

HAMMER & STEEL NEWSLETTER

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The organ of the Communist Party of China, Peoples Daily, in the February 20, 1967 edition carried a policy statement on Viet Nam. It exposed the U.S.-Soviet collusion for occupation of Viet Nam in the name of 'Peace Talks'. It pointed out that the real issue was not the bombing activity against North Viet Nam but the aggressive U.S. forces on Vietnamese soil. The CPC held that 'the Vietnamese nation is a single entity.' The CPC again pledged 'all out support and assistance' and stated that the Chinese people 'will never hesitate to make the greatest national sacrifice' to aid Viet Nam.

The CPC statement said, '...the Soviet revisionist ruling clique is a group of shameless renegades seeking to betray the Vietnamese revolution, the number one accomplice in encouraging U.S. expansion of its aggression and the most sinister enemy of the Vietnamese people's cause of resisting U.S. aggression and saving their country.'

The Hanoi Daily, Nhan Dan, central organ of the Vietnamese Workers Party said in its editorial of October 5, 1966: "The Soviet government has on many occasions declared its energetic condemnation of the U.S. imperialists' brutal acts of war against the Vietnamese people and served severe warnings against them." There is disagreement between the CPC and the Vietnamese Workers Party on the role of the Soviet Union.

The Kosygin-Wilson talks, the praise of L.B. Johnson for his friends in the Kremlin, the U.S.-Soviet consular and nuclear agreements, uphold the CPC view. "Russian aid" to Viet Nam is a means of securing military information for the U.S. It is also used as pressure on Viet Nam, as a weapon for weakening the political and military resistance to U.S. aggression. The Russian bear acts like a Trojan horse in Viet Nam.

The CPC policy statement warns against Soviet proposals for "peace" in Viet Nam at the price of turning over South Viet Nam to U.S. imperialism. This would doom North Viet Nam to later destruction. Let U.S. imperialism gain a "peace" in Viet Nam and genocide against both the North and South would be carried out on a greater scale than in Indonesia.

The CPC article concludes that U.S. imperialism cannot win in Viet Nam. It bases this conclusion on the isolation of U.S. imperialism, its logistic and troop reserve problems, "the American people's movement against the war of aggression in Viet Nam--which has mounted to unprecedented heights" and contradictions between cliques of U.S. imperialists. The CPC statement does not call for any new activity by the international Marxist-Leninist movement. It concludes that the Vietnamese people, assisted by substantial aid from China, will win in a protracted war.

We are living in the imperialist stage of capitalism. That is the moribund dying stage of capitalism according to Lenin and Stalin. Therefore, we are revolutionary optimists. Lenin and Stalin also teach us that without a steeled revolutionary movement, equipped with a correct policy and united under a tested leadership, imperialism cannot be defeated regardless of its contradictions and inherent weaknesses. Without an international Marxist-Leninist movement which can face up to mistakes and setbacks, a correct policy is impossible. Since the death of Stalin, facing up to errors has not been a strong characteristic of the international Marxist-Leninist movement.

Hammer & Steel has called for discussions on setbacks and errors, on the Afro-American liberation movement, on Indonesia and on the 81 Party Statement. With few exceptions our requests have been rejected. Nevertheless, we consider it to be our responsibility to Marxism-Leninism and the people to critically examine the CPC's conclusions on Viet Nam.

The CPC claims, at the end of their statement on Viet Nam, that U.S. imperialism is isolated. At the beginning of the article it states that the Soviet Union is in collusion with U.S. imperialism.

The main problem of the Vietnamese people is the U.S.-Soviet alliance, which means that U.S. imperialism is far from being isolated. The Soviet Union is aiding U.S. imperialism in the cultural, diplomatic and military fields, not only in Viet Nam but in India, on the Chinese frontier, in the U.S., in Africa, everywhere. The Soviet Union has succeeded in securing support from other countries formerly building Socialism for this alliance which is aiming at the conquest of Asia and the imperialist oppression of that continent. The CPC's claim that U.S. imperialism is now isolated serves to lull the Marxist-Leninist movement and the world's peoples on the danger of the U.S.-Soviet alliance.

