn into the channel of Soviet development, are not a bit less capable of pro-

moting a **really** progressive culture and a **really** progressive civilisation than are the European nations.

It was formerly the "accepted idea" that the only method of liberating the oppressed nations is the method of **bourgeois nationalism**, the method of nations drawing apart from each other, the method of disuniting nations, the method of intensifying national enmity among the labouring masses of the various nations. This legend must now be regarded as disproved. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is that it dealt this legend a mortal blow having demonstrated in practice the possibility and expediency of the proletarian, international method of liberating the oppressed nations as being the only correct method, having demonstrated in practice the possibility and expediency of a fraternal union of the workers and peasants of the most diverse nations on the principles of voluntariness and internationalism. The existence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which is the prototype of the future amalgamation of the working people of all countries in a single world economic system, cannot but serve as direct proof of this.

It need hardly be said that these and similar results of the October Revolution could not and cannot but have their serious effect on the revolutionary movement in the colonial and dependent countries. Such facts as the growth of the revolutionary movement of the oppressed nations in China, Indonesia, India, etc., and the growing sympathy of these nations for the U.S.S.R., unquestionably bear this out.

The era of undisturbed exploitation and oppression of the colonies and dependent countries **has passed away**.

The era of revolutions for emancipation in the colonies and dependent countries, the era of the awakening of the **proletariat** in these countries, the era of its **hegemony** in the revolution, **has begun**.

3. Having sown the seeds of revolution both in the centres of imperialism as well as in its rear, having weakened the might of imperialism in the "mother countries" and having shaken its domination in the colonies, the October revolution has thereby jeopardised the very existence of world capitalism as a **whole**.

While the spontaneous development of capitalism in the condition of imperialism has passed — owing to its evenness, owing to the inevitability of conflicts and armed clashes, owing, finally, to the unprecedented imperialist slaughter — into the process of the decay and the dying of capitalism, the October Revolution and the resultant secession of a vast country from the world system of capitalism could not but accelerate this process, washing away, bit by bit, the very foundations of world imperialism.

More than that. While shaking imperialism, the October Revolution has at the same time created — in the first proletarian dictatorship — a powerful and open **base** for the world revolution-

ary movement, a base such as the world revolutionary movement **never possessed** before and on which it now can rely. It has created a powerful and open **centre** of the world revolutionary movement, such as the world revolutionary movement **never possessed** before and around which it now can rally and organise a **united revolutionary front of the proletarians and of the oppressed nations of all countries against imperialism.**

This means, firstly that the October Revolution inflicted a mortal wound on world capitalism from which the latter will never recover. It is precisely for this reason that capitalism will never recover the "equilibrium" and "stability" that it possessed before October. Capitalism may become partly stabilised, it may rationalise production, turn over the administration of the country to fascism, temporarily hold down the working class; but it will never recover the "tranquility", the "assurance", the "equilibrium" and the "stability" that it flaunted before; for the crisis of world capitalism has reached the stage of development where the flames of revolution must inevitably break out, now in the centres of imperialism, now in the periphery, reducing to naught the capitalist patchwork and daily bringing nearer the fall of capitalism. Exactly as in the celebrated story about the crane: "When it pulled its tail out its beak stuck in the mud; when it pulled its beak out, its tail stuck in".

This means, secondly, that the October Revolution has so much raised the strength, the relative weight, the courage and the fighting preparedness of the oppressed classes of the whole world as to compel the ruling classes to reckon with them as a new, important factor. Now the labouring masses of the world can no longer be regarded as a "blind mob", groping in the dark, without prospects; for the October Revolution has created a beacon which illumines their path and opens up perspectives for them. Whereas formerly there was no **world-embracing** open forum from which the aspirations and strivings of the oppressed classes could be expounded and formulated, now such a forum exists in the first proletarian dictatorship. There is hardly room for doubt that the destruction of this forum would for a long time cast over the social and political life of the "advanced countries" the gloom of unbridled, black reaction. It cannot be denied that the very existence of a "Bolshevik state" puts a curb upon the dark forces of reaction, thus helping the oppressed classes in their struggle for liberation. This really explains the brutal hatred which the exploiters of all countries entertain for the Bolsheviks. History repeats itself, though on a new basis. Just as formerly, during the period of the decline of **feudalism**, the word "Jacobin" evoked horror and loathing among the aristocrats of all countries, so now, in the period of the decline of **capitalism**, the word "Bolshevik" evokes horror and loathing among the bourgeois in all countries. And just as formerly Paris was the refuge and school for the revolutionary representatives of

