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AFTER THE TRUCE:

BATTLES AHEAD

DESPITE HEROIC EFFORTS

Despite heroic efforts and heavy sacrifices, the Vietnamese people have been forced into a truce that leaves their nation in a weaker position than did the Geneva Accords of 1954. A large section of Vietnam will be ruled directly by US imperialists and their puppets.

The US concentrated powerful military forces in Indochina. But it was not simply a matter of US military might in Indochina that won the gains for imperialism. Breshnev and Mao did not send the Vietnamese essential submarines, bombers, nuclear weapons or even minesweepers.

We do not wish to imply that Breshnev or Mao have Marxist-Leninist principles concerning the right to self-determination--principles which they were afraid to carry out. Their "aid" to Indochina objectively served to cover up their great-power chauvinism, their fear of the oppressed peoples within their own frontiers and their collusion with US imperialism.

We are asking: How did they become chauvinists, colluders with imperialism and traitors to international solidarity? They got that way by capitulating, time after time, to the threats of US arms, especially US nuclear weapons.

The truce in Vietnam has a positive side. It helps teach anti-imperialists in all nations that "aid" from Mao and Breshnev is poisoned bait in a trap set by US imperialism.

The CPUSA, the pacifists and the reformists are hailing the truce--"Peaceful coexistence is wonderful." It's wonderful if you side with Rockefeller. Now he can start to plunder the oil off the Vietnam coast.

Progressive Labor and the open Trotskyites are placing most of the blame for the truce on the Vietnamese Communists. Certainly they are not blameless. They have tended to support peaceful coexistence in theory while opposing it in practice. This contradiction contributes to a situation that allows Kissinger to follow the US bombs into Hanoi.

However, if revisionist betrayal of national liberation struggles is a virus that originates in Washington and Wall Street, then who are the main bearers of this disease? Mao and Breshnev, are they not? They are the ones who welcomed Nixon to arrange the truce.

Those who, like PL, concentrate their fire on Vietnamese revisionists are actually shielding the main colluders. Isn't defense of Mao and Breshnev, the representatives of the privileged Han and Great-Russian ruling classes, in reality a defense of US imperialism? If not then what constitutes the main international support for US imperialism? Why was Nixon so much at home in Peking and Moscow?

ONCE MORE--WHAT IS FOCAL?

Mao, Breshnev and Nixon all claim that relations among their respective governments will determine the world's future. If their position is correct then the truce is indeed, as the trio claims, a victory.

However, if there is an Afro-American nation in the Black Belt or if Ireland is one nation or if Puerto Rico has the right to self-determination, if Quebec should be free, if most nations in South and Central America as well as in Asia and Africa are still de facto victims of imperialist oppression; then Nixon, Mao and Breshnev are in error. The focal struggle concerns not the inter-relationship of the big three but the struggle against imperialism and especially against the imperialism so glorified by Breshnev and Mao--US imperialism.

DANGEROUS PERIOD

Mrs. Gandhi, by no stretch of the imagination a Marxist-Leninist, is helpful to the anti-imperialist struggle when she warns of the danger in the Vietnam truce.

Now that US imperialism can withdraw more armed forces from Indochina it will proceed to more acts of aggression, against more nations, with genocidal methods the order of the day. For US imperialism requires superprofits, and superprofits in today's world mean more oil and other minerals with less oppressed people to threaten the Wall Street pillagers.

Those in the imperialist countries who take a principled stand against revisionist collusion and their own imperialists face hard times also. We state this not to create fear, but in the name of reality and preparedness for effective anti-imperialist struggle.

REVISIONIST "ORGANIZATION"

Both the left and modern revisionists claim that the situation is excellent in the US. The revisionists see masses of anti-imperialists everywhere they look. And they claim that a readymade vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party is just around the corner.

PL and the Trotskyites deny that Lenin's writings concerning bribery of the working class in the imperialist stage of capitalism apply to the US. These US exceptional-

ists cannot, however, deny that special privileges for the US white workers and the middle class produced millions of votes for Nixon. PL sees workers fighting the bosses at every turn while simultaneously voting for Nixon. We ask PL, is Nixon also fighting the bosses?

The CPUSA joins PL and the Trotskyites in rejoicing over the opportunities presented by the "democratic" imperialists. The CPUSA is going to slip, slide and slither into the ballot box and Socialism just as soon as the working class recognizes the cleverness and nobility of Gus Hall and James Jackson.

But alack and alas! Hall not only confesses, in the January 1973 Political Affairs that the US working class is not ready to vote Communist but that "My guess is that 30 percent, maybe 40 percent, of Communists did not vote for the Communist Presidential ticket...." And still more: "There are members of this body [the CP National Committee] who did not vote for the Communist ticket."

Those who would like to believe that the CP members and leaders voted against Hall because he's a revisionist are wrong. As Hall admits, they voted for the open imperialist candidates--Nixon and McGovern--rather than the covert one, Hall.

There can be no mass Marxist-Leninist Party in the US under present conditions. So powerful is the influence of imperialism at present that even the CPUSA is too "left" for the US working class and the US middle class.

