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HO CHI MINH

To the funeral of Ho Chi Minh came representatives of Communist Parties holding state power. Also present were representatives of Communist and Workers Parties from many other countries. All these representatives follow the line of the 31 Party Statement of 1960 that foresaw the gradual, peaceful decline of imperialism and peaceful co-existence between nations. Their presence in Hanoi was ironic. The war in Vietnam has demonstrated their incompetence as Marxist-Leninist theoreticians. Their allegiance to Marxist-Leninist revolutionary principles was buried in the early part of this decade, without the formality of a funeral.

Ho Chi Minh joined the M-List movement in his youth, shortly after the end of World War I. He was an able representative of the 3rd International. He was an associate and co-worker of J.V. Stalin, the great follower and developer of Leninism. Until the end of WW II the proletariat in the west was the leading revolutionary force. The peoples of the oppressed nations were the main reserve of the anti-imperialist and Socialist movement. The Soviet Union comprised the shock troops of the anti-imperialist forces.

Ho Chi Minh was assigned important tasks in China and S.E. Asia in behalf of the 3rd International. Because he was a true internationalist he was an outstanding leader of the Vietnamese struggle against French and Japanese imperialism.

After WW II the focal struggle in the world pitted the oppressed peoples into direct struggle against the imperialists, particularly U.S. imperialism. The Indonesian, Chinese, Korean and Vietnamese national democratic revolutions threatened imperialist rule in Asia. The strategic struggle for Socialism for the dictatorship of the proletariat involves stages. Because imperialist rule means large masses of peasantry, restricted industrial development and a small working class it is impossible for a Socialist revolution to take place in any oppressed nation before the national democratic revolution first wins national independence.

In today's world the most important question involves victory or defeat for national democratic revolution. The Soviet Union and the proletariat of the imperialist countries had to take sides. Should they become reserves for the imperialists or for the national democratic revolutions? The peaceful co-existence line of the 20th Congress, CPSU and the accompanying slander of J.V. Stalin committed the Soviet Union to the side of the imperialists. After a period of confusion and struggle, the line of the CPSU became the line of the international Marxist movement with the adoption of the 81 Party Statement of 1960.

The confusion and unprincipled maneuvering before and after the 81 Party Statement made difficult an evaluation of the role of C.P. leaders in various countries. From 1961 until 1966 Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Communist Party of China, associated himself with statements supporting the national democratic revolutions in general while pushing revisionist practices in the specific. His support to revisionist tactics in Indonesia and his 1963 statement opposing the right of self-determination for Afro-Americans are two examples of the specific. Lin Piao's speech to the so-called Ninth Party Congress, C.P.C. failed to repudiate the slander of Stalin or the rest of the 81 Party Statement. Lin spoke in behalf of "Mao's Thought". It is clear now that Mao's support to Khrushchev in 1957 and his insistence on the 81 Party betrayal

were not accidents or honest mistakes. They were expressions of the right opportunist tendency which led to his present left revisionist position. Left revisionism, as does modern revisionism, denies the focal contradiction, using different forms. Left revisionists negate national democratic revolutions in the name of "class struggle" while the moderns do the same in the name of peace.

Ho Chi Minh also endorsed the 20th Congress CPSU and its international version, the 81 Party Statement. The policies of the 20th Congress, CPSU and the 81 Party Statement made impossible the mobilization of M-List international forces in behalf of Vietnam. The CPSU and its supporters in other nations refused to call for a break in diplomatic relations with the U.S. aggressors in Vietnam. The CPC refused H&S's request to convene anti-revisionist forces for a conference in support of Vietnam. Such elementary steps as the boycott of U.S. goods abroad, the boycott of sports and cultural events involving the U.S. and increasing military, medical and financial aid to Vietnam have not been taken.

It is argued that Ho Chi Minh should be absolved of criticism for revisionist mistakes, for compromising M-List principles. It is said that if he had remained true to Lenin and Stalin that the CPSU and Mao would have cut off even their token aid and forced him to surrender all Vietnam to U.S. imperialism. The gist of these arguments is that any Marxist in state power can make compromises on M-List principles in order to hold state power.

State power in any country cannot be put ahead of international revolutionary goals. To adopt any other position is to adopt the "socialism" of Harold Wilson. The Khrushchev-Mao 81 Party line meant covert surrender to imperialist aggression. The defeat of this line is an essential prerequisite for victory over imperialism in Vietnam and all countries oppressed by imperialism. If Vietnam is to liberate the South and unite

the whole country, Ho's stated goal, then the policies of Mao and Khrushchev must be exposed and defeated.

Nor can M-Lists accept the concept that those in the front line cannot lead ideologically. Criticism from Chairman Ho concerning Breshnev's and Mao's failure to recognize the key role of Vietnam would have strengthened the struggle against imperialism in Vietnam and throughout the world.

Chairman Ho's positive contributions since Stalin's death can be measured by the contradiction between his support to the 81 Party Statement and his anti-imperialist practice. To Chairman Ho's credit is the historical fact that he never fully practiced the 81 Party line. His support to peaceful co-existence and peaceful transition, including support to pacifists and revisionists in the U.S., created illusions among the Vietnamese people and the peoples of the world about the drive for super profits by Wall St. On the other hand his resistance to U.S. attacks strengthened the Vietnamese people and encouraged other oppressed peoples against the barbaric aggression of Johnson and Nixon.

Chairman Ho failed to uphold Stalin and Lenin on the Afro-American people's right to self-determination, but his resistance to U.S. imperialism provided objective aid to the Afro-American's national democratic revolution.