the rising **bourgeoisie**, so now Moscow is the refuge and school for the revolutionary representatives of the rising **proletariat**. Hatred for the Jacobins did not save feudalism from collapse. Can there be any doubt that hatred for the Bolsheviks will not save capitalism from inevitable destruction?

The era of the "stability" of capitalism **has passed away**, taking with it the legend of the indestructibility of the bourgeois order.

The era of the collapse of capitalism **has begun**.

4. The October Revolution is not only a revolution in the domain of economic and social-political relations. It is at the same time a revolution in the minds, a revolution in the ideology, of the working class. The October Revolution was born and gained strength under the banner of Marxism, under the banner of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the banner of Leninism, which is Marxism of the era of imperialism and of proletarian revolutions. That is why it marks the victory of Marxism over reformism, the victory of Leninism over Social-Democratism, the victory of the Third International over the Second International.

The October Revolution has cut an impassable furrow between Marxism and Social-Democratism, between the policy of Leninism and the policy of Social-Democratism. Formerly, **before the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat**, Social-Democracy, while refraining from openly repudiating the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but doing nothing, absolutely nothing, that would contribute to the realisation of this idea, could flaunt the banner of Marxism, because this behaviour of Social-Democracy created no danger whatsoever for capitalism. Then, in that period, Social Democracy was formally merged, or almost merged, with Marxism. Now, **after the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat**, when it became patent to all **whither** Marxism leads and **what** its victory may signify, Social-Democracy is no longer able to flaunt the banner of Marxism, can no longer flirt with the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat without creating a certain amount of danger for capitalism. Having long ago broken with the spirit of Marxism, it has found itself compelled to discard also the banner of Marxism; it has openly and unambiguously taken a stand against the offspring of Marxism, against the October Revolution, against the first dictatorship of the proletariat in the world. Now it must dissociate itself and actually has dissociated itself from Marxism; for under present conditions one cannot call oneself a Marxist unless one openly and devotedly supports the first proletarian dictatorship in the world, unless one wages a revolutionary struggle against one's own bourgeoisie, unless one creates the conditions for the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one's own country. A chasm opened between Social-Democracy and Marxism. Henceforth, the **only** vehicle and bulwark of Marxism is Leninism, Communism.

But matters did not end there. The October Revolution went further than drawing a line of demarcation between Social-Demo-

cracy and Marxism; it cast Social-Democracy into the camp of the downright defenders of capitalism **against** the first proletarian dictatorship in the world. When Messrs Adler and Bauer, Wels and Levy, Longuet and Blum abuse the "Soviet regime" and extol parliamentary "democracy", these gentlemen mean that they are fighting and will continue to fight **for** the restoration of the capitalist order in the U.S.S.R., **for** the preservation of capitalist slavery in the "civilised" states. Present-day Social-Democratism is an **ideological prop** of capitalism. Lenin was a thousand times right when he said that the present Social-Democratic politicians are "real agents of the bourgeoisie in the labour movement, the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class", that in the "civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie" they would inevitably range themselves "on the side of Versailles against the Communards". **It is impossible to put an end to capitalism without putting an end to Social-Democratism in the labour movement.** That is why the era of dying capitalism is also the era of dying Social-Democratism in the labour movement. The great significance of the October Revolution lies also in the fact that it marks the inevitable victory of Leninism over Social-Democratism in the world labour movement.

