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Introduction to Indonesian Edition

Some time has passed since this publisher obtained the works of the late Tan Malaka, especially those printed and distributed abroad during the time of his expulsion from Indonesia by the Dutch colonial authorities.We are thus fortunate to have also received a copy of *Naar de Republik Indonesia*.

The first edition appeared in Canton in April 1925. The second edition appeared in Tokyo in December 1925.

The book was deliberately written in Dutch for the benefit of Indonesian students in the hope that it would be well received and motivate them in their struggle for their country's independence.

The contents of this book offer clarification on political matters and set down certain directives relating to the revolutionary struggle for the Indonesian Republic. If the sense of this book is that the PKI struggle demands the support of the student class it is because, at the time of writing, Tan Malaka was the Canton-based representative of the Comintern in the Far East.

We intend to popularize this book in Bahasa Indonesia as well as in other languages of the region to bring alive the aspirations and knowledge of a leader who became a victim on the way to realizing his goals.

It is hoped that this publication will serve to contextualize the revolutionary struggle in Indonesia as well as to serve Murba Party as well.

Jakarta, 1 January 1962, Yayasan "Massa"

book as a tool.

Wherever are found sufficient revolutionary factors, and wherever, I surmise, attention begins to be paid to the revolutionary movement by intellectuals, then works like this will be for me simply like taking a rest. Certainly, this kind of work is more appropriate to this place, especially given the publication opportunities that exist in China. Working by "taking a rest" will sometimes be my means and my respected readers should prepare themselves to read even more books in the future.

To be sure, I will be preempted from executing activities like these should his Excellency the Governor General involve himself deeper in humanitarian activities. This is the opposite of what I can assume, because of health and exile. It is appropriate that I offer profound thanks to my Chinese friends who have offered me as much assistance as possible.

Objectively speaking, I truly owe thanks to, or, that is to say, thanks have been "necessitated" by Governor General Dirk Fock[1] who stimulated this small book.

Tan Malaka, Canton, April 1925

Clarification on Tokyo Edition

We were concerned when we dispatched the Canton edition of this book to customers in Indonesia because of its less than beautiful appearance, otherwise offensive to the artistic sentiments of the intellectual literati who usually only read Dutch works.

But this is good for the intellectual awareness of our younger brothers as they are not small minded about simple appearances. Numerous requests for this book show clear proof that we have won their hearts. This encourages us to reprint *Menudju Republik Indonesia.*

Even though police supervision is very strict in the land of the *geisha*, beauty, and flower arrangement, underground opportunities exist, namely a place where we can print this small book in attractive format with fewer spelling mistakes and malapropisms. This owes to the development of a burgeoning workers' revolutionary movement.

In this preface we have already set down our apologies concerning problems with corrections and printing, even if they still exist in this new edition.

Our new readers can be informed of the difficulties we experience in improving upon our printing and proofing. With this we also want to demonstrate to our Indonesian readers that all acts to suppress our aspirations will be futile.

Furthermore, it is with a sense of satisfaction that, in commenting on the international and national situation, we have found no need in this edition to make any changes or additions. We have only found it necessary in this edition to add a new chapter to offer clarification on the idea of a *Permusjawaratan National* or National Assembly, while also setting down conditions and actions.

Furthermore, it is necessary to explain our opinions concerning students in other countries. Without doubt, students in China have proven themselves in the past to be more active than their Indonesian counterparts. Less than a month after our book went to press, more than 5000 students in China immediately left their school benches and joined in the strike actions and demonstrations by peasants and workers. [2]

On the national front the sickening attitude of the "Indonesian fascists" causes us to hold our stomachs, even though they are falling over each other to a greater degree than we observed in the past.

Even so, we must gird ourselves against the enemy tactic of turning culture against us in the endeavour to eliminate the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people, just as in the dark ages when village people would happily witness robbers struggling to free themselves from the hangman's noose. All of this just as if Louis XVI and Tsar Nicholas II had never lived.

History repeats itself

It cannot be disputed that over the past few months the political struggle has sharpened political consciousness and the revolutionary activities of the Indonesian people of all strata have grown to an extent never witnessed before.

"*Padi tumbuh tak berisi*k (rice grows soundlessly)".

Tokyo, December 1925

Introduction

With the utterance "*La etat c'est moi*" the French Sun King acknowledged the meaning of the state in full consciousness. At this juncture the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) can state that "the revolutionary movement is me". It is the intellectual faction with their familiarity with non-Indonesian languages who have this awareness, and who thus serve as leader of all revolutionary peoples in Indonesia, and who encourage the popularization of the program and tactics to all sections of people.

The Indonesian Communist Party and the Sarekat Rakyat [3] embody the wishes of the revolutionary people in their struggle, having seriously shown their strength and understanding of the difficulties stemming from lack of revolutionary strength at that time. However, it is not our intention to refuse help from the intellectual classes. On the other hand, we acknowledge all help received with gratefulness, because they recognize our revolutionary basis. What motivates us to launch a special appeal towards the intellectual class who, at this time of crisis, otherwise raise questions on every occasion? On which side should one stand? As a leader of the revolutionary Indonesian people who has experienced the suffering of all people, we cannot marginalize the large or small social groups.

Dutch imperialism already worked to achieve this from afar. Accordingly, our small intellectual group, having reached a high status in the social and ideological fields, found that they could no longer make contact with the people. Being educated in a foreign language, they ruptured their link with the Indonesian masses, lost touch with the thoughts and aspirations of the people, and, accordingly, the ability to lead them.

We will provide you with a ladder so that you can descend to the people. It is not our intention to make Dutch the language of

the people but only to provide you with the means to understand the people better than you have hitherto achieved through reading Dutch newspapers.

In every revolutionary movement the intellectuals play an important role. The core of the French revolution was shaped by the intellectual classes. In France, and other European countries, it was the students who assumed the role of leader of the bourgeois revolution in opposition to feudalism otherwise badly shaken up. The revolutionary movement, pioneered and led by revolutionary students, opposed the cruel authority of the Tsar. In colonial Egypt, British India, China, the Philippines, and elsewhere, it was the intellectuals schooled in imperialism who became leaders of the national movement.

Indonesia is no exception in this matter. Similarly, the first cry for national independence was heard in the high schools when they established Budi Utomo, [4] the people's organization and claimant for nationalism. However, while under colonialism, some students supported the banner of independence in the revolutionary movement while, over a long period, other students and intellectuals of Indonesia isolated themselves by adopting a passive and crass attitude.

Notwithstanding this attitude, the cry of the Indonesian masses becomes more urgent as time passes. Nevertheless, very few received help from the intellectual class but rather from the working classes, peasantry, and town dwellers. Through hard work they, too, can also create organizations even though these will in time attract the attention of the authorities.

Nevertheless, the work to create such an organization is not always smoothe and easy. Because of the lack of awareness and experience of the Indonesian leadership, otherwise made more difficult by the Dutch politics of imperialism resulting in the expulsion of outspoken leaders from the country, it is very difficult for the Indonesian masses to create a revolutionary organization. It is this lack of awareness and experience which caused even Budi Utomo to become a "Party for people without hope". And it

is because of this that the National Indische Patij [5] has been taken to the edge of the grave. Insufficient class consciousness, organizational ability, and moral revolution are the main factors preventing an upsurge in work potential in the mass movement. Sarekat Islam becomes the prime mover of an aware mass revolutionary movement. The Indonesia Communist Party, Sarekat Rakyat, [6] and Workers Union, under their influence are all based on class consciousness, although, in the matter of organization and quality, do not fulfill our desires. Last year they demonstrated that they can resist the strongarm tactics of the reactionaries and, by so doing, have proven the way to life and growth. Merciless, narrow-minded, and reactionary Dutch imperialism has created a national and social opposition which does not permit peace, unlike even that in other colonized countries of Asia such as Egypt, India, and the Philippines, wherever the native peoples are given the possibility' to improve their livelihood in the social and cultural fields. In Indonesia, the national authority (Dutch and Indonesians), are strengthened with class authority (capitalist and worker). In other colonized countries, wherever a strong element of national capital is found, national authority is not as strong as in Indonesia where 90 percent of the population live in poverty and suffering. Of course in other colonized countries a compromise exists between imperialist capital and national capital. Economic compromise is a reality and this leads to compromise between foreign colonizer and colonized. It would seem that in Indonesia there is absoutely no national capital with the possibility of creating an economic compromise, mainly because each demand on the part of the colonized to create a political compromise with the colonizer always fails.

You intellectuals must be aware that the Indonesian people, at least those who are objectively and subjectively revolutionary, will mark each political compromise with colonialism as a clear humiliation. Accordingly, if you wish to unfurl the flag of independence there is no other choice as firm and true as taking our side.

Chapter 1

The World Situation

From an economic perspective, the 1914-18 World War divided the world into two parts.

1. The defeated countries such as Germany, Austria, Hungary and Turkey. Also Russia, wherever the working class holds power in the economic field.

2. The countries which won the war, namely France, Italy, the United States, and others.

Soon after the end of the war, the defeated countries suffered greatly from shortages of food and manufactured goods, and capital and raw materials for industry. Additionally, the Versailles Agreement compelled Germany to pay up yearly to the Allied powers hundreds of thousands of gold marks in war reparations.

While countries such as France, England, and Italy collectively won the war, they nevertheless also incurred shortages owing to huge outlays necessary to prosecute the war. Russia under the Bolcheviks inherited an empty treasury, a disordered transport system, and run-down agriculture and industry not much different than in the countries which lost the war. Only the possibility of rehabilitating the economy was far better than in the case of the losers especially as the Bolcheviks did not redeem debts incurred by the Tsar amounting to the sum of hundreds of millions. Over the past few years, however, we know that the money which has flowed from America to Europe has increased over time. The threat of economic crisis in Austria has already been staved off by Morgan,[7] one of the kings of capital in America. The Dawes Plan,[8] which commenced operations at the end of last year, has pledged

a 800,000,000 gold mark loan to Germany. Not only the countries which won the war, but also those who lost, worked to obtain big loans from the kings of capital in America in order to recover from their economic crisis. Millions have been lent to Poland. According to the latest reports, France is already deliberating on a big loan. Many other countries seek to follow this example.

It is certain that Morgan would not object to lending money amounting to many millions if he was convinced that the capital would eventually be returned to his pocket three fold or more.

