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In our March, 1966 newsletter we discussed the 81 Party Statement of 1960 and its endorsement of the 20th Congress, CPSU. We pointed out that the 20th Congress, CPSU, was an attack on the great Marxist-Leninist theoretician, J.V. Stalin. Since Stalin was and will always be a symbol of Marxism-Leninism in practice, the 20th Congress was a divisive attack on the world Marxist-Leninist movement both theoretically and organizationally. To defend Marxism-Leninism it is first of all necessary to repudiate the main theme of the 81 Party Statement--the idea that Marxism-Leninism and the 20th Congress can peacefully co-exist.

In our March, 1966 newsletter we tried to self-critically examine our mistake in supporting the 81 Party Statement. A group of youth in the Mid-West have sharply criticized our effort. They hold that we mentioned only the subjective factors leading to this error. Below we attempt to strengthen our discussion concerning the 81 Party Statement.

The victory over German, Italian and Japanese imperialism in World War II was the result of a coalition between capitalist and Socialist forces in Europe and the Far East. The Socialist forces, headed by Stalin in the West and Mao Tse-tung in the East, took a positive view toward their reluctant allies. But they upheld the independent role of the Socialist forces, kept a watchful, critical eye on their allies, and avoided illusions that the war-time coalition would last forever. The post-war victories in Albania, Eastern Europe, Korea, Viet Nam and the great Chinese Socialist revolution were positive post-war results of the anti-fascist alliances of World War II.

World War II coalitions between Socialist forces and capitalist governments also left a post-war heritage of ideological problems for Marxism-Leninism.

After World War II most Communist Parties were content to point out that the relationship of world forces favored the anti-imperialist camp. The world wide Marxist-Leninist movement failed to critically evaluate the role of its recent allies in the war. Imperialist propagandists had a field day by exaggerating their own nation's role and playing down the role of Stalin, Stalingrad and the Soviet armed forces in Europe. They blew up MacArthur and the U.S. forces in the Pacific and played down the role of Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Peoples Red Army. To this day few people in the U.S. know that for every Japanese loss in the Pacific islands the Chinese Red Army destroyed hundreds on the Asian mainland. Imperialist propagandists were able to confuse millions on the main motives for U.S. and British capitalist participation in the anti-Hitler war. They covered up the profit incentive and fabricated an anti-fascist motive for their government's war on Hitler.

The blurring of a class conscious approach to World War II and opportunist leanings on the coalition tasks of Marxist-Leninists after the war took place. Added to this was the H-bomb blackmail by the U.S. government which lumped together just and unjust wars under the "no nuclear war at any price" line.

In the U.S. Browderism had developed. Browder's line claimed that the World War II Socialist coalition with capitalist governments against Hitler not only meant the end of class struggle in the U.S. but the end of contradictions between Socialist and capitalist countries; Browderism claimed the gradual termination of contradictions between the oppressed nations and imperialism. The world Marxist-Leninist movement failed to answer Browder sharply and clearly because not a few Browderite notions existed in every Party as a result of the war-time alliances. Agents of the erstwhile allies were able to subvert some Marxist-Leninist Parties. Tito betrayed the revolution in Yugoslavia. Some Marxist-Leninist Parties failed to react correctly to Stalin's leadership against Titoism. This was demonstrated clearly after the 20th Congress when many Parties took opportunist stands in support of Khrushchev's "rehabilitation" of the renegade Tito.

The Albanian Party was a notable exception. In the interest of their own people and of the world Marxist-Leninist movement they crushed the Titoites in their Party and courageously launched ideological attacks on Titoism.

The coalitions of World War II, the first between Socialist states and capitalist states, resulted in mighty victories. They also produced serious opportunist tendencies in the Marxist-Leninist camp on the nature of the World War II coalitions, on the nature of the partners in the war and on the question of just wars against imperialism.

Stalin's policies demonstrated how the working class and poor peasants should dictate to the exploiters and their stooges. Stalin and Stalingrad were symbols of how the proletarian dictatorship handles its external enemies. In order for the Khrushchev clique to further develop Browder and Tito's thesis about a classless post-war world it was necessary to slander Stalin and to negate Stalingrad. Khrushchev pushed through the 20th Congress his concepts of peaceful co-existence with aggressors and lay the basis for his "state of the whole people" and "Party of the whole people" concepts. "State of the whole people" means that there is no longer a class struggle over whether workers or exploiters own the means of production. It means that the question of which class has the weapons is unimportant. In a Socialist country this line means negating the state power of the workers, of preparation for the return of capitalism. It denies the need for developing a vanguard Party of the workers--a Party of a special type. Marxism-Leninism holds the opposite view. Marxist-Leninists believe that the question of which class owns the means of production is the key factor in determining the relations of people, the development of society.