The era of the domination of the Second International and of Social-Democratism in the labour movement **has come to an end.**

The era of the domination of Leninism and of the Third International **has begun.**

(Bold print author's emphasis — Ed).

Revisionism and Religion

(Contributed).

Most of us are aware of the role of organised religion in capitalist countries as a weapon to hold back revolutionary struggle. Accept uncomplainingly the trials and tribulations of life in the "vale of tears" — so runs the general theme of the religious approach — for it is but a preparation for a future, better world. It is little wonder that Marx characterised religion as "the opium of the people".

But it is not only in the capitalist world that religion is used as an anti-revolutionary weapon. The November-December, 1972, issue of "Albania Today" carries a very informative article relating to religious propaganda in the countries where modern revisionism is in control. For those who may be understandably sceptical about the alleged revival and encouragement of religion in the Soviet

Union and other Eastern European countries, statements from periodicals published in these countries (quoted in "Albania Today") will give food for thought.

The Moscow journal "Science and Religion" for example, reported recently that "In highland areas of Tajikistan alone, about 100 mosques and holy places have been opened. The Russian youth newspaper "Komsomalskaya Pravda" has written about the increase in the number of children being baptised. The Soviet review: "Questions of Philosophy" says: "... The activity of religious organisations has greatly increased during the last three years ... Some believers are showing greater interest in religious questions, are attending religious ceremonies more frequently and in some regions the number of religious sects has increased".

LENIN'S WRITINGS DISTORTED

Not content with openly encouraging religious propaganda and activity to such an extent that the Vatican paper "L'Osservatore Romano" rejoices that the religious life in the socialist (i.e. revisionist) countries, is developing in a fully normal way", the modern revisionists distort the writings of Lenin on the subject. The religious paper "Nauka i Religia", No. 6, 1969, after stating that "some atheists in the past attached no importance to the evolution of religious organisations in socialism", alleges that Lenin had shown special interest in the processes of the renovation of religion. "But", as the Albanian article points out: "The great classical exponents of Marxism-Leninism did not nurture the slightest illusion about religious ideology; they stressed its reactionary anti-revolutionary essence and definitely sentenced religion to death."

Lenin, in his article: "The Attitude of the Workers' Party to Religion" wrote: "All the present-day religions and churches, all kinds of religious communities, are always considered by Marxism as organs of bourgeois reaction which defend exploitation and befuddle the working class".

Lenin does, in this same article refer to "renovating religion" but only to point out that Engels had sharply criticised Ludwig Feuerbach for attempting to do just that.

The Russian revisionists greet with enthusiasm what they describe as the "new political orientation of the church". "Nauka i Religia" in another article goes so far as to state: "Political support is a new phenomenon in the history of the Russian orthodox church; it is the first and principal particularity of the adaptation of religious organisations to socialism". (Our emphasis. — Ed).

This is saying that religion and socialism are compatible; that there is no antagonistic contradiction between the two. The official Polish attitude to religion is identical. "People's Poland does not intend to break from the tradition of Catholicism", states the periodical "Zicie Warszawi" (Feb. 1970). "For the first time another stride has been taken in Poland towards recognising spiritual values

by the people's regime."

NEW CHURCHES BUILT

Government approval of the construction of 1,000 new churches over recent years verifies the truth of this statement. The revival and encouragement of religion is justified by asserting that the church has changed its role. As "Nauka i Religia", No. 4, 1969, wrote: "The Russian orthodox church is no longer an instrument of social-economic repression . . . it is a tool for the transformation of social relations".

Thus the wheel has come full circle for the revisionists as far as religion is concerned. They now openly proclaim it as a tool for the building of socialism!

Lenin repeatedly pointed out that to be Marxist is to be atheist and materialist, to be opposed to religion and to struggle continuously against it. Many and varied attempts are being made to present religion in new guises to make it acceptable to the youth of today. The Jesus Movement, religious rock opera, evangelical cruises, fashion parades in churches and many similar "happenings" are futile attempts to ensure the survival of religious myths for a little longer. But like the other myths of capitalist ideology, despite new forms and new methods of presentation, they are becoming less and less acceptable to the thinking young people.