What about the "American people's movement against the war of aggression in Viet Nam"? There is important potential support to Viet Nam from the Afro-American and Puerto Rican liberation movements. This potential cannot be realized because many in the world anti-revisionist movement are supporting the neo-revisionist line of Progressive Labor, opposing Stalin's just Marxist-Leninist stand on national liberation. Much of the organized "peace" movement is controlled by the Johnson administration, the FBI and the CIA. They turn it on and off like a water faucet. Its program and its actions mainly serve the U.S.-Soviet plot for "peace" talks in Viet Nam.

Many people are concerned about taxes, prices and curtailment of social services because of Viet Nam, but all polls indicate more support in the U.S. for the bombing of North Viet Nam than ever before. The mass of the white people in the U.S. are more jingoistic and chauvinistic than the German people before Stalingrad. When Johnson and McNamara are forced to unveil their plan for gasoline rationing in the U.S., the white people will understand that the "automobile culture" is in trouble. Then they will increase support to anti-imperialist forces in Viet Nam. The CPC statement on the anti-war movement in the U.S. serves to lull the peoples and the international Marxist-Leninist movement on the danger of the U.S.-Soviet alliance.

Without question serious schisms among U.S. imperialists exist and will increase. They are mainly based on disagreement concerning the disposition of capital and armed forces in Europe, South America and Asia.

As J.V. Stalin pointed out, the imperialist stage of capitalism requires super profits. The quest for super profits in Southern Asia is supported by the dominant sector of U.S. imperialists. The differences between Kennedy and Johnson are over the tactics in Viet Nam, not over the aggression itself. U.S. imperialists are now regaining formal control over their Indonesian holdings. This has further bolstered the most powerful imperialist sector, represented by L.B. Johnson, who demand aggressive actions in Asia. The CPC, which has not yet evaluated the serious setback to anti-imperialist forces in Indonesia, over simplifies the present contradictions among U.S. imperialists on Viet Nam.

The CPC policy article on Viet Nam states; "The Chinese people, who are carrying out the vigorous great proletarian cultural revolution are closely following the development of the Vietnamese situation." An important task of modern revisionism is to split the Socialist countries from their strongest allies--the oppressed peoples. Modern revisionists attack Stalin's ideology concerning support to national democratic revolutions as key to Socialist construction.

Krushchev promised the Socialist peoples quick prosperity, peace, cultural purity, overnight development of a "Socialist man", a total and complete grasp of Marxism-Leninism by all the people, a Party of all the people, and Communism in 20 years. The return to capitalism in the Soviet Union and in Eastern European countries was accomplished, in the main, by focusing attention away from the focal struggle in the world--away from the national democratic revolutions vis-a-vis imperialism. As the CPC in 1963 states in "A Common Proposal...", "...the whole cause of the international revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the people of these areas (Asia, Africa and Latin America) who constitute the overwhelming majority of the world's population." And also it was stated; "Nobody can obliterate..." such a "fundamental contradiction" and remain a revolutionary.

The many recent policy statements on struggle in the cultural field by the CPC have, in our opinion, "obliterated" the national liberation struggles. It is proposed that cadres in China be judged as good, not quite so good, good who have made bad mistakes, and as proven rightists. No consideration is given for a cadre's stand on Viet Nam, modern revisionism or their ability to lead the people against U.S. imperialism.

The focal struggle in the world is now placed within China, between a handful of people and everybody else, regardless of their class or attitude toward imperialism or modern revisionism. Proposals for new forms of state power have been made, in the name of the cultural revolution, which exclude the leading role of the Party.

PL's newspaper, Challenge, claims that the heads of the U.S. state department "tremble and cry out" in fear of the "Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China". Quite the opposite is true. Representatives of every sector of U.S. imperialism, including the state department, have testified that recent events in China strengthen the position of the U.S. in Viet Nam. The CPC emphasis on "a bourgeois reactionary line" (which no one explains) and on "proven rightists" (no one identifies what errors they committed) confuses and divides the people. It also encourages U.S.-Soviet aggression against both Viet Nam and China.

