

HAMMER & STEEL NEWSLETTER

JANUARY 1967

No. 1

At the founding meeting of Hammer & Steel in 1961 we concluded that an important test of whether one was a revolutionary or revisionist was the attitude taken toward the teachings of Mao Tse-tung. We consider important features of Mao's thought in this period to be: (1) The decisive leading role of Marxist-Leninist parties in all countries; (2) Upholding the Lenin-Stalin line on the dictatorship of the proletariat; (3) On contradictions among the people and between the people and class enemies after the seizure of power by the proletariat; (4) U.S. imperialism as the main enemy of all peoples in this period; (5) That the national liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples vis-a-vis imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism is the focal struggle, the key contradiction of the four major world contradictions which are (a) workers vs. capitalists in capitalist countries, (b) between imperialist countries, and between imperialist blocs within imperialist countries, (c) the Socialist camp vs. the capitalist camp and (d) national liberation struggles vs. imperialism; (6) Marxism-Leninism as a world outlook, as the leading science whose main features apply to all countries; (7) That effective struggle against imperialism demands breaking with, isolating and destroying modern revisionism headed by the CPSU.

Hammer & Steel believes that the Socialist revolution in China in 1949, involving one out of four of the world's peoples, is a major factor in determining the course of mankind. China, as a former semi-colonial country, has a key role when the focal contradiction is between oppressed people and imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism. It is not due to any individual's whim that U.S. imperialism threatens war against China. It is an objective fact that Socialist China is a primary obstacle to the aggression for super profits by U.S. imperialism. No individual or organization can struggle against imperialism without recognizing the key role of the Chinese Socialist revolution. There is need for more understanding on China's role and on the special, leading responsibility of the C.P.C.

In our newsletter of February, 1965 we published our views on this question in some detail. While discussing issues facing the Marxist-Leninist movement we have, on many other occasions, raised the question of the C.P.C.'s leading responsibility.

The pressures and attacks by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism have produced within the Marxist-Leninist movement harmful tendencies on Marxist-Leninist unity and leadership. There is the idea that it is possible to maintain support of the 20th Party Congress (CPSU) concept of no democratic centralism and no leadership in the international Marxist-Leninist movement while, in practice, recognizing the leading role of the C.P.C. This centrist idea leads to substituting bi-lateral talks for collective discussion. It leads to substituting the thoughts of one Party for the thoughts of many Parties. It negates collective discussion necessary for Marxist-Leninist unity.

There is the idea that Marxism-Leninism can develop without friendly, open constructive criticism between Parties. This idea opposes the concept of "from the masses to the Party back to the masses." It leaves the masses out of the picture. One form of this idea is presented as protecting the C.P.C. from criticism. This form correctly observes the antagonism of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism to the C.P.C. and then wrongly equates comradely criticism of the C.P.C. with attacks by enemies of Marxism-Leninism.

The C.P.C. and the Chinese people have had great success in the fields of agriculture, industry and nuclear development since 1949. The C.P.C. and the Chinese people under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung have upheld international solidarity on many occasions--as in Korea, on Viet Nam and supporting Albanian efforts to break the blockade.

The C.P.C. has made outstanding contributions to Marxist-Leninist theory in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's appeals to the world's peoples on the Congo and Panama are fine examples of Marxist-Leninist leadership. "Long Live Leninism", the polemics against Togliatti, the Common Proposal and "Long Live the Victory of Peoples War" are major theoretical contributions enriching Marxism-Leninism.

Objective factors necessitate inner Party struggle against revisionism in the C.P.C. as in all Parties. No Marxist-Leninist Party is immune from the penetration of modern revisionism, the ideological weapon which imperialism utilizes as an agent for its aggressive ambitions. What distinguishes the C.P.C. is its tremendous influence in the Marxist-Leninist movement. It is a leading Party. Its decisions immediately effect hundreds of millions throughout the world. This is one good reason why Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thoughts on criticism must be upheld. He said; "The C.P. does not fear criticism because we are Marxists, the truth is on our side." And also; "Thorough-going materialists are fearless; we hope that all our fellow fighters will courageously shoulder their responsibilities and overcome all difficulties, fearing no setbacks or jibes, not hesitating to criticize us Communists and give us their suggestions." (Both quotes from Mao Tse-tung's speech to the National Conference on Propaganda Work in 1957).