This conviction would soon be realized if these loans were willingly and capably repaid with interest. A declining Austria has already become a half-colonized and economically dependent country and, because of it, certainly not capable of mounting a challenge. Germany, not trusted by the Allied countries, is now bound down. Germany has already obtained 800,000,000 gold marks in exchange for surrendering its economic, political and military independence. Germany has also become a semi-colony. In defeat, German militarism now survives under the soles of the feet of the Allies. The Allies now strive to contain the German military problem, identified by the former as large and of high quality.

This control extends to the spending and financial activities of the Allied countries in either directly or indirectly influencing income and circulation of German money. It is established fact that income acquired from taxation must be greater than circulation. The balance from income already removed from circulation must be transferred to the Allied countries. The National Bank, currently an influential bank in Germany, remains under the supervision of a board of Directors headed by an American. The German rail system, nerve centre of the modern economic life of the country, has already been internationalized, that is placed under the management and supervision of the countries who won the war.

The economic servitude suffered by Germany is matched by political oppression, meaning that in both the areas of domestic

and international politics, Germany must bow to the wishes of the victors of the war. Only a government like that in Germany today can work within the Dawes Plan. The Dawes Plan not only guarantees the size of the payment of debt towards the Allied countries but also seeks to kill German industries and trade. Germany cannot be permitted to produce trading commodities better or cheaper than those of the Allies as was the case before the Great War (World War 1914-1918).

Because of the war, and because Germany lost all its colonized lands along with its markets for factory produce and sources of raw materials for factories, in addition to the liquidation or destruction of its merchant marine, it is extremely difficult for it to reconstruct its industry without external help, especially from America. On the other hand, at least for the moment, Germany does not appear to offer competition to the Allied countries in such colonies as Indonesia, and India, or in such semicolonized countries as China, Persia, and Turkey. Now we can state with clarity that the influence of America in these countries has been extensively developed.

The circulation of capital from rich countries like America to countries which either won or lost the war (Europe), and to semicolonized countries (Asia), wherever capitalism is at an initial stage, and, wherever there remains a possibility of it developing more extensively, and while capital is allowed to circulate increasingly in countries that suffer shortages, raises questions of a revolutionary nature: "Is it possible that these years of crisis will be succeeded by a time of peace (*Pasifistische periode*), that is the peaceful development of capitalism as happened at the end of the last century?" (This would mean that the collapse of capitalism would not necessarily happen now but more likely within the next ten to twenty years).

We cannot answer the question simply with a yes or no. It was along these lines that Trotsky clarified that the possibility of peace still exists. On the other hand, there exists sufficient basis to believe that capitalism will collapse. But, because there are

hundreds of possibilities which variously confirm and defy prediction of a time of peace, we must never lose ourselves in such prognostications.

If we now draft up a political balance sheet, we can say that the possibility of success in dealing a blow against world capitalism is no better than during the initial years after the Russian Revolution in 1918-20. It is clear that at the present time we are in more of a defensive than offensive position. In October 1923, for example, we passed up the opportunity to strike and crush German power. Contrariwise, the German bourgeoisie later launched an attack against our party forcing us to work underground. Also in Italy, where fascist terror is still being exercised, our party must work underground. In England, where our party was still young, we finally obtained success after several years but (James) McDonald's Social Democrat Government was replaced by the Conservative Government under (Stanley) Baldwin. Whatever the working class does in the interim, it must retreat against reaction. In India, dependent in life and death upon British imperialism, the non-cooperation movement led by Gandhi between 1920-22, otherwise capable of rallying thousands of oppressed people to a single demonstration, has now has become a passive parliamentary movement alongside the Swaraj Party. [9]

Weighed against the evidence suggesting a reign of peace, are certain developments threatening to crush such dreams of the pacific development of capitalism. One such force threatening to crush world capitalism is competition among various capitalist countries. Conflict between British and French capitalism is far deeper than what it appears on the surface.

It cannot be denied that economic and political conflict among two imperialist countries will lead to a new war. Germany, which has now become a half colonized and oppressed country, naturally hopes that it can utilize every good opportunity to free itself from the shackles that binds it. This opportunity can only be achieved if the unity between the Allied countries is broken through internal conflicts. In the Far East as well, competition between

different imperialisms sharpens. Japan, which feels itself threatened by the British-US alliance, has already fallen into the embrace of its foremost enemy, the Soviet Union. [10] Conflict between capitalist countries, both within Europe as well as in Asian markets, habitually raise up the prospects of world war. The construction of the naval base in Singapore by the British Conservative government not only illustrates the state of war preparations going on in the Pacific Ocean but reveals the growing cooperation between the American, British, and Dutch navies in preparing for the eventuality of a war between America and Japan. The hasty development of the Army and Navy in Japan all serve to strengthen our assumption of the recurrence of a world war in the Pacific, even more terrible than the last war.

The moving force behind impending war - imperialist war - is national rivalry among various capitalist countries in the world, and not national conflict as such. The development of capitalism carries the seeds of irreconciliable conflict between the bourgeoisie and the working class. Class struggle will both bring down the capitalist system and, upon its overthrow, replace it with something new.

Because of its numerical strength and solidarity, the world proletariat is now organizationally stronger than the bourgeoisie of the world, and is far better prepared to turn imperialist wars into class wars.

It cannot be denied that the current attitude of the world proletariat in facing the possibility of world war is different now than in 1914. At the end of the day, the Social Democrats, who in the past delivered up workers to the bourgeois class as canon fodder, are no longer capable of deceiving and betraying the working class. Even in a time before an outbreak of world war, a closely organized communist party has been developed, while the Third International currently hosts an international section in almost every country in the world. At present, the working class of Western Europe under the leadership of the International Union of Workers, Amsterdam (Social Democratic stream), is still holding discus-

sions with the International Union of Workers in Moscow. From this meeting will emerge a union of the two Internationals in the form of one world body, hitherto unseen in the world. If this union takes shape, then the collapse of world capitalism will be even more certain than already.

Just when world capitalism will collapse, cannot be predicted and neither is this prediction necessary. Communists prepare themselves for struggle and activate this struggle, not because they believe in communism as a mysterious world, but because, in line with Marx' dialectical materialism, class struggle must result in the advancement of a very primitive socioeconomic level to an advanced capitalist level and to an even higher level, that is communism.

We communists are never overly eager to ponder problems as to the probability of peace. Sentiments of, respectively, pessimism or optimism could easily take us towards opportunism.

It is an obligation for us to shape the direction of the Communist Party (Party of the Working People), to strengthen it, to take the suffering masses under our leadership, and, finally, to strengthen international bonds and loyalties. If, when the time to act arrives, then each communist and each Third International section, at both the national and internal level, must know how to perform its respective task.

Chapter 2

The Situation in Indonesia

If we describe capitalism as one structure and the countries of the world as piles supporting the edifice, then Indonesia appears as only one of these props. We already know that sooner or later the structure will eventually collapse. However, only practice can determine the shape and extent of the collapse and the way it collapses. It is very possible that all props will immediately fall and, along with it, the whole edifice. However, it is also possible that the props will not fall immediately, but in succession. Each time a prop falls part of the building changes. The economic and political wave which swamped the whole world at the end of the world war almost toppled the weakened world capitalist edifice. Mouldering Russian capitalism was one such pole which could no longer support itself and, as a consequence, gave way. This realignment almost caused the collapse of the whole edifice. However, when a nervous world bourgeoisie was confronted by a rampant world proletariat ready to deliver a death blow, a hand-maiden arrived in the form of the Social Democrats ready to prevent the fall of the edifice of capitalism with the support of the working class and to give an opportunity to the bourgeoisie to repair the building if possible. The collapse of capitalism in Russia was not followed in other capitalist countries. However, the repair work undertaken by the Social Democrats will not be able to prevent the eventual collapse of the whole rotton edifice.

We Indonesian communists cannot hang our political hopes on the prior collapse of the capitalist countries of the world. If colonial capitalism in Indonesia collapses tomorrow or the day

after, we must be capable of creating a new, stronger, and more disciplined Indonesia.

Dutch colonial capitalism grows weaker with time. European and American capitalism is supported by the Social Democrats. In colonial lands like Egypt, British India, and the Philippines an unstable imperialism is supported by the national bourgeoisie. However, in Indonesia, Dutch imperialism remains vulnerable without hope of support.

The contradictions between the Indonesian people and Dutch imperialism sharpens with time. The suffering of the masses deepens. The hopes and desires for independence increases with the people's suffering. As time goes on more and more of the Indonesian people are swept up with revolutionary politics. The sharpening conflict between the governing and the governed causes the former to become more brutal and to exercise oppressive measures.

The sweet talking ethical voice has now been changed for a rubber stick and *germerintjng* sword, In Bandung, Sumendang, Tjamis and Sidemuljo, Dutch imperialism has already surpassed the limits of the Ethical policy. [11] The implementation of the policy of bludgeons and guns has been officialized by the blood and soul of the proletariat. The Indonesian people are under threat and torture beyond the bounds of humanity and are striving after their birthrights, rights long since recognized in Europe and America, but which Dutch imperialism answers with uncivilized measures. It is clear that rubber sticks and pistols are not capable of making an advancing people retreat.

The mask of reaction has already slipped. The Indonesian people are now already convinced that they cannot hope for anything from the imperialist government. We know, however, that the reactionary class welcomes the repressive actions of Governor General Fok and that the authorities return to study, discuss, and ask the question: "Why is the public attitude now different compared to several years ago?" "What policies must we now implement?"

For more than 300 years Dutch imperialism exercised a threatening policy of repression. Never before had politics like this been received with coolness and awareness by the Indonesian people such as occurred on 1 February of this year. Rebellions have occurred in all parts of Indonesia for 300 years and have taken thousands of Indonesian lives, the rebellions of Diponegoro, [12] Aceh, [13] Toli Toli, [14] and others cannot be compared with what happened in Periangan and Madiun. [15] Not because of oaths, talismans, magic voices, or dark symptoms of feudalism which for a long time became a crutch for peoples lives, did the people of Periangan rebel, but because of clear rights and consciousness as human beings, they were encouraged to sacrifice their souls to obtain their rights. So we are not surprised at this time if the authorities say to themselves: "Indonesian people cannot any longer be threatened and repressed". We can only add farewell to the souls of children and ... for ever".

