

HAMMER & STEEL NEWSLETTER

MAY 1963

The following letter was printed in the March issue of WORLD MARXIST REVIEW:

Dear Comrades,

A publication called Hammer & Steel has been sent around the world from the U.S. This sheet is edited by one Homer Chase, who was expelled from the C.P.U.S.A. two years ago.

He is a renegade with Trotskyite views and now openly fighting the C.P.U.S.A. through the bourgeois press. He is receiving support from unsavory sources.

Before his expulsion he favored a united front with the then President Eisenhower. But at the same time opposed the Party's policy of an "anti-monopoly coalition."

We suggest that this information be given to responsible Party workers and editors and that the publication Hammer & Steel as well as Homer Chase be considered provocateurs. There is another such publication called Progressive Labor edited by Milt Rosen, expelled from the C.P.U.S.A., that is being circulated internationally.

We hope this information will be of use to all Communist and Workers Parties.

Fraternally yours,  
C.P.U.S.A.

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WORLD MARXIST REVIEW's name is misleading. It has not published theoretical articles by any Marxist-Leninists of any country who take issue with the Tito-Khrushchev revisionist line.

The letter contains accusations and charges of a serious nature but offers not a word of documentation, quotes or attempts at proof of any kind.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW has stated its formal opposition to the McCarran Act. So has the leadership of the CPUSA. Why do they carefully attempt to fix a time for the alleged expulsion so that the person named as editor might be indicted under the McCarran Act? This is a threat to Marxist critics of the CPUSA leadership that their names will be published for the benefit of Robert Kennedy, U.S. Attorney General, if criticism is continued. The writers of this letter do not sign their own name or the name of a leading committee.

In our Jan., 1963 Newsletter we discussed the conduct of the CP leadership in the struggle against U.S. fascism. We concluded since Hall, Davis and Thompson support Kennedy they are both unwilling and unable to fight the McCarran Act or other fascist legislation. On the contrary, their support of Kennedy is helping to legalize the McCarran Act.

U.S. imperialism has adopted a clever approach to the CPUSA leadership. In the Foley Square trials of 1948 the prosecution stated outright that if the CPUSA had kept Browderism they would not have indicted the leaders. Due partly to Foster's leadership and partly to the revolutionary traditions of the Party this did not have an immediate result. The jailings and persecution of the early '50s followed. This plus Tito's ideological influence resulted in the open outbreak of opportunism and revisionism in 1956. The revisionists around Hall finally won complete control of the leadership in the first National Committee meeting after the 17th Convention that was held early in 1960.

The imperialists have achieved a CP leadership of Browderites who have abandoned revolutionary theory and practice. In return the imperialists allow a certain amount of legality coupled with enough legal harassment to keep the leadership in line. There are further advantages in this situation to Kennedy and Well St. They are able to pose as "democratic" by virtue of the existence of a synthetic C.P. The CPUSA is also a roadblock to the development of a real Marxist-Leninist Party in the U.S. This is why the revisionists answered our sober criticisms with slander and attempts at blackmail in WORLD MARXIST REVIEW.



HAMMER & STEEL has challenged the concept of inevitable peaceful transition put forth by Gus Hall and the CPUSA leadership. For this we are called "provocateurs." Gus Hall recently said that "any day and every day" he would take an oath not to advocate using violence to overthrow the government of the U.S. (The Worker, Jan. 20, 1963). Does anyone believe that a system which uses violence any day and every day against the Vietnamese, the Cubans and the Congolese will abdicate peacefully? Or a system which uses violence daily against workers on strike will suddenly change into a dove? Which side are you on in Alabama, Mr. Hall? Of what use are your oaths to the Negro people who need organized armed defense against the armed attacks of the FBI, city and state forces? The oppressed Negro nation will never know freedom unless they win state power in the South and are prepared to defend it from imperialist aggression. Hall's pledges sound like Robert Kennedy's warnings to the Negro people to stay peaceful and submit to the lynchers.