Both the Chinese policy statement on Viet Nam and Comrade Ho Chi Minh emphasize protracted war as key to victory in Viet Nam. What are the prerequisites for successful protracted war? Our best guide is recent Chinese history. Victory in the Chinese national democratic revolution was achieved by: (1) Support of the world's peoples mobilized by the international Marxist-Leninist movement under its great leader, J.V. Stalin. (2) A correct anti-imperialist coalition policy by the CPC. (3) Self-reliance which featured powerful armed forces under the Marxist-Leninist leader, Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Without any of these 3 factors successful protracted war is not possible. Even the weakest link in the imperialist chain cannot be broken without all 3 factors.

As Comrade Mao Tse-tung and other CPC leaders have indicated, without the international Marxist-Leninist movement headed by J.V. Stalin, the Chinese people could not have liberated themselves. Khrushchev's attacks were aimed, therefore, not only against Stalin's great Marxist-Leninist theoretical contributions on the national question, but on the unity and strength of Marxist-Leninist practice on that question.

Stalin implemented and further developed Lenin's teachings on the need for collective discussions and a common line in the international Marxist-Leninist movement. Stalin never portrayed his writings as a catechism. He never claimed that his thoughts were the final answer to all questions. He saw the development of theory as a common responsibility of Marxist-Leninists in all countries. Without learning from Stalin, the international Marxist-Leninist movement is weak and ineffectual; it is still under the influence of Khrushchev. Only by upholding the Marxist-Leninist genius of Stalin can a Marxist-Leninist movement lead the peoples on Viet Nam. Without Stalin's teachings, neither a preferable early victory, nor a victorious protracted war will be realized in Viet Nam.

It is not only the revisionist forces around the CPSU that are attacking Stalin. In our issue of January 1967, we quoted Hung Chi's editorial stand which distorted and negated Stalin's leadership in the cultural field. In her newsletter of June 30, 1964, Anna Louise Strong said, concerning the question of cultural policy in China; "This is not done by killing, as happened in Stalin's purges. It is not done by even putting in jail." Miss Strong's newsletter is published in China and distributed in the U.S. by Ad Hoc Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party, which is a front for, and a part of, the revisionist CPUSA. Miss Strong was expelled from the Soviet Union for anti-Soviet actions when Stalin was in leadership and "rehabilitated" by the organizers of the 20th Congress. She was made an honorary member of the Red Guards after the above slander against Stalin.

In the same issue of Peking Review #9 which printed the policy statement on Viet Nam is an uncritical summary of an article from People's Voice, organ of the Communist Party of New Zealand. The People's Voice article on cultural developments in China; "pointed out that in the 42 year period since the death of Lenin, it has been Mao Tse-tung's thought which has been the beacon light of Marxism." New Zealand has aggressive forces in Viet Nam. Negating Stalin amounts to negating struggle in solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

Hammer & Steel believes that it is the responsibility and capability of the CPC to provide theoretical and practical leadership to the international Marxist-Leninist movement in this period. Our experience in the country ruled by the worst enemy of mankind, U.S. imperialism, has shown that attacks on Stalin are attacks on national liberation movements, on Socialism, on the dictatorship of the proletariat. The CPC is a great Party with great experience and theoretical contributions. The Peoples Republic of China is the world's most populated nation, it is a powerful part of the Socialist movement. Will not the CPC and Socialist China turn into their opposite if opposition to Stalin's work becomes widespread?

81 Parties met in 1960. They signed a statement based on a favorable estimate of world forces. Some of the most powerful signers, including Khrushchev and the CPSU, had already attacked Stalin and were cooperating with imperialism, thus changing the relationship of forces for the immediate future. The endorsement of the 20th Congress, CPSU, by 81 Parties speeded up the development of the alliance of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. Defeats in Ghana, Iraq, Eastern Europe, the Congo, the Afro-American nation and Indonesia followed. Without the teachings of Stalin--defeats. With the teachings of Stalin--victories!