ATTITUDE TO BELIEVERS

Nevertheless some Communist Party supporters still cling to certain religious beliefs. Do we condemn them for this? Of course not. But we must consistently and patiently point out the basic contradiction between Marxism and religion*; that Marxism is based on materialism, religion on idealism; and that there can be no reconciliation of the two.

It would be naive in the extreme to imagine that religious beliefs automatically disappear after the socialist revolution. In countries like Albania with a long history of deeply entrenched religious beliefs it means a long and protracted struggle: not merely proclamations that religion has no place in the building of socialism but systematic education as to the ideological basis of the development of religion in pre-socialist society and its use by the ruling class as a means of holding back and diverting the revolutionary struggle.

In China and Albania religious ideas among the people are gradually disappearing under the correct leadership of the Communist Party. In the revisionist countries on the other hand, submission to the influence of clericalism and religion (in particular to Catholicism) for the sake of "class peace" is a betrayal of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and must assist the restoration of capitalist ideology and capitalism.

* In the philosophical sense. — Ed.

Conservation and Economic Development

— Fang Hsin (“Peking Review”)

The increasing amount of harmful industrial waste liquid, gas and residue in capitalist countries has resulted in serious pollution and damage to the environment, thus posing a threat to the health of the people. The question of economic development and environmental protection, therefore, has aroused widespread concern. With socialist construction surging ahead in China, it is important that we rely on the superiority of the socialist system to protect and continually improve our environment at the same time as we speedily develop our economy.

TREES AND MOISTURE

Man utilises natural resources to create wealth through labour and develop the economy. In this process, he constantly transforms nature and improves the environment. But because of man's limited cognitive ability and knowledge of science and technology, economic development often brings harmful influences to the environment and hence to humanity. In explaining such influences, Engels cited the example of reclamation. In Mesopotamia, Greece and Asia Minor, people destroyed large tracts of forests to obtain cultivable land. They never dreamt that they were bringing, in succeeding ages, devastation to these areas by removing, along with the forests, the collection centres and reservoirs of moisture. In the same way, the Italians in the Alps cut down the fir trees on the slopes, having no idea that by doing this they were striking at the roots of the dairy industry in their region; still less did they have any inkling they were thereby depriving their mountain springs of water, making it possible for these to pour still more furious floods on the plains during the rainy season.

There are, however, profound social causes for the serious pollution and destruction of the environment in capitalist societies. There, making money is of primary importance. Engels pointed out: **“As individual capitalists are engaged in production and exchange for the sake of the immediate profit, only the nearest, most immediate results can be taken into account in the first place.”** Speaking of the malpractices of the Spanish planters, Engels penetratingly exposed the crime of the bourgeoisie in destroying the natural environment in order to get profits. Spanish planters burnt down whole forests on Cuba's mountain slopes in order to obtain sufficient fertiliser from the ashes for one generation of very highly profitable coffee trees. As a result, heavy tropical rainfalls after-

wards washed away the unprotected top soil, leaving only bare rock.

Such uninhibited plunder of natural resources and destruction of environment increased along with the development of capitalist industry. In the mid-18th century, the industrial revolution took place; while the invention and popularity of the steam-engine released great productive forces previously unknown by society, it also gave rise to grave environmental pollution. Engels pointed out: **"The first requirement of the steam-engine, and a main requirement of almost all branches of production in modern industry, is relatively pure water. But the factory town transforms all water into stinking manure. However much therefore urban concentration is a basic condition of capitalist production, each individual industrial capitalist is constantly striving to get away from the large towns necessarily created by this concentration, and to transfer his plant to the countryside"**. New pollution ensued as Engels said, because **"modern capitalist industry is constantly bringing new large towns into being and thereby a constant flight from the towns into the country"**. This is the insuperable "vicious circle" of capitalist society.

