

KIDNAPPED!

The Symbionese Liberation Army burst upon the US political scene by murdering an Afro-American educator. This is consistent with the line of Chairman Mao which calls for attacks on the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie of oppressed nations while he banquets with Nixon. The KKK has murdered many a Black man who "didn't know his place". The SLA is more dangerous because they act in the name of the left, in the name of revolution. They attempt to distract the Afro-Americans from their real oppressors--the fifty white billionaire families which rule this country and much of the world.

Now the SLA has become much more famous by kidnaping a member of the Hearst family which at one time was an important tool of US imperialism. Does this bring them into the anti-imperialist camp? Not at all, for their political bankruptcy goes beyond their choice of victim. Even if they managed to kill or capture a leading imperialist they would still be anarchists and adventurists whose theories have been disproved a thousand times.

Sure, this group uses violence, operates outside the bounds of bourgeois democracy, claims to speak for the poor and to be very revolutionary. So what? Didn't Hitler do all of that?

What is their program? Whom do they consider allies and whom enemies? What kind of revolution do they plan and what will they do with power if they get it? If we examine these questions, we find that despite their left-Trotskyite rhetoric and "left" tactics, they unite with the right opportunists and with the imperialists themselves on the main questions of our times. As Stalin said, a left opportunist is a right opportunist turned inside out.

INTEGRATION OR NATIONAL LIBERATION?

Hammer & Steel has consistently put forth the position that the national liberation struggles are the main force against imperialism, the main force for progress, the main force for revolution in the world since World War II. We believe that this has been proven by Korea, Vietnam, Bangladesh, Palestine, etc. It is a fact that the majority of all classes of the white nation in the United States considers the Afro-Americans as their main enemy and Rockefeller as their friend and leader.

Considering the present world situation and learning from Lenin and Stalin on the national question, H&S has made support for national liberation struggles

the rest of all who call themselves revolutionary. We advocate the right to independence for the Afro-Americans in the Southern Black Belt and the return of the Southwest to Mexico. These rights can only be won by building armies of national liberation and waging protracted war against the imperialists. The struggle for the land and resources of these huge territories will deal staggering blows to U.S. imperialism--the main enemy of the peoples of the world. The main task of Marxist-Leninists in the oppressor nations is to win support among our people for the right of oppressed nations to independence.

On these questions H&S stands alone in the white nation. We are fundamentally opposed, not only to the KKK, the Republicans and Democrats, but also to the right opportunist CPUSA, the left-Trotskyite adventurist SLA, and the rest of the hodgepodge who call themselves Marxists and revolutionaries.

All of the above groups call for the virtual elimination of the Afro-American people as a nation, pretending horror at the direct means (KKK) in order to push the more sinister scheme for integration coupled with abortion and sterilization. Integration is a false promise to the oppressed peoples to give them all the bribes and advantages of the oppressor people. Such theories justify the continued occupation of the oppressed nations and divert them from the struggle for land and the right to independence.

Progressive Labor (PL) has been the main proponent of the "left" theory on integration during the last decade. "Nationalism is bad for the oppressed. Blacks should join the white workers, establish socialism and let the national question disappear." Ideologically they are identical to the Trotskyites but for years they had the official franchise of Chairman Mao, Inc. within the U.S.

Now Kissinger has replaced PL as the link between U.S. imperialism and Chairman Mao. PL lost their franchise and recently suffered a major split. We view this falling out among thieves as a good thing, but their ideas are still around. It is up to Marxist-Leninists to stop the SLA and others from peddling PL's old goods from a new store front.

AN OLD STORY

The semi-feudal empires of Tsarist Russia and Imperial China used a policy of integration generally called "assimilation". It was recognized by all who considered themselves democrats or progressives as a policy of extreme reaction. It was fought tooth and nail by the non-Russian and non-Han peoples. Today the "socialist" leaders of Russia and China have nothing but praise for integration (assimilation) in the U.S. and have similar policies in their own territories.