The CPC has outstanding leaders. We are confident that the CPC will soon repudiate the 81 Party compromise on Stalin and Marxist-Leninist principles.

The modern revisionists plan an early meeting to further the Soviet-U.S. alliance in Asia. Marxist-Leninists should not be content to criticize this gathering of vultures. Marxist-Leninists should organize their own regional meetings with the perspective of an international meeting on Viet Nam. An appeal, over the heads of the revisionist governments, could be made to the peoples of Eastern Europe for an end to cultural and diplomatic relations with the U.S.-Soviet aggressors in Asia. An international gathering should appeal to India's masses to throw out their British, Soviet and U.S. oppressors, the merchants of hunger, thus aiding the Vietnamese people as well as themselves. A united Marxist-Leninist movement could appeal to Afro-Americans to stop fighting colored peoples in Viet Nam and increase the armed struggle for self-determination in the Black Belt.

An organization of Soviet Bolsheviks has been secretly organized in the Soviet Union. They have issued an important policy statement based on the teachings of Lenin and Stalin. They urge isolation of the revisionist leaders of their land. This is a big assist to Viet Nam.

There are sufficient anti-imperialist forces in the world to deal the Soviet-U.S. alliance a crushing blow. A tremendous effort by the peoples, a concentration on Viet Nam is needed. This can be done only by uniting the Marxist-Leninist forces as Lenin and Stalin taught us to do. Let us proceed with this historic task. Speed the day of decisive and complete victory in Viet Nam!

The Communist Party of the U.S.A. has announced its support for the conference of the revisionist parties called by the CPSU in behalf of the Soviet-U.S. alliance. The CPUSA will attend the conference.

Gus Hall, the CPUSA Secretary, completed a trip to Europe in late 1966. He spoke in England where there is dissatisfaction with the Wilson government. Hall tried to dampen the resistance of the British people to U.S. imperialist domination. In a public speech, he said that "a new America" was growing which would be peaceful and anti-imperialist. He said that this "New America" would include "important sections of monopoly capital."

In Italy there is trouble for the revisionist Communist Party. Some of its members are disturbed at the large numbers of U.S. military forces in Italy and by the revisionist surrender to U.S. imperialism. Some members of the Italian Party want to conduct struggle in behalf of Viet Nam. They remember the days of World War II, of Stalin, of victories for the partisans. Hall tried to help the revisionists and U.S. imperialism. He told a press conference that those who were expelled from the CPUSA for upholding Marxism-Leninism were FBI agents and implied that forces who attacked revisionism in Italy were paid agents of U.S. imperialism.

It was Hall who, in 1959 and 1960, insisted that the CPUSA do away with the Control Commission. Hall feared that such a commission would prevent the admission of open revisionists and FBI agents to the CPUSA leadership. Since 1959 both Hall and Milt Rosen, Chairman of PL, have always insisted on 100% open work. In this way they expose forces to government pressure and intimidation. In order to do only open work, Marxist-Leninist principles are compromised and agents of the enemy are admitted wholesale.

It was Hall who insisted on the return of Hathaway to national leadership and the advancement in the New York district of Albertson. The CPUSA now admits that Albertson is an FBI agent. When Hall's long-time associates, Lumer and Bart, made several visits to Boston in 1959 and 1960, one of their first private meetings was always with Charles and Elsie Piper. Since then Elsie Piper has been on the witness stand as an FBI agent.

Another CPUSA leader who owes his position to Hall is Herbert Aptheker. Aptheker had made certain positive contributions, especially on the Afro-American question, when Foster was in leadership. Aptheker traveled to Eastern Europe to break down resistance to U.S. and West German imperialist penetration. He was sent to Ghana a year before the right wing putsch. He acquired information valuable to U.S. imperialism in Hanoi and knew when to leave--just before the resumption of U.S. bombing.