The class struggle in the US is often sharp in form (strikes, etc.). In essence it is at a low ebb because of

the chauvinist poison in the US working class which is expressed in almost complete class collaboration on foreign policy. Until the US workers break with US imperialism on the focal contradiction this will continue to be the case. The change will come when the US imperialists suffer a series of serious defeats in national liberation struggles, when the Rockefellers lose their ability to bribe the workers and middle class on such a large scale.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

Genuine Marxist-Leninists must examine real contradiction in the US, not concoct artificial contradictions as do PL and the CPUSA. Some real contradictions that involve whites in the US concern the Rockefellers' population control including the questions of abortion, sterilization and euthanasia. Numbers of white workers are also interested in Quebec's and Ireland's national liberation struggles.

Can US Marxist-Leninists influence sections of the white workers and the middle class on these questions? Can the agitational groundwork be laid now for future support to Afro-Americans, Puerto Ricans and other oppressed peoples? We believe the answer is yes, provided we resist pressures to imitate the revisionists organizationally and ideologically.

MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANIZATION

Back in 1904 Lenin argued against discussion groups with loose discipline. He stood for democratic centralism in a vanguard party.

Obviously US imperialism must meet some defeats and much work among the non-left must be done in the US before an effective Marxist-Leninist Party can develop. But even at this early stage we must develop leadership and discipline, criticism and self-criticism as groundwork for a US Marxist-Leninist Party.

Marxist-Leninists must reject the inconsistent, unrealistic, do-your-own-thing approach to ideology and must also reject the undisciplined approach to organization which develops from it--the CP's split voting, for example. US Marxist-Leninists in the process of breaking completely with the bankrupt "left" inevitably carry some of its negative organizational tendencies along at a time when greater organizational discipline and unity are needed to develop contacts among non-left whites. Lenin's words on the necessity of organizational discipline to carry out the Marxist-Leninist line are especially appropriate in today's situation.

US Marxist-Leninists are now roughly comparable in a political sense to partisan forces behind the enemy's lines in World War II. The main fighting today is on the front line in the oppressed nations. Yet our role, though secondary, is of vital importance. It is part of the developing whole--the international anti-imperialist forces in all nations with Marxist-Leninist Parties at their head.

Unlike the World War II partisans, today's anti-imperialists lack international support from a Socialist power. The

present "Socialist camp" will collude with US imperialism against developing anti-imperialist and Marxist-Leninist organizations. This H&S knows from experience.

Our international support now comes from the blows of national liberation fighters and the developing ideological blows against revisionism. This is international solidarity in today's struggles and it will be of vital assistance in developing a Marxist-Leninist Party in the US oppressor nation.

SOME NECESSARY CHARACTERISTICS

A US Marxist-Leninist must seek the liberation of oppressed peoples and the destruction of US imperialism.

A US Marxist-Leninist must hate and destroy the revisionist line of peaceful coexistence with US imperialism.

A US Marxist-Leninist must reject the view that the big powers' territory will remain united while they divide up and conquer the small countries. The small and weak nations must be liberated, including those within the frontiers of the big powers.

A US Marxist-Leninist must understand that the US working class is now poisoned with white and great-power chauvinism. He or she must also understand that this situation will change--that the US working class will yet play a leading anti-imperialist role in our country.

A US Marxist-Leninist sees the victories of national liberation struggles and the destruction of US imperialism as absolutely essential steps toward the future dictatorship of the proletariat, Socialism, in all countries.

AND STILL OTHER QUALIFICATIONS

In our experience and study a US Marxist-Leninist must frankly face the pressures of the society we live in. A US Marxist-Leninist must sufficiently understand the class reason for widespread drugs, alcoholism and promiscuity among the white masses so that he or she can lead struggle against such developments by example as well as by theory.

A US Marxist-Leninist must not, however, expect ready-made perfect forces in a capitalist society. If capitalism in its imperialist stage can produce such saints then why are we revolutionaries?

A US Marxist-Leninist must recognize that Maoism plus the democratic pretenses of our government endanger Marxist-Leninist organizations with pacifist and adventurist deviations.

A US Marxist-Leninist must be alert for bourgeois and revisionist traps. For example, male supremacy is a constant and continual obstacle to Marxist-Leninist development, since the material basis for male supremacy will continue to exist throughout the national liberation struggles. The "force of habit" (Lenin) will continue well into the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Does this mean that a US Marxist-Leninist can fight male supremacy by accepting feminist demagoguery from Rockefellerers and revisionists? Feminists objectively support sterilization and destruction of oppressed women and children

Their philosophy is divisive, diversionary and counter-revolutionary in the extreme. At this moment the feminist line is a much more dangerous imperialist tool than male supremacy for it identifies males from oppressed nations and male revolutionaries from the oppressor nations with the main enemy and yet allows the Rockefellers to pose as "liberators" of women.

A US Marxist-Leninist must study the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, seeking out that which is most applicable and correct for today's struggles. The writings of oppressed peoples, especially those few such as Ascria in Guyana who are beginning to question Mao's role, should be studied whenever possible.

A US Marxist-Leninist must seek to develop the patience, courage and wisdom which were exemplified in Lenin and Stalin. They realized what seems strong at the moment may actually be dying. What seems weak and ineffective at the moment may be growing into a powerful force. We believe US imperialism, Mao's thoughts and Breshnev's opportunism are now strong but the anti-imperialist seeds of their destruction, now weak and hesitant, will grow and emerge victorious.

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