The philosophers of capitalism dwell on the "will of the people for peace". Marxist-Leninists oppose placing the immediate mood of the people first. Marxist-Leninists have proven that the contradiction between the exploited and the exploiter mainly determines developments in a capitalist society over the long haul. The mass of the people never consciously advocate imperialist war but capitalism in its imperialist stage wages war. Why? For the reasons Stalin and

and Lenin developed--because of profits and super profits to be won from oppressed peoples, because rival imperialist nations are driven to contest each other for markets. All this develops from the export of finance capital in the imperialist stage of capitalism.

Some people, in the name of Marxism-Leninism, advance the idea, without an iota of proof, that "90 percent of the people in the world want revolution".

Lenin taught that when a majority of the people can no longer tolerate the old set-up and the old rulers are no longer able to exercise authority then a revolutionary situation develops. Obviously if 90 percent consciously want revolution then the 10 percent cannot exercise authority and the struggle is practically over.

In the sector of the world controlled by imperialism and revisionism how is it possible for 90 percent to "want revolution"? Can people "want revolution" unless they have experience in struggle led by steeled Marxist-Leninist Parties of the Lenin-Stalin type? Is it correct to negate the ideological influence of the class enemy's control of the press and mass media, of his influence by the use of armed force, of his control of the means of production? Isn't this underestimating the enemy tactically? Does it not avoid responsibility for supporting the organization of new Marxist-Leninist Parties and giving ideological assistance to them?

In Viet Nam a large percentage of the people want to fight U.S. imperialism and the comprador capitalists. The exact percentage is not known. It could be 85, 90, 93 $\frac{1}{2}$ or higher. Whatever the percentage, the war against U.S. imperialism is just. And no matter how high a percentage of Roumanian, Polish and Russian people support cultural, trade and diplomatic missions to the U.S. they are aiding aggression and an unjust war. Dr. Aptheker was invited to Viet Nam. He is revisionist--100 percent. We warned sometime ago that he is one CPUSA leader who has been of special value to U.S. imperialism in Ghana. He was invited to North Viet Nam and he was transported across Socialist countries to Hanoi. This disservice to the Vietnamese (and U.S.) people is done on the basis that Dr. Aptheker represents the 90 percent who want peace. Thus in the name of peace and 90 percent the handful of imperialists are aided

in aggressive war.

In India a large number of people are starving. A majority of Indian people are extremely dissatisfied. But 90 percent of Indian people are not prepared for revolution because one of the conditions for a revolutionary development does not yet exist--i.e. a Marxist-Leninist Party based on a universal Marxist-Leninist policy (which is not in existence either).

In Indonesia a terrible slaughter of the people is taking place. It is facilitated by tens of thousands of students who are serving temporarily as a mass base for reaction. Some try to explain this away by saying the CIA is in Indonesia. Of course it is--But it can only operate effectively when the actual class relations are ignored and wishful thinking is substituted for reality, when large amounts of faith and all the guns are placed with the national bourgeoisie while the workers and poor peasants are unarmed. The 1966 set-back in Indonesia can be traced to negating Stalin in Moscow at the 81 Party meeting of 1960.

In the U.S. Progressive Labor writes, "The people of our country have proven that they are not the German people of the 1930s and are now overwhelmingly opposed to the war in Viet Nam." In one issue of a recent Boston paper we read a press dispatch full of pride in the dumping of gas on the people of a Vietnamese village and the claims that many of all ages were choked by the gas and then machine gunned. In the same issue were reports of the shooting of scores of civilians on their way to work by scared, excited U.S. military guards in Saigon. In Southern California an Afro-American rushing his wife to the maternity ward didn't make it. The police forced his car to the side of the road and murdered him in front of his wife. PL is prettifying the situation in the U.S. This is a method of getting the peoples attacked by U.S. aggression to lay down their arms. PL supported the Trotskyite Lynd on the trip with Aptheker to Hanoi, and the pacifist Muste's trip to Saigon--neither could have reached either city without support of U.S. imperialism and their revisionist allies. PL has always stressed being with the majority. They voted with them in the CPUSA. More than 90 percent of the CPUSA leaders, including all PL's present leadership, voted to slander Stalin, China and Albania. PL was established by the CPUSA

as a safe, "pro-Chinese", "pro-Albanian" group.