Already the power holders are discussing the method to eliminate the sharpening conflict with the Indonesian people. Because more than ever before, the cry of Moltatuli [16] will be heard to reverberate in their ears: "If all the people of Java spit on the ground then the Dutch will drown". Ways will also be discussed to improve the economic situation of the people. Similarly, the possibility of giving more political rights to the certain Indonesian groups will also be discussed. However, knowing the socio-economic structure of Indonesia, we communists can state emphatically that the holders of authority cannot step outside their narrow bureaucratic environment.

Because, how can Dutch imperialism ameliorate the wrongs already blithely perpetrated down through the centuries? In British India, for example, whenever for many years there has been strong national industry, for the first time a bridge can be created between British capital with national capital, later linking the gaping divide between imperialism and national politics. But from the beginning Dutch imperialism has crushed small industry and national trade, especially in Java. In so doing Chinese capital

emerged as an instrument to separate the Indonesian people from Dutch people. All industry in the hands of the Javanese people was killed off soon after Dutch imperialism was established in the East Indies. With the death of industry, so died the Javanese spirit, initiative, and ability, necessary for building a modern national industry based on competition and private property. Dutch imperialism did not seek to obtain any economic compromise with the Indonesian people. Political compromises on the part of the Dutch were just as abstract. Connected with that, each compromise in politics would appear as abstract, something not clear. Increasing the number of members of the Volksraad with two or three more Indonesian members, or giving more political concessions to the Indonesian people, is like one more drop of water on hot steel. It is clear, then, that the Indonesian crisis is not only a political crisis as in Egypt, British India, and in the Philippines, but especially is also an economic crisis, an economic crisis from which Indonesia will not recover for many years.

Nevertheless, while it is clear that Dr. Morgan wishes to pay homage to Dutch imperialism by giving them money loans, the question remains as to whether he is capable of raising himself from his sleeping place. Indonesia is not Austria, Poland, or Germany, where Morgan has shown admirable resourcefulness. The above-mentioned European countries only need capital. Otherwise, the factories, machines, skilled, and unskilled workers are sufficient. In Indonesia, by contrast, which has a literate population of only 5 to 6 percent, which for hundreds of years, has been oppressed and exploited, and with the social importance of the population totally ignored, it would certainly not be possible to raise the technical power even in the space of several years otherwise required to create new industry (metal and textile) capable of successfully entering into competition with Western trade goods. Because of this, Morgan will only lend such money to Dutch imperialism.

It is already clear that America would like to sow capital in Indonesia, but only in operations which can quickly obtain successful results to the fullest degree, like in oil and rubber. Nowadays, however, we find overproduction of rubber, and, accordingly, America already controls sufficient rubber in Indonesia, so it is unthinkable that it would open more rubber estates. Concerning rubber, we recall that Colyin [17] already transferred all oil tanks in Jambi to British and Dutch oil companies, that is as a colonial monopoly.

For all these reasons, Dutch imperialism will not offer the Indonesian people political and economic concessions, but, will execute the old fashioned uncivilized policy, a legacy of the Dutch East Indies Company (Ost Indische Compangnie). In this logic, the army and navy must be strengthened. These are the kind of responses made to the ever-suffering Indonesian people albeit sufficiently enraged to fully defend their rights.

Marx stated: *"The proletariat have nothing to lose but their chains". This sentence is even more applicable to the Indonesian case. Here non-proletarian demands live in suffering as with industrial workers, because here there is no national industry or national trade. In the likely clash between Dutch imperialism and the Indonesian people there is not one Indonesian who will lose property. In Indonesia we can declaim to all the people "You have nothing to lose but your chains".*

Chapter 3

Objectives of the PKI

The objective of the communist parties of the world is to change the system of capitalism to communism. Until the demise of capitalism and, along with it, the bourgeoisie, communism cannot emerge. Between capitalism and communism is a transitional period. In this interim period the proletariat will exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. This means that the world proletariat will exercise domination over the world bourgeoisie otherwise seeking to reclaim its lost political and economic power and domination. Oppression by the bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries, however, has been changed with the advent of Soviets. The purpose of the Soviets is to eliminate capitalism and to prepare the growth of communism.

Soviet countries have not actually attained communism. To attain communism is a journey of scores of years. The commencement of pure communism means the end of the Soviet state. The Soviet state will end as a state, that is as an instrument of oppression of the proletariat, if the bourgeoisie as oppressor is already eliminated or transformed to become worker members of a communist society.

Under the authority of proletarian dictatorship, big industry, or at least concentrated industry, will be nationalized. This means that this industry will be transferred to proletarian countries. With the nationalization of big industry, personal property will no longer exist but will be transformed into communal property. And thus, anarchy in production will be eliminated, that is to say, the production of daily necessities of no use value, such as occurs in capitalist society. According to the new rationalization, produc-

tion of goods will be according to social needs. With the elimination of private property and anarchy in production, oppression will also be eliminated. Related to this is the elimination of class distinctions, namely between the proletarian and bourgeois classes.

With the elimination of conflict, the politics of imperialism will no longer obtain, that is to say, the politics of capitalist countries using bank capital to assert control over such countries destined as markets for surplus factory production and, consequently, using these countries to obtain raw materials for industry as seed for more capital.

If imperialism no longer remains, so imperialist wars will be eliminated. In a word, communist society will eliminate the creation of private property, anarchy in production, conflict, class, imperialism, and imperialistic war. Instead, communal property, production planning, voluntary production and internationalization, will come into being, while peace, international cooperation, and fraternity, will unite the races of the world.

What is analysed above is the theory of communism which, however, will become a reality if world capitalism simultaneously collapses as almost happened in the first years after the Bolschevik revolution in Russia. It was the Soviet Union that, from the outset of the revolution, quickly formed the basis of pure revolution. Unquestionably, however, it was the Social Democrat betrayal which has, until now, prevented the general collapse of capitalism and forced the Bolsheviks to create steps to retreat as in 1921? Steps towards retreating must be understood in the context of economy and tactics. In the economic context, the Soviet state has legalized the return of personal property to the peasantry otherwise comprising 80 percent of the Russian population, and, to the small bourgeoisie in the towns and, along with that, has allowed trade in goods produced on the basis of capitalism. Clearly, these steps are necessary because small factories do not yet have sufficient technical and administrative centralization and also, in this initial stage, because of the growth of an excessively large nationalized bureaucracy. Because private property and trade

among peasants and small enterprises is currently allowed, and, given coordination between bureaucracy and economy, Russia can proceed more smoothly. In the final analysis, this shows the wisdom of this policy especially as peasants can be attracted to support the *Negara Buruh* or Worker's State.

The New Economic Policy, as it is so-called, will not only be limited to backward Russia. It also applies in purely capitalist countries such as Germany, England, and America, where around 75 percent of the population are working class, and where the creation of private property and trade by the small bourgeoisie and rural class becomes a certainty. Especially in Indonesia, the New Economic Policy carries very great meaning. Indonesian capitalism is colonial capitalism and does not grow in a regulated way from Indonesian society itself as with capitalism in Europe. Rather, it is forcefully implanted by a Western imperialist country into an Eastern feudal country for the benefit of Western countries.

Indonesian capitalism is still in the initial stage of development. Big industry like the machine industry, locomotives, and ship-building, and even industry to satisfy the needs of the people like textiles has still not been created. Related to this is the fact that the Indonesian proletariat remains at a lower stage than the Western European and American proletariat. A genuine dictatorship of the proletariat would endanger the economic life of Indonesia, all the more if the world revolution does not occur. As a consequence, the larger part of the population, that is the non-proletariat, would easily enter into opposition against the small-sized Indonesian working class.

To guarantee the economic livelihood of Indonesia in the eventuality of national independence, the non-proletarian population must be given an opportunity (within a limited scale) to initiate private property with capitalist enterprise. More than that, the country must give then both material, as well as moral assistance, to increase their production. Undoubtedly big industry will have to be quickly nationalized. *Only then can the economic activities of the people be developed without raising the future anxiety of*

other classes or groups. Only then can an economic balance between the proletariat and non-proletariat be achieved and strengthened.

Whenever a balanced economy is achieved, then a political balance will automatically follow suit. Necessarily, the Indonesian working class cannot advance very far in either the economic or political arenas. *Even if the working class achieve the most in the coming national independence struggle neither can they neglect the non-proletarian elements.* This is even more the case if the non-proletarian elements in the struggle obtain stakes as large or larger so that even an interim pure Soviet system in Indonesia cannot yet be planned. Of course we must always remember that the quality and quantity of the working class is low, while non-proletarian elements, even larger in size, are objectively revolutionary, with the exception of all those classified as small land owners. Because in Free Indonesia, the non-proletariat people must be given an opportunity to express their voices. However, if in the likely forthcoming national independence war, the working class creates a pioneer force from all the people, then big industry will fall into its hands along with political power. The political balance with non-proletarian elements will easily be obtained wherever it is most important for Free Indonesia.

Whenever the national and economic balance is obtained, then it follows that Indonesia will develop in the economic and political field. *The speed towards the direction of a pure Soviet, and following that, to communism, depends on the international situation and more so on the development of industry in Indonesia itself.*

National Program of the PKI

A. Economy

1. to nationalize factories and mines like coal mines, tin, oil, and gold.

2. to nationalize forest resources and modern agricultural works like sugar mills, rubber, tea, coffee, cinchona, coconut, indigo and tapioca.

3. to nationalize communications and transport systems.

4. to nationalize banks, company partnerships and big trading companies.

5. to electrify Indonesia by building new industry with the help of the state, such as machine factories, textiles, and slipways for the construction of ships.

6. to create cooperation between people with the help of cheap credit from the state.

7. to render help to the peasantry with cattle and implements to improve agriculture and to build state experimental agricultural stations.

8. to transfer big population groups at State expense from Java to the outer islands.

9. to divide uncultivated land among unemployed and landless peasants as well as offering financial assistance to work the land.

10. to eliminate the remainder of feudal land and private land and divide it among the poorest peasantry and the proletariat.

B. Politics

1. the speedy and unconditional independence of Indonesia.

2. the creation of the Federal Republic from the various islands of Indonesia.

3. the speedy convocation of a national meeting represented by all peoples and religions in Indonesia.

4. the quick conferral of full political rights on the Indonesian people, both men and women.