Unfortunately, even many of the Afro-American and other oppressed people have been misled into supporting integration. Most do not recognize that the just struggle

For equal rights in the North and West is hollow and hopeless without the right to self-determination in the Black Belt. This extremely backward political situation is a result of U.S. military and economic strength and the extremely valuable support to U.S. imperialism from the leaders of Russia and China.

LEFT AND RIGHT UNITE AND FIGHT--
AGAINST NATIONAL LIBERATION

The SLA is an integrationist organization, as implied by its name. (Symbiosis--two dissimilar organisms living together for mutual benefit.) They shot an Afro-American educator as an "enemy of the people". They supposedly have white and Black members and they demanded food for the "poor" without reference to national oppression. They limited their demand to California which we should point out is a part of Mexico with very rich agricultural and mineral resources. But the SLA chose to demand handouts in the form of groceries.

We don't deny that there is a need for food, mainly among oppressed people, but how does this food program differ from the welfare system of the liberal imperialists? Both ask the oppressed to depend on the benevolence of U.S. imperialism.

If this program were really a threat to U.S. imperialism would they worry about the life of Miss Hearst? The Kennedy brothers were of much more

value to U.S. imperialism than Miss Hearst but they were expendable. In short, it doesn't matter if you write your congressman or kidnap your congressman (we oppose both), when you support integration you support national oppression and you support U.S. imperialism.

THE LEFT ADVENTURIST AS AGENT PROVOCATEUR

Shouldn't people learn something from the ruling class squabble called Watergate? One thing they should learn is that there are a lot of spies around.

It has been reported that at least half the members and most of the leaders of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War were FBI agents and that these agents were the main proponents of violent attacks on the Republican Convention.

One of the white SLA members in jail who is accused of murdering the Black educator served in the 101st Airborne Division in Vietnam and was a founding member of the VVAW in Oakland.

An FBI member of the Black Panthers was a key man in the murder of Fred Hampton.

The CPUSA prints membership applications in their newspaper. Most of their best dues-paying members are FBI agents.

Any organization is subject to infiltration, but without a political line and policy based on principle, it is easy for agents to take the lead and involve people in adventurist, self-destructive activities. Lenin pointed out that with a correct line, a program, and strict party discipline, even agents were forced to do positive work for the revolution.

Action such as the kidnapping of Miss Hearst, carried out in the name of the left, confuses people, misleads people, and provides the government with an opportunity to crack down on anyone who really has any anti-imperialist potential.

MAO--ROCKEFELLERS' LEFT-HAND MAN

Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, all led struggles against the anarchists, Trotskyites and left adventurists. The revolutionary experience of over a century has confirmed the general correctness of the Marxist view. How is it possible that groups like the SLA can still pass themselves off as revolutionary? One important reason is that they have ideological support from Mao Tse-tung. Mao was a leader in the great national liberation struggle in China. He is the ruler of the most populous country on earth. Naturally, what Mao says has a big impact.

The Cultural Revolution of 1966-1967 was full of left rhetoric about class struggle and reliance on the masses. In practice, petty bourgeois students were used to attack

proletarian organizations, including the Communist Party. In practice, the masses were coerced into glorifying Mao's Thought while more and more power was concentrated in the hands of Party bureaucrats headed by Mao. In rhetoric, the Cultural Revolution was against Khrushchev and the right opportunists. In practice, the Cultural Revolution, following Khrushchev's example, made a deal with U.S. imperialism for peaceful coexistence at the expense of the oppressed peoples. China is the main base for left opportunism. China is a good example of how left opportunism is merely the other side of the coin from right opportunism.

THE STRANGE STORY OF LIN PIAO

The New Cultural Revolution is concentrating on attacking Lin Piao as an agent of Confucius. We think that Lin Piao is being attacked after his death because of his book Long Live the Victory of Peoples' War! written before the Cultural Revolution. That book outlined the primary importance of the oppressed nations-- "the countryside of the world"--who must use guerrilla war to surround and destroy the imperialist "cities of the world".

Mao and Chou supposedly supported the book. Confucius remained silent.