Chairman Ho Chi Minh's final statement expressed regret for the divisions in the international Marxist movement. He expressed his hope for reunification. It is over 13 years since the 20th Congress, GPSU, and 9 years since the 81 Party Statement. The line of the 20th Congress and the 81 Party Statement represent the ideological penetration of imperialism into the contemporary M-List movement. The 20th Congress, CPSU, the CPC 8th Congress in 1956 (which endorsed the 20th Congress) and the 81 Party Statement opened the door ideologically to the organizational destruction of the contemporary M-List movement.

The history of the Marxist movement is the struggle against ideological penetration by capitalist ideas. This is true of the period of Marx and Engels, the period of ascending capitalism, and the period of Lenin and Stalin, the imperialist stage of dying capitalism. The struggle against the right and left opportunism of Breshnev and Mao is a continuation of past struggles against Kautsky, Trotsky, etc. What is new in this situation? For the first time Marxists in state power have betrayed Marxism. The tremendous gains of the October Socialist revolution in Russia and the Chinese national democratic revolution of 1949 are utilized by the revisionists to attack Lenin's evaluation of capitalism in its imperialist stage and to attack Lenin and Stalin's concepts of a vanguard Party of the working class. Left revisionism in China proposes Mao's thought as a substitute for a M-List Party while revisionists in Russia use "Party of the whole people" propoganda in the joint attack on the leading role of M-List Parties and international unity of the M-List movement.

We agree with Chairman Ho's call for M-List unity. We disagree that it can be achieved with the present "Marxist" leaders, so strongly committed to imperialist ideas over such a long period. M-List unity will grow in the struggle to win victories over imperialism--against the view that imperialism will fade away. M-Lism will grow in the struggle against left and modern revisionism--not by quietly waiting for revisionists to repent.

The life of Ho Chi Minh reflects both the tremendous accomplishments of M-Lism under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, and the serious setbacks and defeats suffered under Breshnev and Mao. The peoples of the world are learning that he who claims "thoughts" that outdate Lenin and Stalin is merely revising Lenin and Stalin's teachings. The new M-List movement will raise high the standard of Lenin and Stalin in

all the nations of the earth. The essence of Lenin and Stalin's teachings on the national question, applied in the new conditions when national democratic revolutions are dooming imperialism, will be the fundamental line and policy of the new victorious M-List movement.

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U.S. imperialism is the aggressor in Vietnam. Nixon's farcical troop withdrawals, the intensified barbaric U.S. bombings, the ghastly torture and murder of Vietnamese civilians and soldiers, the destruction of Vietnam's forests and agriculture all result from U.S. imperialism's drive for super profits in S.E. Asia.

The negotiations in Paris on Vietnam cannot change or alter the super-profit drive of U.S. imperialism. In the long run only political, economic and military defeats can oust U.S. imperialism from Vietnam.

The territory of the U.S. is made up mainly by the oppressed nations of Puerto Rico and the Afro-American Black Belt and by the oppressor nation. Among the people of the oppressor nation, among the whites, there is increasing dissatisfaction with Nixon's efforts to continue Johnson's policies in Vietnam. This dissatisfaction is caused by the draft, the higher taxes and inflation. Sections of the white middle class, white working men and white farmers are losing a few of the bribes that U.S. imperialism was exchanging for support to aggression. The protracted war in Vietnam has also intensified contradictions between imperialist groupings within the U.S.

The dominant group of U.S. imperialists tries to resolve the schisms in the oppressor nation by intensified oppression of the Afro-Americans, the Puerto Ricans and the national minorities. The main resistance to U.S. imperialism in Vietnam within the U.S. has been and will continue to be the Afro-American and Puerto Rican liberation movements.

Mussolini attacked Ethiopia in the name of reviving the Roman empire. Hitler attacked other nations in the name of regaining all former German territory. Nixon attacks in Vietnam, in the Black Belt, in Puerto Rico, in West Asia, in the name of democracy. That is why Nixon often allows, and even encourages, pre-publicized open "democratic" demonstrations on Vietnam. Such demonstrations objectively serve his democratic pose and aggression against oppressed peoples. The open "democratic" demonstration allows Nixon complete initiative. He can either cite them as an example of democracy or club them as a danger to democracy.

Anyone who understands the real nature of U.S. imperialism, anyone who grasps the importance of winning the right of self-determination (the right to secession) in the Black Belt and in Puerto Rico will seriously question the proposed SDS demonstration on Vietnam in Chicago. SDS leaders expelled Progressive Labor because of the latter's sabotage and slander of national liberation struggles. But SDS leaders themselves have not taken a serious self-critical evaluation of their own failure to stand for the right of self-determination (right to secede) for Afro-Americans in the Black Belt. SDS leaders who are confused and ambivalent on the right of Afro-Americans to land, arms and state power in the Black Belt cannot effectively lead other whites in support of Vietnam or other oppressed peoples.

Strong anti-imperialist support within the U.S. requires leadership which is honest and courageous enough to ask why Breshnev and Mao have proven bankrupt on Vietnam. Which side do Mao and Breshnev really favor? Such leadership must ask if U.S. whites can really stand for Vietnamese self-determination while cherishing U.S. imperialist boundary lines in America? Such leadership must ask if five minute demonstrations in many cities are not more effective support to the Vietnamese than are open publicized demonstrations in Chicago? Or are names in the paper, endless court trials and personal publicity more important than Vietnam?

The fierce and prolonged resistance to U.S. imperialism in Vietnam has been a great contribution to the peoples in the U.S. We must learn from Chairman Ho's mistakes and utilize his positive contributions to insure final and complete victory for the Vietnamese people. When U.S. imperialism is finally destroyed the heroic people of Vietnam will always occupy a special place of honor in the hearts of our people and of all peoples.

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