We would be less than comrades to the C.P.C., only an obsequious and useless organization, if we did not comment on weaknesses in the work of the C.P.C. At the 1958 Convention of the C.P.C., formulations were put forward on Titoism and the 20th Congress (CPSU) which were not correct. No self-criticism has been made and the error on the 20th Congress was repeated in the 81 Party Statement of 1960. The C.P.C., as the leading Party, bears some of the responsibility for that error. The C.P.C. has made major contributions exposing Soviet revisionism and has correctly called on all Marxist-Leninists to break completely with revisionism. Nevertheless, the C.P.C. has continued student exchanges, friendship societies and cultural exchanges with Soviet revisionism. This contradiction between theory and practice has harmed efforts to break fully with revisionism and violates the teachings of Mao Tse-tung.

While strongly condemning the terror in Indonesia, while fully supporting present efforts by heroic Marxist-Leninists there to re-organize their vanguard forces, we must learn from our defeats. In Indonesia the anti-imperialist forces have suffered a serious setback.

NOTE to East Coast readers who own short wave radios.....
 7 PM & 9:30 PM broadcasts from Radio Tirana
 At about 41 Megacycles.

Hundreds of thousands of Communists, other Indonesian toilers and Chinese nationals have been murdered. The leadership of the PKI paid lip service to the teachings of Comrade Mao, but they violated his teachings by turning leadership of the national liberation coalition over to the national bourgeoisie, in practice pursuing a line of peaceful transition, and by failing to build a strong armed force under Marxist-Leninist leadership. A representative of the CC, CPC spoke at Aliarcham Academy in Indonesia. He did not criticize the PKI's line. This speech was widely distributed to the Marxist-Leninist forces throughout the world. In order to uphold Marxism-Leninism, to uphold the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung, a self-critical approach to this speech is necessary. "Once a mistake is made we should correct it and the more quickly and thoroughly the better." (Comrade Mao Tse-tung, on the Peoples Democratic Dictatorship, 1949).

Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 5th Congress P.L.A.; "The PLA considers that it is the duty and the right of every Marxist-Leninist Party to defend the teachings of Marxism-Leninism from any right wing or left wing deviation both inside the Party ranks and in the international Communist movement and to make a principled criticism of any Marxist-Leninist Party which violates and distorts the Marxist-Leninist principles and the laws of proletarian revolution." Also; "It is the right and duty of every body to criticize us openly, in case we are not right in a certain question or somebody does not share our views. We would welcome any right and principled criticism."

The uncritical approach to all who claim to be anti-revisionist presents difficulties for Marxist-Leninists in the U.S. Hammer & Steel's line on Afro-American liberation, based on Marxist-Leninist experience and theory, is being attacked by the CPUSA(M-L). From the "left", CPUSA(M-L) is joining the U.S. imperialists in slanderous, Trotskyite attacks on Black Power and on Afro-American leaders. Global Digest (October, 1966) printed without criticism one of CPUSA(M-L)'s articles on Black Power.

Ad Hoc Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party has proved to be organizationally and ideologically a part of, and a front for, the CPUSA. Hsinhua News Agency prints without criticism an article by them and circulates it throughout the world. It was wrong for Peking Daily to print anti-Mao articles. It is also harmful to Marxism-Leninism for Hsinhua and Global Digest to print, without criticism, articles from those who bitterly oppose Marxism-Leninism in the U.S., those who have never lifted their finger against revisionism in or out of the CPUSA.

In our May, 1965 newsletter we noted the visit to Boston by a New Yorker who referred to himself as an "old friend". This man and his wife backed the resolution of the CPUSA leadership supporting Khrushchev and slandering Mao Tse-tung and Enver Hoxha. The wife continued to work in the national office of the CPUSA after forces in New England were expelled for fighting Khrushchevism. In 1963 they pretended regrets for their past actions. Hammer & Steel, aware of their past associations, kept a wary eye on them. They had only changed their political garments, not their loyalty. After our exposure they were of little value in the U.S. to imperialism and revisionism. Anti-Mao forces have brought them into China for a long visit. Such "guests" indicate that Marxism-Leninism is under attack in China and that imperialism's threats to the security of China are real.