HAMMER & STEEL is accused of having "Trotskyite views". We agree completely with the "History of the CPSU", page 299: "The Trotskyites ceased to be a political trend and became an unprincipled careerist clique of political swindlers, a gang of political double dealers."

Is it not a fact that on numerous occasions since 1956 leaders of the CPUSA have appeared on the same platform with the Trotskyites thereby trying to picture these agents of imperialism as a legitimate Socialist grouping?

Did not Elizabeth G. Flynn join the Trotskyites and Tito-Khrushchov in attacking Albania and the dictatorship of the proletariat at the 22nd Congress?

Both the WORKER and the MILITANT (Trotskyite) rallied behind the fascist elements in the Hungarian counter-revolution.

Who hails each blow at democratic centralism by Khrushchov and Tito? The WORKER and the MILITANT.

Who is never satisfied at the retreats by Khrushchev on the dictatorship of the proletariat? The WORKER and the MILITANT.

Who joins hands in the slander of Stalin? The WORKER and the MILITANT.

Who forms a common chorus in the demand for a bourgeois party in the USSR? The MILITANT and Dorothy Healy speaking before the California Ballot Commission.

Who shares a common reformist line on the Negro question, on Khrushchev, on Cuba, on labor? The WORKER and the MILITANT.

The policies of the Trotskyites and the CPUSA are as parallel as two railroad tracks. These tracks haul a train loaded with revisionist baggage. The train is owned and operated by U.S. imperialism.

We are charged with "openly fighting the C.P.U.S.A. through the bourgeois press." And who charges us? The very ones who have made many speeches villifying Socialist Albania and Socialist China with representatives of the bourgeois press seated nearby and cheering them on.

The bourgeois press has given the revisionist line a great deal of space but published little concerning the criticism in the Chinese pamphlet on the CPUSA.

The CPUSA leadership recently stated that Chinese defense of her territory "threatened humanity with war" implying that China attacked India. General Maxwell Taylor, U.S. Army Chief of Staff, states according to the April 19, 1963 issue of the N. Y. Times, that India started the military action by "inching into the disputed territory." On this important question the self-styled Marxists exceed the warmongers in the Pentagon in their attacks on a Socialist nation. Is this not the work of provocateurs?



On the question of anti-monopoly coalition--we have never opposed coalitions against monopoly capital. We oppose Hall's illusions about the possibility of an anti-monopoly coalition holding state power for a long period while the monopolies own the means of production. This is the U.S. version of Togliatti's structural reform which has been brilliantly refuted by the Chinese comrades in "More on the Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us."

We also differ with the revisionists over the nature of the Democratic Party which they claim is or will soon become an anti-monopoly coalition.

Some examples of the support of the CPUSA leadership for the Democrats are:

James Jackson said (The Worker, March 26, 1962) "The Alliance for Progress is a step in the right direction."

Referring to Kennedy's actions on Cuba, the Worker editorialized on Oct. 30, "This was a victory for responsibility, for the love of humanity, for plain common sense."

Gus Hall in the Worker in April, 1962 said that the actions of Kennedy against a rise in the price of steel were a victory for the "anti-monopoly coalition." A year later the price went up with Kennedy's approval and no word from Hall on whether this also was a victory for the "anti-monopoly coalition."

The revisionists serve the monopolies by supporting Kennedy and do this demagogically in the name of anti-monopoly coalition. U.S. Marxist-Leninists strive for coalitions against monopoly, against U.S. imperialism.

Nobody connected with HAMMER & STEEL has ever proposed a "united front" with President Eisenhower. We correctly opposed the revisionists electoral support for Kennedy in 1960 and urged a policy of boycotting the presidential candidates since no anti-imperialist was on the ballot.

It is true that we erred in evaluating Eisenhower's invitation for Khrushchev's first visit to the U.S. We did not properly apply Lenin's teachings on peaceful co-existence at that time and were wrongly impressed by Khrushchev's erroneous views on USA-USSR relations. We soon started to correct our mistakes and were greatly helped by the arrival of LONG LIVE LENINISM in the U.S.