Monopoly-capitalists lust for maximum profits in capitalist countries today, and this results in even greater anarchy in production. Factories discharge industrial wastes and natural resources are exploited at will; cities develop even more abnormally and the environment suffers even worse pollution and harm, and the health of the masses of the labouring people is seriously endangered. All these facts, past and present, point to the conclusion that the pollution and destruction of the environment in these countries is a social phenomenon of capitalism and a manifestation of the sharpening contradiction between the private ownership of the means of production and the social character of production.

SOCIALISM AND THE ENVIRONMENT

The socialist system is the most advanced social system in the history of mankind. Under socialism, public ownership of the means of production replaces private ownership and planned economy replaces anarchy in production. Industrial and agricultural production is arranged rationally; the abnormal development of the cities and urban concentration of population are avoided, so that urban construction is carried out in a planned and rational way and the masses can be mobilised and relied upon to protect the environment. In a word, the socialist system provides favourable conditions for protecting and improving the environment while swiftly expanding the economy. This does not mean, however, that the question of environmental protection does not exist under socialist conditions. On the contrary, we must pay great attention to it while developing the socialist economy.

China is a socialist country which **"proceeds in all cases from the interests of the people"**. The basic object of developing the so-

cialist economy is the people's welfare. An important principle in such development, therefore, is to protect the environment and eliminate industrial wastes. This is also the bounden duty of socialist enterprises. Otherwise, pollution and destruction of the environment will be harmful to the health of the workers and staff members and the people in general, and this will go against Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the fundamental object of socialist economic development.

Economic development gives rise to the problem of environmental protection which, in turn, is an indispensable condition for carrying on normal production and developing the economy. If we allow the environment to be polluted and destroyed through lack of protection, it will endanger the people's health and the development of the socialist economy. Harmful industrial waste gas and liquid invading the farms hamper the growth of the crops, reduce yields or kill them altogether. Harmful waste liquid flowing into the rivers, lakes and seas endangers the growth of fish and other aquatic life and even causes them to die in large numbers. Industrial residue, if it is allowed to accumulate, will take up large tracts of land and farms, and if it is discharged into the rivers, will cause them to silt up and hampers navigation. Harmful waste liquid corrodes ships, pollutes water sources and spoils the water for residential or industrial use, thereby affecting the quality of industrial products. Besides, industrial waste gas corrodes workshops, pipes and other facilities.

Whether from the point of view of the object of socialist economic development or from the needs of developing the socialist economy itself, environmental protection is important and indispensable. Marxism holds that a problem should be observed from the relation between things and their development. Environmental protection must be carried out in order to develop the economy faster. Conversely, if environmental protection is neglected in the course of economic development, the people's health will be threatened and the economy will not be able to develop well. Experience has shown that pollution of the environment is rapid whereas its elimination takes a longer time. We must, therefore, lose no time in strengthening prevention work while seriously undertaking elimination of pollution. This will benefit our people and our future generations.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Marxist philosophy holds that the law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. This law operates universally, whether in the natural world, in human society, or in man's thinking. Between the opposites in a contradiction there is at once unity and struggle, and it is this that impels things to move and change".

Like all other things, the contradictions between economic development and environmental protection are constant and absolute

and their unity is temporary and relative. Economic progress will give rise to new problems in environmental protection, and new problems in this field will arise and call for solution after the old ones have been solved. This is the dialectical relationship between economic development and environmental protection. We must have a correct understanding of it. Under the socialist system the ability to protect and improve the environment is decided, to a considerable extent, by the economic and technical level. Only when the economy develops at a faster pace can this ability be raised more rapidly. Therefore, we can only solve the problem of environmental protection by developing the economy and not seek a good environment by slowing down economic development or by other negative methods.

MULTI-PURPOSE USE

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“Socialism has freed not only the labouring people and the means of production from the old society, but also the vast realm of nature which could not be made use of in the old society”**. To develop multi-purpose use under socialist conditions is an important means for both developing the economy and protecting and improving the environment.