C. Social

1. A minimum wage, a seven hour working day and improvement in working hours and workers' livelihood.

2. Attention to the working environment with the recognition of the workers' right to strike.

3. Division of profits among workers in big industries.

4. Creation of a workers council in big industry.

5. Separation of church and state and recognition of freedom of religion.

6. Granting of social, economic, and political rights to Indonesian nationals both men and women.

7. The nationalization of big homes and the construction of new houses to be allocated to workers in state enterprises.

D. Study and Education

1. Compulsory for all Indonesian children up to 17 years of age in Indonesian language as the language of communication with English language as the principal foreign language.

2. Elimination of the current system of education and creation of a practical system linked to the present and future needs of Indonesia.

3. Improvement and increase in the number of schools for agriculture and trade experts and improvement and increase in the number of schools for high officials in the technical and administrative field.

E. Military

1. Elimination of the imperialist army and creation of a people's military to defend the Indonesian Republic.

2. Elimination of military cantonments and all regulations which restrict and regulate such aspects of a soldier's life as place of domicile, while offering them better and higher wages.

3. Granting of full rights to soldiers to create organizations and meetings.

F. Police and Justice

1. The separation of the *pangreh-praja* (civil service), Police and Judiciary.

2. Granting of full rights to all accused to offering them protection against the courts in the face of justice and freeing the accused in 24 hours if proof and evidence is perfectly clear.

3. Each case which possesses a basis in law must be completed in a period of five days following general procedure.

G. Action Plan

1. Demand a seven hours working day, minimum wages, and better working conditions and livilihood for workers.

2. Recognition of Workers' Unions and the right to strike.

3. Organization and peasant's economic and political rights.

4. Elimination of *poenale sanctie.* [18]

5. The elimination of laws and regulations which oppress political movements, such as governmental power to:

a. exile any person considered a danger to the state.

b. forbid strikes.

c. forbid and dissolve meetings.

d. forbid press publication.

e. forbid the giving of lessons and the full acknowledgement of independence movements.

6. Demand rights to demonstrate: mass demonstrations throughout Indonesia in opposition to political and economic oppression like: taxation, the quick release of political prisoners, and the return of political exiles, mass action must be strengthened with public strikes in opposition to the government.

7. Demand to eliminate the Volksraad, Raad van Indie dan Algemeene Secretaris [19] and create a National Assembly from where will be chosen an implementing body responsible to the National Assembly.

Short Clarification Concerning the Program

There is still not a single political party in Indonesia which has gone as far as clarifying its program, although the two parties of intellectuals, namely, Budi Utomo, and Nasional Indische Patij, as well as the mass-based Sarekat Islam, can at short notice, draw up economic and political demands. They also hold firm to the same word, independence. However, they cannot achieve a concrete analysis of the Indonesian economic and social situation. As a result, they cannot achieve their program. A program cannot be just a "wish list", but must be based on the specific social and economic foundation of the country.

Additionally, the PKI cannot yet organize what it really wants to achieve, either in this present juncture under imperialism, or, in the time when imperialism is crushed. It is already locked into the present. A program can't cover everything. No, there can be no meaningful revolutionary program, without a revolutionary movement. Nevertheless, any revolutionary movement which does not possess a clear theoretical basis and firmly organized revolutionary goal or program will not achieve success and will become a tool of capitalism.

As proof we can take one example; Budi Utomo, Nasional Indische Patij, and Sarikat Islam. Inevitably, in the initial stages, the three of them were revolutionary, yet not one of them could organize revolutionary goals. Without question, leadership and discipline caused the ruin of these parties, although the principal reason was failure to clarify their goals (program), and failure to clearly analyse the path to be followed (tactics).

The revolutionary movement in Indonesia always remains. If this movement wants to obtain results - and the time is ripe - then we must organize a national program and give it wide publicity.

We think, that our program is in accordance with the Indonesian economic and social situation. We can, accordingly, step up our demands, without damaging ourselves. In other areas we cannot retreat one step. This program well accords with all possibilities, both international and national. If, sooner or later, world capitalism collapses, and the Indonesian people succeed in obtaining the fullest support from the proletariat of the West, then this program can be used as a strong basis to shape the communist edifice. If, in the near future, we are forced to wage the national struggle on our own, then this program includes sufficient elements to raise up and concentrate the energy of the still slumbering Indonesian people, precisely the energy needed in order to obtain national independence.

Then, after having obtained independence, we can also defend it better. With the energy found in Indonesia in the immediate aftermath of the winning of independence we can quickly make steps towards international communism and with greater hopes.

If we can execute this program in an independent Indonesia, and this independence is clearer than so-called independence in many countries of the modern world, then Indonesian workers will own big industry and will exercise good authority in the economy as well as in the state politics. Exploitation and repression, such as currently suffered by the workers of Japan, America, and England, will no longer remain. The social links between slavery and employer will give way to equality and independence. Profits amounting to millions, now flowing into the pockets of the usurers of Zorgvliet (Den Haag), will be used to advance Indonesian industry (textiles and machine factories, shipyards, and hydroelectricity plants). These profits, in turn, will be used to assist financing peasants, small traders, and small industry as mentioned. In short, our program not only covers workers in the narrow meaning of the word, but almost all of the Indonesian people.

We have the courage to say this, not because we want to promise paradise to all men, but to stress their independence. The importance of independence strongly suggests that non-proletarians among the peasantry, small traders, small industrial workers, and intellectuals must also be given a share of the economy if the workers nationalize big industry. Because national capital is very small, and because of the anxieties created by fear of workers'

nationalization, and because more than 90 percent of the population live in suffering and misery, then cooperation between the proletariat and non-proletariat is more possible. With the building of industry and more State cooperation, and with more state assistance for the non-proletariat, then slowly will disappear all obstacles to creating big industry on a higher technical level; all for one, and one for all. Small industry must be made aware that state industry can achieve success, faster, better, and cheaper than they can.

Whenever they become aware of this, they will willingly surrender themselves to the State enterprise and will leave their small enterprise.

If this economic process, that is the investment of small industry into large-scale State industry can work in the context of an independent Indonesia, then the politics of the small bourgeoisie will give way to the politics of the international working class.

It is already clear at this juncture, that the non-proletariat in Indonesia, while revolutionary in appearance, are narrow nationalists in their politics. They only seek to wipe out imperialism, not to eliminate property. However, the Indonesian working class consider people who are not proletarian as not fighters. For Indonesia there are signs of optimism, in that non-workers submit to the leadership of the workers (formed into the PKI). Cooperation between proletariat and non-proletariat already reveals itself as a living force. In Priangan, where capitalism has not penetrated deeply, and where small bourgeoisie have a certain role, non-proletarian elements under the leadership of the communists have shown bravery and resourcefulness. To the PKI falls the task of raising up the albeit sleeping masses in Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and in other places. Gradually, the Sarikat Rakyat must become organized [against] all imperialist enemies. If the population in the big towns of Java and outside of Java are made aware that the PKI program seeks to raise the security of the people in general and does not neglect the importance of the non-proletariat, then they will surrender themselves to PKI leadership.

It is an historical imperative that the PKI must assume the revolutionary leadership. Wherever national capital is lacking, the industrial working class - as the class most closely linked and numerous - is the class capable of organizing the economy and politics strongly and with clear and specific aims. Because the non-proletariat of Indonesia do not constitute a fixed class, it is extremely difficult to form a class orientation, otherwise giving firm leadership to the Indonesian people. This is proven by the failure of non-proletarian parties like Budi Utomo, National Indische Patij, and Sarikat Indij. If the non-proletarian people of Indonesia wish to struggle to achieve independence then they will have to achieve the support of the industrial workers with awareness of political organization and workers' unions capable of crushing the political and economic apparatus of the imperialists.

Also, after national independence is achieved, strong cooperation between proletarian and non-proletariat is an absolute condition. If this cooperation is ruptured, and, if increasingly, non-proletarian elements become enemies of the industrial working class, then national independence will only give new life to national slavery. Not so far distant from Indonesia can be found such agents of international plunder as British, American, and Japanese imperialism poised to launch their imperialist attacks at the first good opportunity. As long as Indonesia is firmly united and in solidarity, they postpone their attempts to seize Indonesia. But as soon as internal dissension sets in they will soon seek to implement a divide and rule policy (splitting the people into groups so as to rule over them). Indonesia consists of many islands existing at various levels of civilization, offering a good field for international plunder. The areas outside Java, otherwise revealing petty bourgeois characteristics, could easily be set up to oppose Java which is very proletarian. A situation such as in China, Mexico, and South America, will be experienced by Indonesians, that is playing one off against each other in a situation of chronic or periodically errupting civil war.

A situation like this has to be guarded against so as not to let

it happen! But not with high-flown and empty doctrine. Only a program which is really directed to the struggle for material benefits of the whole people and carried out with justice can create a loyal group otherwise capable of crushing imperialism. But not only that, a group is needed to distance itself for a time before finally pioneering the way to international communism.

The question is whether we have the right to undertake a program like that. We can only reply with several words. For over 300 years Indonesia has been trampled over and extorted endlessly and with thousands of souls sacrificed for Dutch imperialism. Hundreds of millions of guilders have flowed into the pockets of the clippers of Dutch coupons. *And Dutch capital in Indonesia as mentioned in our program* on nationalization only represents one part of what was exploited in Indonesia over 300 years. So we still cannot change the souls of the peasants and workers of Indonesia, whether in Aceh, Java, Jambi, and in such other places which have already protested against the robbery and killing.

The final question is, whether or not we are capable of seizing national independence and defending it. We can reply to this in several words. If we are capable of attracting fifty million of the Indonesian population to our program and if, following this, the PKI and the Sarikat Rakyat possess sufficient consciousness, and discipline, then the way of the people's movements which have been oppressed for 300 years will not be neglected.

Tactics and Strategy

Of course, aside from our program, the success of our revolution actually depends upon our tactics and strategy. The meaning of these two words cannot be separated. We can say that tactics are part of an overall strategy. It is tactics which links our revolutionary operations in any given place at any given time. But strategy determines our operations for the duration of the revolutionary struggle. To deploy a tactical strike is to use part or all of our

strength for a limited objective. A strategic strike, by contrast, is a final action where we mobilize all our strength to win strategic victory, to break the enemy organization and then to crush it.