Some petty-bourgeois minded, pacifist elements abroad repeatedly quote the "overwhelming majority" nonsense of PL. To repeat that the people of the U.S. are so advanced over the Germans in the '30s is to weaken the struggle against U.S. imperialism. Marxist-Leninists abroad have the duty to defend Marxist-Leninist theory. They have the duty to expose the political chameleons of PL.

PL leaders, CPUSA leaders and the supporters of revisionism abroad are concentrating on the Afro-American people and the youth of our country. They are telling the Afro-Americans that 90 percent of the white people support their struggle; that the Johnson government is therefore forced to yield peacefully to their demands. In this way they imply that the Afro-Americans should lay down the guns and forget about organizing defense of their homes. Above all, they tell the Afro-Americans, "don't fight for your land and state power in the South; you are all moving to the cities and the 90 percent will liik after you when you get there." The heroic Afro-American people of Watts have given an important partial answer. So have the Afro-American battles developing toward struggles for state power in the South. We are confident that whatever form of "state of the whole people" is used to mislead Afro-Americans it will be rejected--that the Marxist-Leninist line of self-determination in the South and national minority rights in the North and West will triumph.

The "90 percent", "State of the whole people" pacifist line has temporarily won some support among sections of college youth. At present there are but few youth upholding Marxist-Leninist principles. Except for a few years in the depression, U.S. capitalism in the imperialist stage has bribed and revised many left wingers by giving their sons and daughters opportunities for college educations with a favored draft status. The imperialists hold out professional jobs and business opportunities to the young people of the Left. So it is quite understandable that rationalization about lining up "with 90 percent", and respectability are substituted for Marxist-Leninist struggle, sacrifice and reality.

The pragmatists and revisionists hold out the promise of easy immediate gains to the youth in the U.S. They spoon feed them the line of peaceful transition. Marxist-Leninists say that you can only win leadership of the people by being prepared to die for the people. Marxist-Leninists will honor the real national heroes such as Nat Turner, John Brown and the men who died in Spain. Marxist-Leninists say that the youth who gave their lives at Stalingrad did not die in vain--millions today live because those gallant martyrs answered Stalin's call to struggle.

In many Socialist countries the "90 percent" and "State of the whole people" idea has dangerously weakened the dictatorship of the proletariat. Instead of following Stalin's teachings and purging the Party of opportunist and revisionist elements many vanguard Parties tolerate all and sundry, friend and foe. In this way Marxist-Leninist Parties turn into their opposite, into tools of reaction.

The people of the U.S. see Tito, Gomulka, Breshnev, Ceaucescu and Kadar constantly cringing before the rulers of our country. These revisionists betray Viet Nam and their own people in the name of "national Communism" and lies about Stalin. How long before the Germans once again turn to the East? And which line will the people support in the struggle against revanchist Germany? Is there any doubt that the people will eventually give Breshnev, Gomulka, etc., and the neo-Nazis the correct treatment prescribed by Stalin?

In the U.S. Marxism-Leninism will win leadership in the struggle against (1) Opportunism in the labor movement. (2) Reformism on the Afro-American question. (3) Pacifism in the anti-imperialist movement. It will win in its struggle for a correct line in the international Marxist-Leninist movement.

The revisionists tell us that Socialism will be won by forces who always die in bed and get an "In Memoriam" ad in the Worker or the National Guardian. Marxist-Leninists in the U.S. will develop a complete devotion to the Socialist revolution in our country, a feeling of unity with our Vietnamese comrades fighting our class enemy, a readiness to die for our cause in the spirit of Stalingrad.

U.S. Marxist-Leninists will not idolize our people, will not concoct any mythical 90 percent. U.S. revolutionaries have genuine faith in our people based on the fact that only Marxism-Leninism can answer their needs in the coming battles against the weakened and desperate class enemy.

Marxism-Leninism in the U.S. will develop in struggle against the anti-Stalin actions of the 81 Party meeting. Marxism-Leninism in the U.S. will develop in the struggle to eliminate "State of the whole people" and "90 percentism" from our movement. Marxism-Leninism in the U.S. will win leadership of the people in the bitter struggle to end imperialist aggression in Viet Nam and for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.

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