It is no coincidence that wherever Hall and Aptheker go U.S. imperialism soon follows with a coup, a bombing, a recognition of W. Germany, etc. Hall, Aptheker and Co.'s activities are the practical result of their theoretical support to the Soviet-U.S. alliance. They try to serve the alliance as undertaker's assistants for revolutionary movements.

The January 1967 Political Affairs contains excerpts from a speech by Hall. He stated that "China has no trained personnel, no scientists." Aside from the vicious white chauvinism of this remark, what is Hall's point? He uses the exact words of Judge Kaufman in 1950 concerning scientists in the USSR when sentencing the framed martyrs Julius and Ethel Rosenberg to death. Hall's speech was printed after China's third successful nuclear test in one year. Hall is laying the groundwork for another Rosenberg case and is supporting an imperialist attack on China.

There is irony in the CPUSA's role. Its service to U.S. imperialism, its moral bankruptcy and degeneracy, disgusts many people and thereby limits its ability to serve U.S. imperialism. The CPUSA line helps create the conditions for its own ideological and organizational destruction. But as Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out, if you do not hit the enemy they do not fall. That is one reason why PL was organized. It is a "left" shield for the CPUSA. In the Boston Sunday Herald of February 12, 1967, a spokesman of PL said they "are not in competition with either the CPUSA or the Trotskyites."

Walter Lippman says the CIA needed student and labor leaders from "the non-Communist left" to effectively disrupt anti-imperialist movements abroad. U.S. imperialism needs revisionists who claim to be pro-Chinese and pro-Albanian in order to disrupt the Marxist-Leninist international movement. Because there is no common line in the Marxist-Leninist movement either on Viet Nam or on support to the national democratic revolution of the Afro-Americans, PL has been an effective tool of U.S. imperialism.

PL has opposed the struggle for self-determination in the Black Belt. In August 1964, PL opposed and slandered the leadership of 67 Afro-American organizations in Harlem. PL aims its main attacks against the Afro-American petty-bourgeois rather than at the white ruling class. PL refused to condemn the so-called test ban treaty. PL has slandered J.V. Stalin. PL sneered at Albania's contribution against U.S. imperialism. PL supported the spying trip of Aptheker-Hayden-Lynd to Hanoi. PL never condemned Castro's attack on China; in private gatherings they continue to support it. PL has taken a pragmatic, non-critical attitude toward bourgeois pacifism and bourgeois democracy in the U.S.

Hammer & Steel has documented the above actions of PL many times during the past several years. It appears that PL is still in control of the distribution of Chinese publications in the Eastern U.S. Their friends and supporters are welcomed in Peking. This is because there are strong and wrong tendencies in the CPC which also deny the national democratic character of the Afro-American struggle, confuse bourgeois pacifism in the U.S. with anti-imperialism, do not regard upholding Stalin's teachings as a principled question and believe a Marxist-Leninist Party will be built in the U.S. along the same organizational and programmatic lines as the CPUSA. Marxist-Leninists in the U.S. are, therefore, faced with the complicated, difficult task of supporting China's struggle against U.S. imperialism while simultaneously opposing the support given PL, which impedes the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

In the process of overcoming such difficulties, U.S. Marxist-Leninists will develop higher levels of international solidarity and more self-reliance. A Marxist-Leninist Party will be built in the U.S. capable of leading Puerto Rican and Afro-American liberation movements, capable of leading all the people to the eventual socialist revolution in our country.

We now have a limited number of Comrade Enver Hoxha's report to the 5th Congress, Party of Labor of Albania in English. We expect more. Meanwhile the first to send us a dollar will be the first to receive a copy postpaid.

As an expression of solidarity we have airmailed some copies of our newsletter abroad without charge. Because exchanges with foreign periodicals and our overseas circulation have both increased, the cost has become prohibitive. Beginning with this issue we will use ordinary mail to mainland Europe, Australia, New Zealand and Great Britain, unless we receive payment for airmail. In most cases we will continue airmail to Asia, Africa and Latin America.

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