At the 8th Party Congress, Lin Piao changed his mind. In the main report he said that the class struggle in

China was the main struggle in the world. Mao, Chou, and the rest of the leaders gave unanimous support to Lin and named him as Mao's heir. No one explained why they changed their minds. No one was self-critical. Confucius was silent.

Now Lin Piao is dead. Mao claims he was a life-long agent of reaction. But why did he support him at the 8th Party Congress? Confucius still hasn't spoken out on Lin Piao. At least Confucius is consistent.

ADVENTURISM IN THE OPPRESSED NATIONS

Kidnapping and hijacking by political groups in oppressed nations have become quite common. While these actions have some positive content when they expose imperialist involvement in oppressed nations, they are a poor substitute for the struggle for land and national independence. The oppressed nations are the main targets of left revisionism. Those involved in left adventurist organizations, whether claiming to be Marxist or otherwise, bear great responsibility for weakening the anti-imperialist struggle.

A joint statement was issued recently by four South American organizations who have been involved in kidnappings: the National Liberation Movement (Tupamaros) of Uruguay, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) of Chile, the National Liberation Army (ELN) of Bolivia, and the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP)

of Argentina. Their statement contained no program for the Indian peoples although one organization was from Bolivia which has a predominantly Indian population. We have criticized their hero, Che Guevara, on this question.

In line with Mao's thought they brand bourgeois nationalism as the main ideological danger and call for a socialist revolution. They ignore the key questions of land distribution and changing imperialist boundaries. In spite of all their left rhetoric and adventurist tactics, they praise Castro who in turn praises Brezhnev--the right opportunist.

FEAR UNITES THEM

Both right opportunism and left adventurism have a common source--fear of U.S. imperialism. This fear is based on an overestimation of U.S. imperialism and a lack of faith in the ability of the oppressed peoples to defeat imperialism. The right opportunist reaction to this fear is to make a compromise with imperialism, to accommodate oneself to imperialism. The adventurist solution is to act out of despair--to make the individual action the main thing regardless of the consequences.

Since they have a common source, it should not be surprising that many individuals switch back and forth from reformism to adventurism. Mao is the leading example. He mixes his leftist slogans with open support to peaceful coexistence and integration. The SLA combines the two by using adventurist tactics to win reformist demands.

Only with a correct historical perspective, only with an understanding of Marxism-Leninism can one avoid overestimation and fear of US imperialism. The Marxist-Leninist view does not deny that US imperialism is now very strong or that US imperialism can, does and for some time will continue to commit genocide by bombing, starving and aborting the oppressed peoples. The Marxist view does not deny that in the imperialist nations the masses of people, including the working class, support imperialism and will continue to do so until imperialism has suffered defeats and is less able to bribe them.

Marxist-Leninists recognize these difficulties but still are optimistic that the oppressed peoples will reject Mao's choices of accommodation or despair. We know that new leaders will arise who can lead the national liberation struggles to victory. It is with this revolutionary optimism that we avoid reformism and adventurism.

PROTRACTED STRUGGLE

We don't expect the SLA to listen to us and correct their errors but we advise them--send Patricia Hearst back to her family whether she wants to go or not.

Let all those who are not overawed by US imperialism begin the long, difficult task of exposing Mao and all his integrationist solutions to national oppression. Let

them be bold enough to call for the break-up of the borders of US imperialism and the right to national independence for Afro-Americans, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. Let them follow the examples of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and take up the struggle against Malthusianism, Zionism, feminism and other ideological props of imperialism.

Marxist-Leninists in the imperialist nations cannot expect to play a leading role internationally. They cannot expect to lead mass struggles during this period. Rather they must be prepared for a protracted struggle in which their main task will be to develop and preserve a small group of cadres who can develop only modest anti-imperialist efforts now. Such cadres can play an important though not leading role in defeating Maoism and building a new Communist International. Once these tasks are accomplished, once US imperialism has suffered defeats from the oppressed peoples, then it will be possible to plan for mass struggles.

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