Does the CPUSA leadership really want to discuss Khrushchev's first visit? Including their attitude and actions? They had not yet decided that Khrushchev was a revisionist. They saw him as a Soviet leader. At that time they were not pretending a pro-Soviet position and several left N. Y. City to avoid any chance of being connected with his visit to that city.

If the CPUSA wants to do something "of use to all Communist and Workers Parties" let them publish the criticism by the Chinese comrades entitled "A Comment On The Statement Of The Communist Party of the U.S.A." The shameful suppression of this pamphlet is a tribute to the correct line of the Chinese comrades and a full admission of political cowardice and error by the CPUSA leaders.

We cannot accept even the signature of the letter as honest. Some members and sympathizers of the CPUSA have a friendly attitude toward HENNER & STEEL. Some have contributed constructive criticism, ideas and finances to help us. Is this what the writers of the letter mean by "unseemly support?"

Some members of the CPUSA feel that there is a possibility of salvaging the organization from the revisionists. We disagree for reasons outlined in our document "Toward a Marxist-Leninist Party in the U.S.A."

Support of Kennedy's foreign and domestic policy by the CPUSA is not simply an error of judgement. The clique now organized around Hall has been developing this line since 1953, has captured all major districts and national offices, has made it possible for large numbers of FBI agents to function in the organization.



In view of these facts and many other supporting circumstances (some cited above) we hold that the CPUSA is playing a counter revolutionary role and there are insufficient Marxist-Leninists forces within the organization to change its role.

We are optimistic that a real Marxist-Leninist Party will be built in the U.S. It will emerge from the struggles of the workers, Negro people and their allies. It will develop out of ideological battles against revisionism and dogmatism.

A Marxist-Leninist Party is necessary to insure victory for Negro liberation and for a Socialist U.S. Clarity will be achieved in the world Socialist movement on Kennedy and U.S. imperialism. The revisionist supporters of Kennedy will wind up with Trotsky and Browder in the garbage can reserved for renegades.

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Marxist-Leninists should emphasize J.P. Morgan's control of Birmingham and Wall Street's ownership or control of the best land and all the big factories in the South. Governor Wallace, Barnett and Talmadge are vicious and dangerous, but they are only the front men for DuPont, Morgan, Rockefeller and Mellon.

U.S. Marxist-Leninists must show that the main government representative of Wall St. in the South as everywhere is the Kennedy Administration. The demagogic speeches of Kennedy, the token concessions by the Supreme Court do not alter the character of the Kennedy Administration as the chief enemy: on the contrary, the exposure of Kennedy's deceit and double dealing is a key task. No oppressed people have won freedom without the ability to concentrate on the chief enemy. The impeachment of Kennedy for failure to uphold Negro rights would raise the struggle to a higher level.

Marxist-Leninists hail the heroic struggles for their constitutional rights waged by the Negro people in Birmingham and elsewhere. Robert Williams points out in "Negroes With Guns" that only in those instances when groups of Negro people were armed has the U.S. Constitution meant anything to them.

In 1944, when most of Hitler's army had retreated from Hungary, some 800,000 Jews were advised by their leaders not to arm and fight, but to rely on the rescue efforts of liberal forces in the U.S. and England. As a result, a few hundred Nazis and their dogs drove them to the gas chambers. U. S. capitalists, no more humane, will seek a similar solution for the Negro question unless the Negro people are armed and watchful.

There is growing awareness among the Negro people that tokenism and integration without political power is a hoax. The perspective of a South governed by the Negro people is spreading.

The international situation favors the Negro liberation struggle. Wall Street's relative strength is falling in the world. The strength of the Socialist world, headed by China, and the national liberation movements is growing. Stronger ties between the Negro people and the Latin American, Asian and African peoples will result in stronger joint efforts against the common foe--U.S. imperialism.

The white working class, students and professionals will give increasing support to the right of the Negro people to self-determination. The white people cannot be free while their black brother is in slavery.

Let us utilize the favourable situation for all out struggles for Negro liberation. For every blow from the white supremacists let us hit them back with a hundred!

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