Environmental pollution in modern times is mainly created by industrial waste gas, liquid and residue. In the absolute sense, however, there is no such thing as “waste”. There are unused materials in the world but there are no materials which cannot be used. What is “waste” under a certain condition can be turned into a useful thing under another condition; what is “harmful” under a certain condition can be turned into a “beneficial” thing under another condition.

The Chinese Government is embarking on, in a planned way, work to prevent and eliminate environmental pollution caused by industrial waste gas, liquid and residue. Some achievements in this respect have been made. For example, piled high and unused, the slag of an iron alloy plant used to be a harmful thing. By adopting multi-purpose use in the past few years, it has been turned into many products. This not only gets rid of the harmful effects of the the slag, but provides industry with an excellent abrasion-resistant and corrosion-resistant material.

Multi-purpose use is also the inevitable road for concentrating on production in breadth and depth and developing industry with greater, faster, better and more economical results. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and crossing the boundaries of trades, many enterprises in China are making big efforts in multi-purpose use. While maintaining one field as their main activity, they develop in a diversified manner. Instead of using resources once, for single purposes and at primary levels, they make use of them many times, for a wider purpose and at a higher level. Thus, they tap a new and tremendous source of raw materials for socialist construc-

tion and open a new and broad field for economic development. For instance, substantial results were obtained by multi-purpose use in 1971 alone. Peking made use of more than 1.5 million tons of different kinds of solid waste. Shanghai extracted more than 6,500 tons of some 20 precious and rare metals from industrial waste residues, and recovered over a million tons of dyestuffs, waste acid, caustic soda, oil and fat and fertilisers from industrial waste liquids.

Mankind's ability to know and protect natural environment grows continuously with economic and scientific progress. History proves that many things, once regarded as waste, have become valuable today. Things which cannot be used today may become useful tomorrow. In the 19th century people produced soda from salt and sulphuric acid. The large amount of hydrochloric acid formed in the process of production was regarded as poisonous water and its disposal created pollution. Later this poisonous water became a basic raw material in the chemical industry.

At the turn of this century people used coal to develop the iron and steel industry, and tar produced in making coke was regarded as a waste. But it was later discovered that this is an important raw material for making dyestuffs, pharmaceuticals, synthetic rubber, synthetic fibre and synthetic plastics. In the course of our industrial development today, many things are disposed of as waste because we do not fully know them yet. Sometimes they create pollution and bring on arduous tasks in environmental protection. But we are fully convinced that with the development of production and science, these harmful things will certainly be turned into valuable things.

It is necessary to point out that to prevent any harmful effects we must seriously deal with industrial waste gas, liquid and residue which are very harmful and cannot be recovered and used for the time being because of technical and economic limitations. But in the people's interests, this is very necessary even if it calls for certain expenditures.

Chairman Mao has taught us: **"In the fields of the struggle for production and scientific experiment, mankind makes constant progress and nature undergoes constant change; they never remain at the same level. Therefore, man has constantly to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing. Ideas of stagnation, pessimism, inertia and complacency are all wrong".**

Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and with the superior socialist system and hundreds of millions of industrious and ingenious working people, we will certainly create a society with a highly developed economy and a beautiful environment as long as we take the struggle between the two lines as the key link, carry out overall planning and rational geographical distribution and go in for multi-purpose use to turn the harmful into the useful.

PKI's New Programme is being Resolutely Carried Out

(In commemoration of the Fifth Anniversary of the Adoption by the P.K.I. of its New Programme).

— Indonesian Tribune.