One example of a tactical action was the VSTP strike in 1923 and the protest meetings in Priangan. [20] Even so, we witnessed little evidence of consciousness in this event. A pure tactical strike must be exercised with greater awareness and better preparation. Additionally, it should not be viewed as a strike which stands on its own but as a preparation or as a part of a strategic strike. *A tactical strike in Indonesia must serve as a prelude to a strategic strike.*

A decisive strategic strike can guarantee greater hope if, in launching a tactical strike, we display bravery, skill, and perseverance. But this does not necessarily mean that we should fight to the end. Rather, we must know when to take a step backward, when to fight hard, and how to achieve victory wherever one of our sections is knocked out. Necessarily, our political organization in the PKI, the Sarikat Rakyat, and Sarikat Sekerja, must continue to struggle, until the general staff of the PKI can plan the strategic strike. If our political and economic organizations can demonstrate enough skill, discipline, consciousness, will, and motivation, then, at a later juncture, every tactical struggle can be turned into a strategic struggle.

If we can commence to launch a strategic struggle it won't only depend on the quality of our organization but our economic and political situation, both inside and outside the country. However, the strategic strike will stand a better chance of success if every economic and political action of ours is launched with success. This means that if we fail to obtain full success then we can at least prevent a defeat that may well weaken the organization over a long period of time (but not preventing the struggle :.....). Of course, the political or economic struggle in a capitalist society is relative. Moreover, if even one of our organizations is defeated, rendering it out of action over a long period of time, then automatically, the time to launch a strategic blow will be delayed.

On the other hand, if even one of our organizations achieves a tactical victory, then not only will the victorious organization win advantage, but so will the revolutionary movements in Indonesia Then, belief in the leadership, confidence in final victory, and will to struggle will increase.

Such a war strategy is not the same as a revolutionary strategy. In a war situation both the quality and the quantity of forces is constant although this changes somewhat in the case of revolutionary forces. In the latter case, both the size and kind of forces undergo a high tide and an ebbing. This rise and fall is governed by the economic and political situation of the country. If all the population lives in a situation of extreme suffering, such as the case in Indonesia at the moment, if the measures taken are cruel and exercised narrowly, then the wave of revolutionary spirit will rise up all over the country so that the General Staff of the revolution will spontaneously attract forces of a size never before experienced. If, for example, the PKI at the present can rally 50,000 members, then as soon as the Inlansche Verpendin [21] or other economic pressures begin to bite, then the entire people will take shelter behind the communist flag, especially if we know how to assiduously sow propaganda and vigorously defend our program and position.

Because revolutionary forces are subject to more of a fluctuation than conventional forces, then the general staff of a revolutionary force must have far more planning and foresight than the general command of a conventional force.

From the outset, revolutionary forces have to calculate their physical strength as well as that of their opponents in any future contingency. Besides, tactics have to be fine-tuned along with the fluctuating situation and must, accordingly, be sufficienty flexible. Revolutionary forces also have to take much more into account the moral situation than the case of the general staff of a conventional force in a conventional war as this is an important matter indeed for a revolutionary force.

Even if a conventional war is in many ways different from a

revolutionary struggle there are still many points of similarity as well as points of difference. The following laws that hold in the case of a strategic war also hold for a revolutionary strategy:

1. The level of offensive and initiative.
2. Concentrating strength in an advantageous place and time.

The Level of Offensive and Initiative

In every kind of struggle, initiative is an important principle. Those who take prior initiative have certain advantage which cannot be resumed by their opponents. Because they are the first to initiate action they can create a new situation for their opponents. Because of it, their opponents cannot think of a new plan by themselves, however tied they are to the situation just created. In this way their plan awaits to be crushed by those who take the initiative. Besides this, in overcoming wishes and actions, the passive is obliged to await the attack of those who take the initiative.

If we in the revolutionary struggle do not first sieze the initiative, then our opponents will gain advantage in winning over our desires and actions so that we are forced into a crippling passive situation. If, for example, the enemy sought to crush one among others of the Sarekat Sekerja or our national groups and it already took prior initiative then we would feel pressured and uncertainty because we would not know how and when it will act. However, if we seek to avert this situation by taking prior initiatives then we will also obtain, besides moral advantage, the edge in overcoming our opponent's schemes already under way, possibly also being able to crush them.

The end of the struggle that takes initiative is offensive. Those who attack first have initiative and overcome the plans and conduct of their opponents. But the shape of a good offensive is an offensive that is carried out defensively. Even if our aim is no less than the elimination of imperialism and capitalism, we are forced by the situation to launch an attack in a defensive form. We prepare our attack after being threatened and attacked. Against the

actions of our reactionary opponents, we base agitation, protest, or action which brings us closer to our final aims.

Of the final determining blow, we can only obtain victory if we also take defensive initiative so that the final determining blow can shape our aims. Beginning from now, the Sarekat Sekerja and our other political organizations, must possess offensive spirit.

Concentrating strength in an advantagous place and time

The aim of every offensive is to attack and overwhelm the defences of the enemy with large forces with the intention to break its organizational link and to finally crush it for ever.

Our main struggle organization, the Sarekat Sekerja Politik, should, if the time is ripe, be rapidly deployed to a place where we can inflict upon the enemy the greatest disaster, namely where they concentrate their main forces.

If we consider Indonesia as our battlefield, then we will find that the military, political, and economic strength of the Dutch imperialists is not centred in one place, but dispersed. Military strength is centred in Priangan. The political centre now in Batavia may later may be shifted to Priangan. However, both Batavia and Priangan really do not have an economic base. We only find this situation in the Bengawan-Solo or Surakarta valley, [22] that is to say, in the residencies of Yogjakarta, Solo, Madiun, Kediri, and Surabaya, where industry, including factories, transport companies, banks, and other concerns, are concentrated.

Where else can a revolutionary offensive already in advance preparation obtain such great success?

If military, political, and economic strength is centred in one town, as often happens in Europe, then it becomes our obligation to enter the town beforehand to plan our revolutionary organization in advance of launching a first revolutionary offensive. If our plans prove successful there, then other parts of Indonesia would - more or less - automatically fall into our hands.

However, because Dutch imperialist power is dispersed over

several centres, we too must accordingly divide our revolutionary forces and select the place that is most important for our victory.

If we consider the matter carefully, then we arrive at the conclusion that the most advantageous place for us to storm would be the Bengawan-Solo valley. Clearly, we have a greater hope of seizing economic and political power and defence in this locale than in Batavia and Priangan. In the Bengawan-Solo valley are concentrated industrial workers and poverty-stricken peasants, who will contribute the energy, not only for the seizure, but also as a technical and economic condition to defend this seizure. In Batavia or Priangan political or military victory would be difficult to obtain and defend compared to the Bengawan-Solo valley because of the lack of technical and economic conditions necessary to defend the seizure. Political or military victory in Batavia or Priangan would be more difficult to defend than in the Bengawan-Solo valley, because of the lack of technical or economic factors [as mentioned]. A modern political and military victory could only be defended if we possess the basic conditions of economic power, factories, industries, transport corporations, and banking institutions.

From what has been mentioned above we can draw the conclusion that we must mobilize our main forces to the Bengawan-Solo valley so that our revolutionary offensive can confirm our overall strategy. If we can maintain our position temporarily in the Bengawan-Solo valley, and also make an attack on other centres of economic power such as the east coast of Sumatra, Palembang, and east Kalimantan, and also in such centres of economic and military power, as Batavia, Bandung, Magelang, Malang, and Aceh, then we can attack or successfully defend the Bengawan-Solo valley as the basis for an Indonesian Republic. Increasingly, if our voice and influence can sway the Army and Navy forces, then Dutch imperialism cannot easily deploy its military power. The enthusiastic voices of workers from the Bengawan-Solo valley will surely be heard by the workers of Asia, Europe, and America and foreign imperialism will not easily at-

tack and kill the Indonesian workers. Besides, the Third International will work to call to a halt the killing by the imperialists.

Although the Bengawan-Solo valley is ideal for our victory, places like Priangan, and especially Aceh, and Ternate, are vital for the creation of diversions designed to mislead the enemy. When we have made a successful attack on these places the enemy will be forced to divide its strength otherwise concentrated in Java and obliged to send part of it to the remote areas. For the revolutionary movement matters like this are inevitably important for morale. Besides, if Dutch imperialism continues to repress revolutionary resistance with force so then will the cost increase for the imperialists. Consequently, it will be forced to raise even higher taxes from the suffering peoples. This will only further stimulate dissatisfaction and raise the level of revolutionary consciousness.

A victory in Priangan, Aceh, and Ternate, seen from the tactical perspective, is very important and can lead the way to strategic victory. The strategic victory that we will then launch in the Bengawan-Solo valley will appear as a sword of Damocles hanging over the head of Dutch imperialism.

Connected with the importance of the Bengawan-Solo valley for Indonesian independence is our revolutionary duty to give more prominence to economic centres than hitherto. It is our revolutionary duty to organize and coordinate the mass industrial proletariat and peasant class and to train them for continuing action to seize economic and political power.

Level of Consciousness, Will, and Discipline

In every movement consciousness plays an important role. By revolutionary consciousness we take our lead from Marx's dialectical materialism. Following Marx, we can determine that currently almost all the Indonesian people possess revolutionary spirit. But there is a big difference between the revolutionary state of industrial workers and the state of small owners like peasants, traders, and small producers. Subjectively, the former is revolutionary when they not only seek to eliminate political power but also economic power by means of the elimination of private property and a capitalist system of production. But subjectively, the small property holders are not revolutionary because they do not wish to eliminate private property and capitalist production. On the other hand, they seek more property themselves. However, vis-a-vis imperialism, they have a revolutionary attitude. They seek the creation of a national government and national independence. Because of that, their objectives are revolutionary.

In matters of organization, tactics, and strategy we cannot involve both industrial workers and non-proletarian elements. Such a conflation will not bring strength but only simply and solely bring weakness. Even if the above elements both struggle to oppose imperialism, their basis and aims for struggle remain different. Such differences notwithstanding, people cannot forget the necessity of working together because both non-proletarian goals and the ultimate goals of the industrial proletariat will only be exercised after the crushing of imperialism. The tactics of the PKI against non-proletarian elements is to raise up their material importance so that they are very flexible. They must be capable of raising up revolutionary energy and potential within the non-proletarian elements. They must also be able to coordinate their force with proletarian force. If it succeeds, then Indonesian independence can said to be confirmed.