Five years ago, in November, 1967, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the P.K.I. (Communist Party of Indonesia), presented to the Indonesian people its new programme: the Programme of the P.K.I. for People's Democracy in Indonesia. The programme was to serve as a guide for them in the revolutionary struggle to liberate themselves from oppression and exploitation by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

After outlining an analysis of the historical conditions of Indonesian society, especially those that prevailed following the outbreak and failure of the August 1945 revolution, the new Programme correctly points out the nature of present-day Indonesian society i.e. that of a new type colony of U.S. imperialism and a semi-feudal country. It also points out the essence of the Suharto fascist dictatorship: a political power of the bureaucrat and comprador capitalist and landlord classes, which is in the out and out service of imperialism, first and foremost U.S. imperialism.

LIBERATION THROUGH ARMED STRUGGLE

Basing itself on the above analysis and conclusions, the new Programme sets forth the primary task of the Indonesian revolution at the present stage, that is, to completely smash the Suharto fascist dictatorship. It unerringly outlines the goal of the revolution at the present stage as well as the tactics and forms of struggle to be adopted in striving to achieve it. It emphatically declares that it is only by way of people's war that the Indonesian people can win liberation, and again stresses the vital importance of the Party's leadership in the armed struggle as well as in the united front of all revolutionary classes and groupings who oppose imperialism, feudalism, bureaucrat capitalism and stand for the liberation of the motherland and the Indonesian people.

The conclusions outlined in the New Programme are certainly inseparable from those formulated in the document of Self-criticism of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the P.K.I. — conclusions which had been drawn from the experiences of the Party and the Indonesian revolution, particularly the negative lessons of the 1951-65 period. They have guided and continue to guide the Indonesian people's struggle.

The P.K.I.'s new Programme (November 1967) points out: "The most vicious and bloody white terror which has been on the

rampage during the last two years has aroused the consciousness of the Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people on the truth of the thesis of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, that **'political power grows out of the barrel of the gun'** and that **'seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution'.**"

This assertion has been corroborated by the development of the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people since the publication of the document of Self-Criticism. Under entirely new and extremely difficult conditions, the revolutionary people, led by the P.K.I., undertook new forms of struggle, whose chief form was the armed struggle. Guided by the new and correct line, a line which is in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the revolutionary people started the armed struggle in various areas in Kalimantan, Java and other islands.

During the past five years, in the course of implementing the line laid down in the document "Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the P.K.I." and in the new Programme, the Party has continuously summed up its experiences both its successes and temporary defeats. The summing up of these experiences have only stimulated the Indonesian Communists to consistently and creatively implement this Marxist-Leninist line. It is clear that far from being a straight one, the road they are travelling is full of twists and turns. Nevertheless, it is the only road that leads to liberation. There neither is, nor can there ever be, an alternative road to this goal.

Difficulties serve as a fillip to the Indonesian communists to acquire a better grasp of the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on revolution. Since the line laid down in the document of "Self-Criticism" and the new Programme is correct, the nature of difficulties in implementing it is that of difficulties met with on the road to advance.

It is not the first time that the P.K.I. leads an armed resistance. As far back as 46 years ago, on November 12th, 1926, it led the first people's national armed uprising against Dutch colonial rule. True, due to the then prevailing historical conditions, the uprising failed. It is also true, however, that the principle adopted and applied by the Party at that time, the principle of violent revolution, was correct. That being so, this principle, which is also being applied by the Party today is bound to lead the revolution to victory. Inheriting the revolutionary torch of the November 12th, 1926 uprising and guided by the new line laid down in the document "Self-criticism" and the Party's new Programme, the Indonesian people's armed struggle is bound to develop and expand and will finally smash the Suharto fascist dictatorship.

U.S. IMPERIALISM BATTERED

This year the struggle of the revolutionary people in various

countries, especially the brilliant victories won by the people of the three countries in Indo-china in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for national salvation, shows clearly that U.S. imperialism is getting nearer to its inevitable doom. The struggle of nations and peoples of various countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have continuously stormed the citadels of U.S.-headed imperialism on various battlefronts, on the military, economic, political and diplomatic fronts. Thanks to their powerful blows, U.S. imperialism has suffered continuous defeats. The Suharto fascist regime, which is completely dependent on U.S. imperialism, is facing this fact with deep apprehension. Its future looks gloomier indeed as U.S. imperialism, this rotten prop of the Indonesian reactionaries, is increasingly pushed out from south-east Asia with each passing day.