Revolutionary consciousness must be matched by revolutionary will. Consciousness alone is not sufficient. Clearly, the Indonesian people, enslaved for 300 years, cannot prevail in a single day against one imperialism undoubtedly assisted by other imperialisms. There is no question that in some places the PKI will experience setbacks. It is also possible that in some places the PKI will be forced to prosecute more underground actions. However, in all these circumstances, it cannot and must not lose its courage and ideological direction. On the other hand, we are convinced that it will be more active, more experienced, and more brave. Tthe PKI understands that the downfall of Dutch imperial-

ism and the revolutionary power of the Indonesian people does not simply rest on the Djojo Bojo myth [23] or other peddlers of *djamu* (nostrums), but, rather, its beliefs are grounded upon a firm social economic analysis of Indonesian society. The conflict that ruptures the peace between the governing body and the governed in Indonesia will strengthen the struggle.

Consciousness and will can be exercised locally if the PKI possesses discipline. All members, sections, and organizations of the PKI must carry out decisions of the centre, honestly, and actively. One section must rally to help another section in adversity. It must advance if the leadership views it necessary, and retreat backwards if the struggle orders it to do so. A struggle can only obtain success if the General Staff can have full confidence in all the army.

Strategic Blow

The final strategic blow will succeed if the following conditions are fulfilled:

1. The Party possesses iron discipline.
2. The Indonesian people remain under the leadership of the PKI.
3. Enemies both inside and outside the country are divided.

If the first condition is not fulfilled, we cannot uphold secrecy. It is often the case that a responsible member follows his own opinions without waiting for the central decision making. Or, he exercises his opinion while still knowing that it conflicts with the central opinion. An undisciplined attitude or character in a true revolutionary struggle not only endangers the concerned leadership and section but also the whole movement.

Revolutionary discipline has a similarity with military discipline at this point: namely that decisions have to be taken. However, one is different from the other in this matter: namely that revolutionary discipline is not only a desire to surrender (sebelum dauh). While a military General Staff does not expect its soldiers to understand orders which are given, in the case of a Revolutionary General Staff, the first conditions are that members must really understand decisions that have to be undertaken. This just doesn't mean only decisions but that all members must also understand absolute obedience in the implementation of decisions, even if the decision conflicts with their own opinion.

Each revolutionary decision can only be taken with precision after considerable discussion. In each discussion every member possesses full rights to advance and defend his opinions and oppose or support the opinions of other people. After the final voting he has the right to defend his opinions as strongly as possible, so that he can exercise all spiritual influence over the Party's decisions. But if the majority make a decision conflicting with his own, and he does not agree with it, then he must bow to that decision and, as a member or leader, he must carry it out with obedience and dispatch. If this does not happen, it is not possible for the revolutionary strength of the Party to act outside as a harmonized mass. A Party where each member holds strong to his own opinion and sabotages the decision of the Party cannot be tolerated.

Thus the second condition is not yet fulfilled. It is very clear that the PKI is currently one among other parties that can be said to be a party of the Indonesian people. Budi Utomo, Pasundan, Perserekatan Minahasa [24] and other small parties can, with difficulty, defend themselves within narrow boundaries. But a party can only become a national party beyond narrow boundaries, if it exerts great strength.

Currently, only the PKI is capable of operating in any place throughout the islands. Yet, it cannot be said that it has organized all layers of people and taken them under its leadership. It is still not enough even if all the oppressed Indonesian people hold out sympathy to the PKI. Nevertheless, when the time comes, millions of the oppressed will follow the call of the PKI. Not only in victory but also in defeat, loyalty and obedience to the PKI as the people's revolutionary party must be fixed and unchangeable.

We must recognize that our propaganda and agitation in areas

outside Java and also inside Java itself is still not concrete and strong enough and, because of it, not sufficiently penetrated. An insuffiency of strength and tools, an insufficiency of knowledge concerning the regional situation outside Java is the main reason our revolutionary power is still concentrated in Java and our activities are still limited to Java. Even if, here and there, communist power has already blossomed (Ternate, Aceh, and in other places) the majority in areas outside Java appear to us as country bumpkins or adolescents (Jambi and Palembang), self-satisfied, child-minded, in the dark, and still not grouped with the rest of Indonesia. Big mining operations, such as gold mining, tin, oil, coal, and agriculture like tea, and rubber, still have not experienced change. Bandjermasin and Aceh, where fanatical wars are waged under the banner of Islam are still foreign to us. In the above-mentioned areas we still have not won influence among the peasantry. Not only have we run into reaction there, but we have scarcely penetrated the difficulties of living of these nationals and their way of thinking.

If we, in areas outside Java - also in Java as well - wish to raise up the levels of energy to the level of the revolutionary movement, then propaganda and agitation must be harmonized with the local situation with all its differences throughout Indonesia, more so than we have already achieved. We have to influence the people of Jambi, Banjar, and Aceh, who are more or less under the sway of religion. If we still cannot join up with them then we cannot speak of revolutionary leadership. It follows that we must then show that our program seeks to uplift material life. We have to be capable to clarify that all obstacles experienced by small traders, peasants, and small producers, in areas outside Java at this time will disappear after the elimination of imperialism. If non-proletarian elements, mostly outside Java, become aware that in national independence, they, and not only industrial workers, will profitably produce material goods, then they will join with the proletariat in the struggle to oppose imperialism. If Rome could not be built in a day, then educating and organizing some 50 million people even though oppressed for hundreds of years will need time. Nevertheless, precisely because of the ever rising oppression and reaction, the PKI will be nicely assisted.

Even if in short time the party can be disciplined and the larger part of the population placed under our leadership, we must still know beforehand the situation in the enemy camp, both among those in the country and outside, before we can launch a decisive strike. The more shattered the situation of our opponents, the more advantage for us. We can say that the opposition by Dutch imperialism in the country succeeds in confronting the Indonesian people. The case is not the same as in Europe. The bourgeoisie, formed into the Conservative Party, the Liberal Party, and other radical parties, in confronting revolutionary workers, appear to be unified, but in fact deep divisions appeared among them. The Social Democrats vacillate between the bourgeoisie and the Democrats. The division between the European bourgeoisie in Indonesia, especially as they spring from a different race than the local working class, are not large in number, so the Indonesian people can obtain more meaningful benefits in their division. No matter the temporary solidarity of the Dutch bourgeoisie in the face of the Indonesian people, the unity of 100,000 is nothing alongside the solidarity of 50,000,000.

However, enemies outside the country (imperialism) British, American, and Japanese, confront Indonesia in a disunited fashion. Between American and Japanese imperialism there are no elements of unity and solidarity. Sooner or later, these two imperialisms must defend their power in the Pacific ocean with arms. *Still no one can predict with certainty the outbreak of war between Japan and America.*

The economic and political conflict between Japan and America constraining the peace in East Asia has already repeatedly occured and requires no analysis here. It certainly can be affirmed that Britain will stand with America so that the Japanese armada will, compared with the American fleet, be at a ratio of 3:10. One question of importance is, which of the three mentioned imperial-

ist powers will examine the current international situation and bring on the new world war?

Of course there is one certainty, that America will prosecute its policy of Pacific Penetration wherever it achieves victory in economic competition. A new world war is not essential for the United States to extend the area of influence, but this problem will bring danger, namely, that the international working class under the leadership of Moscow will transform world war into class war.

In the Kingdom of Japan itself there are those who oppose the imminent Japan-America war. The natural disaster caused by an earthquake in 1923 caused great damage to the Japanese economy at least as can be seen from the outside. [25] That disaster for Japan means that it will require great effort and long time before it can economically recover to a level prior to the disaster. The movement to democratize Japan from an autocracy led by the middle class and assisted by the entire working class continues. This movement is strengthened because unemployment in the country increases (according to the latest news more than three million) including many victims from the middle classes. By appearances, the movement to democratize takes a dangerous form, so that the militarist clique that holds authority over the entire political and military apparatus in Japan is obliged to give many political concessions. According to news from early this year the parliamentary system in Japan is modernizing and creating voting rights so that the number of voters will increase from three to twelve million. In creating it, the militarist clique does not wish to create a new war (in this matter the militarist clique can defend the autocracy against the liberal middle classes). Late last year Japan already reached an agreement with the Soviet Union. Even if this agreement is directed against the Anglo-American alliance, it is also used to win the blind loyalty of the working class and middle class who hate and fear the onset of a new war on the basis of the slogan that Japan "seeks peace with whomever". The above-mentioned economic and political pacts show that internally Japan

still does not possess power and unity that is desired to dare to oppose itself against world authority like America and England at this time.

It never easy to obtain independence right off. During the last war we know that not one of the colonized countries (French Indochina, British India, and Egypt) wished to sacrifice their struggle for independence. For Indonesia likewise, it also cannot be asserted that even in the eventuality of a Pacific war we can obtain a good opportunity to claim independence. Precisely the matter depends upon the problem, who will win, and how long the war will endure? But it is clear that in the meantime in the seas surrounding Indonesia the British, American, and Dutch naval armada is being prepared. For Indonesia, it is still not an easy problem to speak about independence, much less to seize independence. Anglo-America seeks absolute tranquility and security in Indonesia and will consider any disturbance as an enemy of peace. More than that because the British seek to defend the link between Singapore and British Australia they will take advantage of the first opportunity to occupy Indonesia if Dutch imperialism is thrown out.

Similar difficulties will be confronted by Indonesia if after more than ten years the Singapore Naval base [26] and the Dutch naval defences will have been completed. The connection between Singapore and Australia will become clearer and the defence of Indonesia by Anglo-American imperialism will be entrusted to the Dutch fleet.

It is apparent that intra-imperialist conflict is beneficial to us. However the problem is this: should we have to await the outbreak of war or should we now claim national independence and use all our devices to obtain it it now?

Because we know in advance that an impending Pacific War may still not bring independence, and because we cannot wait while the Dutch fleet and the Singapore Navy base are set up as an encircling force, now is likely to be the right opportunity for Indonesia to demand national independence. This opinion is also

strengthened on the following basis:

1. We cannot make our revolutionary tactics entirely dependant upon the outbreak of a Japan-America war. Tactics like that would be opportunist and dangerous. There is no people that can endure long in a tense situation with imminent threats. Increasingly, if in two or three years the threats still do not become a reality, then psychological tension will automatically become widespread. Revolutionary tension will become a way of life if it is based on material conditions actually experienced by the people. Only if our revolutionary agitation is based on clear suffering experienced by the people under the authority of Dutch at this point in time, will we be capable of convincing the masses of our propaganda, so that the dissatisfaction of the masses will change to become a mass desire and mass actions. Following on from this we now strive to advance our goals and be prepared to face the consequences of our revolutionary agitation.

2. There is a possibility that the Japan-America war will not transpire and that a *periode pasifistis* or period of peace must precede the social revolution throughout the world. If we make our actions dependent upon world war and the world revolution then there is a possibility that we will lose our leadership role over the Indonesian people. Because of it our Party will remain mired in dogma while the masses will take their own path. This path would lead to the outbreak of local rebellions or individual or anarchistic actions (*anarsistis*). Of course in their disatisfaction Indonesian people will follow our revolutionary leadership as long as possible at least while the leadership manifests itself as an outgrowth of this revolutionary direction.

3. We have not yet reflected as to whether immediate Indonesian independence would endanger peace in the Pacific. Such independence could cause an outbreak of the Pacific War. However, it cannot be said that the world powers out of fear of social revolution will delay the outbreak of war for long. In fact, this would advantage rather than disadvantage the possibility of Indonesian independence. Last year we saw in China that there was

not a single large imperialist power that dared to carve up China and occupy it even though they had the opportunity to do this. Precisely at this time in China, civil war flared up such that big foreign capital interests in China suffered bankruptcy. Only the fear of intra-imperialist war caused them to stay their distance. Every player seeks to occupy the best part of China and, accordingly, runs into conflict with its enemy in making its pitch. Because each imperialist seeks to occupy prime position in China, the result is that none takes anything.

Viewed from the perspective of trade and strategy the situation of Indonesia in the Pacific is very important, indeed, such that there no imperialist power would allow it to be occupied by any other strong country. Every endeavour to divide up Indonesia by the imperialist powers would quickly lead to disagreement and war. Even more so, if Indonesia itself does not just remain passive but exploits the division of its enemies.

If Indonesia presently becomes a colony of Anglo-America then the hopes of Japan to spread its influence to South and West Asia will permanently fail. The Japanese aspirations for an "Asia for the Asians", that is Asia under the heel of Japan will be futile. Japan, already forbidden access to America and Australia, will be permanently isolated in East Asia.

Moreover, Anglo-America will not permit Japan to occupy any point in Indonesia. Yeseboru Takakoshi, [27] long-time mouthpiece (*terempet?*) of the Japanese militarists, wages a major war, and shook the imperialist world when he showed just how important were the Sunda and Malacca Straits. However, these two Straits, each of them strategic points in Indonesia, if occupied by Japan, would mean a pistol in the chest of the British government.

If we conclude as to the situation of the enemy, both inside and outside the country, then we can say: "Fortress Holland in an economic and political sense". It remains in a clear adversary situation apropos the revolutionary people. If, besides this, they don't win, then they will strike tomorrow. Foreign imperialists remain in a troubled and divided condition and in the future years it will

not be possible for them to meddle in Indonesian affairs without risking world war.

To ask the question, when is the right time to mount political actions for unlimited and complete independence, we must reply: "Now and not later". If at a later date we are not presented with such a moment, then we must say, "we allowed an opportunity to pass".

Now is the time for the PKI inside the country to struggle to create its own organization, one possessed with sufficient courage and strength to seize and defend national independence. If, presently, after many small and large quarrels here and there, now using political organizations, then using organizations of the Sarekat Sekerja, we can show consciousness, will, wisdom, ambition, then we can finally strike our revolutionary blow, one that will be heard by the other conquered countries of Asia as well as by the shackled workers of Europe.

The Indonesian Consultative Council

In contrast to the pessimism enshrined in the writings of Voltaire, d'Alembert, [28] Rousseau, and others, the French aristocracy preceded by spendthrift kings and even more spendthrift queens led an extremely luxurious life. It appears that there was no other view of life than that contained in the assertion: "After me, the deluge".

The way of life of the nobility and kings and their luxurious expenses on full display to the miserable people as if the world was created for no other purpose, except for them to pay tax. Misery, illness, and hunger, are found everywhere. And because of it the dissatisfaction of the masses increases.

Peasants, workers, and bourgeoisie, under the above-mentioned leadership, will one day join themselves together as one to claim radical political changes. The creation of a "National Consultative Council" representing the whole people speaking for the nation, itself the successful culmination of the determined political struggle, can then be convened. However, the nobility and clergy who feel their authority and special rights threatened will express their wishes to the king to have the gathering of representatives dissolved. The historic words of Mirabeau which were effective measures at the time "don't flinch until the bayonet is thrust upon you", truly brought us to a turning point in French as much as world history. From the National Consultative Assembly issued French independence and the aspirations of the Republic.

We do not want to specify that there is any clear similarity between pre-revolutionary France and Indonesia at this time. What is really true is that both contain many important economic and political similarities.

But in Indonesia it is not only the aristocracy that exploits, lives luxuriously, and doesn't pay tax, but also Dutch financial circles. That is why the situation here is excessive. While the money scattered around all over the place in Versailles still occasionally trickled down to the French people in various forms, of the money thrown around in Zandveert and Scheveningen, not one cent ever reaches the pockets of the *kromo* (small peasantry).

Under Governor General Dirk Fock and the Dutch capitalists based in Bogor, Indonesia faced financial bankruptcy. State finances in 1923 rose to a thousand million florins. Budget estimates for the year 1921 showed a deficit of 285,500,000. In other words the expenditure for the year 1921 showed a deficit amounting to 285,500,000 over returns. Like Necker [29] summoned by Louis XVI to improve the state finances, so Dirk Fock appeared in Indonesia to rescue the state finances from financial bankruptcy. Necker was incapable of doing anything because, until the end, the French nobility and clergy were stone-headed enough to hold onto their extraordinary economic and political rights. In the words of the Dutch villagers, pay tax even if the people are allowed to die from hunger.

Will Dirk Fock suceed in creating an exalted financial class to stand over the brown coloured (*berkulit sawo mateng)* people of Indonesia?

The earlier formulated plan to compel the sugar enterprises to guarantee better living and working conditions by expending some of the sugar capital was cancelled after he arrived in Indonesia. When he wanted to impose taxes on oil there arrived the well-known threat from Colijn, "Lift this regulation or else we will be close down the oil wells".

Doctor Fock, obliged to nurse to health the otherwise sickly state finances, then turned to use a new instrument that even Necker lacked the courage to use.

The first stage was to enlarge the navy and police forces and to raise the wages of the high officials.

The second stage was to release the working class and decrease their wages, take back more from the suffering people and decrease the expenditure from people's schools and people's health.

Thus he calculated the balance of output and the imports can be improved.

Thus it was a measure exercised by a courageous state official otherwise usually exercised by political donkeys and sellers of nostrums at a time of hopelessnesss. How can the financial circles in Zorgvliet and Den Haag be satisfied with this? Variously, the imports and exports of such commodities as sugar, tea, matches, oil, and textiles, attract taxes, yet capital outlay can safely be recouped from the burden imposed upon the consumer, ie. by easily raising the prices of people's daily necessities. The government pawnshops and the salt monopoly adds to the heavy economic burden on the shoulders of the *kromo* until they are pushed beyond the limits of their capability. It is no exaggeration to say that an adult Javanese is burdened with one of the highest tax rates in the world. In the true sense of the word a Javanese owns nothing "except the air that he breathes".

Is there any hope that the economic crisis can be overcome? Certainly not as long thousands of rupiah as dividends yearly enter the pockets of the Dutch capitalists in Holland.

There is no other colonized land that is as financial drained as Indonesia, because in other colonized countries like Egypt, India,

and the Philippines, or in semicolonised countries like Persia, and China, inevitably part of the profits that remain in the pockets of the bourgeoisie will in whatever way be used domestically. Even if America or any other country is willing to lend millions of rupiah in capital to Indonesia, still the economic crisis cannot be overcome. Because millions of rupiah that have to be acquired annually are squeezed from the Indonesian working class as remittances abroad.

The economic future for the Indonesian people is even darker than that of the French people before 1789. Every Governor General sent to Bogor by the Dutch usurers, such as the case of Dirk Fock, was incapable of creating anything new except new taxes. There will not be a single Governor General capable of wiping out the deficit while the Dutch userers seek dividends.

Because of this we are rapidly approaching a political crisis. The objective of all the conditions remains. The capability to organize ourselves, political morality, and absolute consciousness belongs to us alone.

But our path does not pass through parliament. That is precisely what happens in British India, Egypt, and the Philippines, where a strong native bourgeoisie is found, where the importance of their economy is the same as the imperialist economy and because of it political authority proceeds peacefully. Thus, although there is no certainty, national independence in India, and Egypt, will more or less proceed with the support of the masses via a "dominion" or national parliament. Our path is outside of parliament. Our path is through the politics of the Sarekat Sekerja.

The Indonesian National Assembly must be convened by ourselves and not with the consent of our enemies. The Indonesian National Assembly will undoubtedly be created at a time of violent physical, economic, or political clash like local revolt, general strike, and mass demonstrations. This will become the climax of all our labours. The creation of an Indonesian National Assembly is a life or death problem in our struggle for *merdeka* (freedom), a matter of "to be or not to be" in our fight against the

holders of political and financial power.

This matter can be problematized if we are convinced that possible retaliatory measures by our enemies can be defended and crushed with success. This problem, if not confronted beforehand by convening the National Consultative Council, will present the power holders with an ultimatum.

By convening the National Consultative Council we will demonstrate that the dominant powers that be are not capable of handling our problems, that we have confidence in wielding our own power, and that we can answer back to the retaliatory measures of our opponents successfully. Accordingly, we wish to govern our own domestic and external problems according to our own views and without the mediation of others, and that on this basis the power holders must give us our place. The Dutch administrative and technical cadre, both military and political, can continue to reside in Indonesia albeit under fixed conditions, so long as they are prepared to work under the new Indonesian administration.

It is certain that we cannot take this important decision if we are not supported by the whole Indonesian population. The PKI and Sarikat Rakyat has to be stengthened beforehand so that all sections along with the Sarekat Sekerja will truly constitute a militant force, prepared for our clarion call for action, and prepared to face the threat of machine guns and airplanes.

When Mirabeau uttered his courageous words, he actually knew that these words would reverberate among the extremely active workers in the towns facing Paris. If Louis XVI really used bayonets, he certainly would have been faced with a general revolt.

With the increasing suffering of the Indonesian people, mass economic and political actions can erupt at any time. If our economic and political organizations already attain the quality and quantity desired, if peasants, workers, traders, and students, really desire a new and better life and clearly promote themselves, only then can we convene the National Consultative Council of

Indonesia. We must be convinced, if necessary to repeat "don't disperse, except at the end of a bayonet".