The situation in Indonesia is becoming more favourable for revolutionary struggle. The contradictions within the ruling classes have increased in sharpness of late. Discontent is daily mounting among various social strata. More struggles have been launched by workers, peasants, youth and intellectuals. In the face of this situation, the fascist regime cannot but resort to more shameless deceits and more brutal suppression of various groupings, including its partners in the 'new order'. The present favourable developments in Indonesia make it incumbent upon the Indonesian Communists to grasp even more firmly the primary and urgent tasks of the revolution at the present stage as pointed out in the P.K.I.'s new Programme, namely, "to arouse, organise, arm and mobilise the masses of the people, to build the backward Indonesian villages into advanced revolutionary bases, into powerful bastions of the revolution, consolidated in the political, military, economic and cultural fields".

ROLE OF SOVIET REVISIONISTS

The Soviet revisionists and the handful of Indonesian renegades they have cultivated are vainly trying to check the trend of revolution, which is prevailing on a world scale. They have always opposed revolution and are continuously playing with more tricks to dupe the people. They are as active as ever in trying to dope the Indonesian proletariat and people with their theory of 'peaceful road' and 'parliamentary road', the road which led the Indonesian revolution to a serious setback. Openly opposing the armed struggle, they have dished up their own reformist and revisionist programme to counterpose the P.K.I.'s new Programme (1967). But they have gone even further. Together with the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries of various countries, the Soviet revisionists and their Indonesian lackeys have applauded the temporary setback of the P.K.I. and the Indonesian revolution. While scathingly criticising the Soviet revisionists and the opportunist 'peaceful road', the new Programme solemnly declares: **"The Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people must consistently rid their ranks of**

the poisonous weed of modern revisionism which has brought the Indonesian revolution to serious failure, and with the most resolute determination march courageously onwards along the road of armed revolution”.

By studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought more assiduously and grasping it more firmly, by carrying on the building of the Party into a vanguard Party of the proletariat of the Lenin-type, continuously overcoming theoretical, ideological, political and organisational shortcomings, by fighting harder, tenaciously and courageously, by skilfully surmounting all sorts of difficulties, the Indonesian communists will surely be able to fulfil their duties as vanguard and leadership of the revolution and to oppose and smash revisionism of every shape and its intrigues.

The Indonesian revolution enthusiastically hail and are determined to carry out the call by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the P.K.I. that they should “become courageous, militant and conscious revolutionary fighters, and set an example among the people in carrying out this programme.”

People of Indonesia unite, and with the gun in hand march courageously onward to overthrow and destroy the Suharto fascist dictatorship!

Let the Bourgeoisie Rave

— V. I. Lenin.

“Life will assert itself, Let the bourgeoisie rave, work itself into a frenzy, go to extremes, commit follies, take vengeance on the Bolsheviks in advance, and endeavour to kill off (in India, Hungary, Germany etc.), more hundreds, thousands and hundreds of thousands of yesterday’s and tomorrow’s Bolsheviks. In acting thus, the bourgeoisie is acting as all classes doomed by history have acted. Communists should know that the future in any case belongs to them; therefore, we can (and must) combine the most intense passion in the great revolutionary struggle with the coolest and most sober estimation of the frenzied ravings of the bourgeoisie. The Russian revolution was cruelly defeated in 1905; the Russian Bolsheviks were defeated in July 1917; over 15,000 German Communists were slaughtered as a result of wily provocations and cunning manoeuvres of Scheidemann and Noske in conjunction with the bourgeoisie and the monarchist generals; White terror is raging in Finland and Hungary. But in all cases and in all countries Communism is becoming steeled and is spreading; its roots are so deep that persecution does not weaken it, does not debilitate it, but strengthens it . . .” (From “‘Left-Wing’ Communism, an Infantile Disorder”).