Thunderbolt to clean the air

At the time of writing this brochure, comes a report that our party is threatened by "wild dogs". Peasants and unemployed are organized and dispatched to beat our members into line with sticks. Such officials that have already committed murder several times over are paid off and dispatched to make attempts on the lives of our responsible leaders. These demonstrations from the dregs of the Indonesian people are organized to create fear, to humble and to provoke our members. Now Injo [30] is the name of Indonesian fascism.

Mussolini, a man of absolute wickedness and reaction, inevitably creates revolutionary instruments according to one principle and principles for one political end. However, what principle does the Sarekat Injo hold to except desperation and debasement of character? Thus is the creation of a period of fascism.

You, the government, creators, givers of divine inspiration, intellectual planners, creators of this gloom! You think that your creations can crush us? Similarly, with prisons, exiles, blows with sticks, bullets, and other instruments from a dark world, your fascism will disappear like a snow drift in the rays of the sun.!!

But we do not hope for a utopia as if our road is short and smooth going. The land is dark, difficult, and full of poison, that is the road to independence. From left and right we have already heard the whispered messages of sceptical friends. How can we continue?

Heavy is the work of educating the masses who for centuries have experienced nothing else but humiliations and blows from sticks, from both our ruling class and a foreign ruling class, masses who are obliged to cringe and beg as if that was a normal thing are reduced to utopian thinking and slave mentality.

Heavy it appears to carry out its work of education under an

authority not averse to untruths, violating laws which they make themselves, trampling on the rights of people, and crudely using instruments of violence, an authority with exceptional powers using modern instruments of repression on a compliant Asian people.

Heavy it seems to be to carry on the struggle with an unarmed force, void of strength, and surrounded by traitors, waging a struggle against forces commanding gold, hirelings, and various other instruments of repression.

But truth is power, our truth is a struggle between those in authority and those subordinated, which is the dialectic of the growth of capitalism, is the stimulus in our revolutionary struggle, and the force which rises up (incites) and inspires to overthrow and give victory to the strong.

Suffering, still deeply endured, and increasingly ill-informed reaction, will strengthen our forces in short time and sap away at the enemy.

We call to the intellectual class!

Also your class will not be free from suffering. There will come a time when colonial capitalism, now able to use your energy will throw you away like a discarded fruit that has lost its sweetness. The capitalist disease, that is a crisis with no protection, will endure for a long time. You must also agitate like a thousand of your brothers in Japan and British India for the "intellectual proletarian class".

Haven't you heard the increasingly strident cry of the Indonesian masses for independence? Haven't you noticed that they are striding forward in the great struggle?

Will you delay even longer while independence is seized by them so that they alone will taste the delicious fruits of victory. No, such a low and feeble response does not befit you. Because of it join yourselves into our force. But quickly, so that your class can also soon say with pride: "I will follow to help seize independence".

In the whirlwind of the coming revolution you will come to

know the Indonesian masses in all their capabilities and weaknesses. There you will come to obtain an opportunity to use your moral and intellectual capability to launch the path of revolution. There you will become aware how delicious it is to carry out social work and to struggle for and with the masses. There you will understand the silence of life as an individual in a capitalist society.

If, in the near future, we can hold out hope for your help in towns and villages, on the beaches and extensive mountains of Indonesia, to rise up to claim rights and independence, then there is no enemy in the world capable of opposing the wave of the revolutionary typhoon.

In the atmosphere of an independent Indonesia, intellectual and social energy will blossom faster and better". Great wealth accumulated by the labour of Indonesians will remain in our country. Knowledge, otherwise controlled and distorted for the benefit of the Dutch capitalists, will soon blossom for the use and benefit of Indonesian society. Art and libraries will find new ground on which to take root. Even more certain, Indonesia will soon grow in the field of economics, intellect, and culture.

The time of hunger, suffering, and pariahs, such as the oppressed castes of India, belongs to a past dark century.

Fear of hunger, contagious diseases, and fear of extraction of taxes, police, and prison, also belongs to the past.

And the new era is breaking wherever the torch of communism will lead the young Indonesian people to a final direction: Independence, Culture, and Happiness for all Mankind.

China, April 1925

Notes

1. Under the "ultra-conservative" governor generalship of Dirk Fock, along with his successors, De Graeff and De Jonge, and strongly supported by conservative Ministers of Colonies in The Hague, "a policy of repression toward the nationalist movement was inaugurated" (see. B. H.M. Vlekke, *Nusantara: A History of Indonesia*, V. Van Hoeve, The Hague, 1965, p.367.

2. The actions by students in China in May 1925 include anti-Japanese boycotts led by students in Shanghai, and the strike-boycott by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions/Hong Kong Seaman's Union affecting a quarter of a million workers in the Canton delta, an important prelude to the Canton uprising of December 1927.

3. The Sarekat Rakyat (People's Union) emerged in February 1923 out of a split between the PKI and Sarekat Islam. At the end of 1924 the Party called for the Sarekat Rakyat, and its predominant peasant following, to liquidate itself and to concentrate all work in the hands of the more revolutionary working classes.

4. Founded in Java in 1908, Budi Utomo was a pre-political organization catering to the sons of the lesser nobility.

5. Founded in 1911 by the radical Indo-European E.F.E.Douwes Dekker, the National Indische Partij proclaimed an "Indies" nationalism and called for independence. The government, however, refused recognition of the party and banished its leaders.

6. Indonesia's first mass organisation, Sarekat Islam, was founded in 1912. While having its origins in Indonesian trader's solidarity vis-a-vis Chinese competition, it was only notionally Islamic from the start and, up until February 1923, entered into a relationship with the PKI.

7. A reference to the interests of the Morgan conglomerate in the US.

8. The Dawes Plan refers to the scheme whereby post-World War One Germany was obliged to transfer reparations to the European victors. In fact, these sums were then transferred to the US as loan repayments and interest, which, in turn, found their way back to Germany in the form of American investments. As two economic historians have written, "Germany exchanged her obligations under the Peace treaty for obligations to American investors". [See Sidney Pollard and Colin Holmes, *The End of the Old Europe, 1914-1939: Documents of European Economic History*, Edward Arnold, London, 1973, p.260] Following a review in 1924, an attempt was made to link reparations with Germany's capacity to pay. Only the financial crisis of 1929 put a halt to this circular flow of payments.

9. Swaraj Party; the political movement in British India advocating self-rule.

10. The so-called Ethical Policy with its concept of "Debt of Honour", represented, according to Legge, "an official attempt to foster as well as to control the direction of social change". See John Legge, *Indonesia*, Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, 1964, pp.8-9.

11. This is a reference to the Japan-USSR Treaty of 20 January 1925, inter alia, establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries and requiring Japan evacuate from the northern part of Sakhalin island.

12. The Diponegoro revolt, after Pangeran (Prince) Diponogoro (1785-1855), engaged the Dutch in central Java in the 1820s. An undisputed national hero against Dutch colonialism.

13. The Aceh revolt in this part of northern Sumatra took the form of a war against the Dutch in 1873-74. Still ongoing against rule by Jakarta,. rebellions in Aceh are strongly founded in Islamic solidarity.

14. The Toli Toli revolt refers to the murder of a Dutch Controleur in north Sulawesi in May 1919 just after a speaking tour in the region by a leader of the Sarekat Islam.

15. The events of Priangan and Madiun are no doubt a reaction to the actions of the so-called Sarekat Hijau (Green Union) or gang members and thugs who, encouraged by the Dutch administration, attacked and intimidated PKI and Sarekat Islam meetings, especially in Priangan.

16. Multatuli was the pseudonym of Eduard Douwes Dekker whose book, *Max Havelaari was,* in part, a criticism of Dutch colonial policy in literary form but also a satire of a "certain type of Dutch bourgeoisie" who blatantly ignored the conditions under which Indonesians toiled to produce their wealth (see Vlekke, *Nusantara: A History of Indonesia....* pp.303-05).

17. Hendrik Colijn was the Prime Minister of the Netherlands who had offered up a proposal, albeit rejected by the government, for a limited measure of self-government for the islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and the eastern islands. A repatriate from Indonesia, Colijn held key positions in successive cabinets between 1930 and 1941.

18. Loosely, *poenal sanctie* involved a labour contract penalty leading to arrest and prison and forced labour on plantations for violators.

19. This is a reference to the Volksraad or colonial parliament.

20. VSTP stands for the Railway and Train Labour Union.

21. Inlansche Verpendin; land tax for natives.

22. The economic centre is translated as Surakarta valley in chapter five of "Political note concerning the Indonesian Communist Party". See Harry J. Benda and Ruth J. McVey, *The Communist Uprisings of 1926-1927 in Indonesia,* Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 1960, pp.116.

23. The Djojo Bojo myth, given currency by the Japanese occupation of the Dutch East Indies, held that the "*orang putih*" would be driven out by a

yellow race.

24. Pasundan organization was formed in 1914 as a near counterpart to Budi Utomo, but for Sundanese. Jong Minahasa refers to the Young Minahasa Party of Sulawesi founded in 1918.

25. The Kanto earthquake of 1 September 1923 led to the deaths of an estimated 175,000 people in the Tokyo-Yokohama region and the destruction of two-thirds of the urban area.

26. The Singapore Naval base was voted by the short-lived Labour government of McDonald, which came to power in Britain in 1924 as a way of getting around the terms of the Washington Agreement preventing the concerned powers from building up a Far Eastern fleet. Construction proceded slowly under the Conservative government, was suspended by the incoming Labour government in 1929, but accelerated as the danger from Japan increased, especially with the Japanese occupation of Manchuria and withdrawal from the League of Nations the following year. See C. M. Turnbull, *A History of Singapore, 1819-1975*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1977, p.163.

27. The identity of this Japanese figure (Yuzaburo Takekoshi) remains obscure even in the Japanese translation of this book.

28. Jean le Rond d'Alembert (1717-1783) was an eminent Parisien mathemetician and philosopher, author, inter alia, of *Precision of the Equinoxes.*

29. Jacques Necker was French minister responsible for economic reforms in the 1770s.

30. This is a reference to the Sarikat Hijau, elements opposed to the pro-communist forces.

Tan Malaka's *Naar de Republiek Indonesia*:

A Translation and Commentary

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