In our discussions with representation from the CPC leadership over the past several years we have criticized support to revisionism in the U.S. We also argued against concepts that Mao Tse-tung's teachings have no universal value and against ideas that negated the leadership of the CPC in the world Marxist-Leninist movement. Both in discussions and our newsletters we have opposed ideological compromise with neo-revisionism and bourgeois pacifism. In the anti-revisionist movement in certain capitalist countries now appear statements lauding the "thoughts of Mao Tse-tung". These declarations would be more convincing if they would take a self-critical approach on failure to oppose anti-Mao trends in the CPC prior to this stage of the cultural revolution.

Hammer & Steel welcomes and strongly supports the upsurge in the anti-revisionist struggle in China. We fully support all efforts by the CPC to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat in the fields of culture and ideology. The strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in these fields is a struggle against modern revisionism, for the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung.

Does that mean we agree that "the main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road"? (Decision of the CC, CPC on the Cultural Revolution, Aug. 8, 1966). Lenin said that the main danger concerning the restoration of capitalism in Socialist countries was "In the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie." ("Left Wing Communism"). In our opinion the Soviet Union is the main operating base for modern revisionism. Its main source is U.S. imperialism. The most important struggle against revisionism is in China, because of the leading role of China against imperialism.

In a Red Flag #8 article on the Chinese Cultural Revolution; "After the establishment of the Socialist relations of production the Soviet Union failed to carry out a proletarian cultural revolution in earnest. Bourgeois ideology ran rife corrupting the minds of the people and almost imperceptibly undermining the socialist relations of production." Contrary to this assertion, Lenin and Stalin led a bitter battle against Trotskyism, Bukharinism, cosmopolitanism and great power chauvinism in the fields of ideology and culture. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has often praised this struggle. J.V. Stalin went boldly to the Party members, to the masses and to the international Marxist-Leninist movement on the issues at stake.

Revisionist betrayal after Stalin's death developed with underestimation of the Chinese Socialist Revolution, underestimation of the importance of Marxist-Leninist international solidarity, underestimation of the strength of national liberation struggles, and overestimation of U.S. imperialism. This led to submission to nuclear blackmail, to the seizure of power by those who believe in capitalism and were over-awed by U.S. imperialism.

To place all emphasis on "bourgeois ideology" in the Soviet Union and none on the international factor is to deny Lenin's thesis on international capital as the main danger. This promotes the idea that a "handful of people" in leadership in the C.P.C. are the root cause of revisionism instead of U.S. imperialism. This "handful of people" are the agents, not the source, of the evil.

The C.C., C.P.C. says: "The outcome of the cultural revolution will be determined by whether the Party leadership does or does not dare to boldly arouse the masses." Must not the masses be told what policies the "proven rightists" pursue? Are certain leading forces in the C.P.C. supporting Soviet revisionism and betraying Viet Nam to U.S. imperialism?

Have wrong formulations on Titoism, cultural exchanges with the revisionists and endorsement of the 20th Congress (CPSU) in the 81 Party Statement contributed to the revisionist menace in the CPC and the world Marxist-Leninist movement?

Today's struggle on the ideological and cultural front must be first of all waged against imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, which is the main source of bourgeois and revisionist ideological and cultural tendencies in all countries, including China. Otherwise the struggle could become an unprincipled struggle without a correct direction. The Aug. 8 Decision of the CC, CPC does not discuss Soviet revisionism or U.S. imperialism in connection with cultural revolution. The separate statement of the CC, CPC on international affairs seems to emphasize two isolated struggles when reality requires interconnection.

Comrade Mao's thoughts will triumph. We believe that the struggles on all fronts including ideology and culture will be oriented against imperialism. Marxism-Leninism will expose and defeat the attempts by bourgeois and revisionist forces within and without China.

The history of Marxist development is no stranger to fierce ideological struggles. The campaign against Trotskyism was not restricted to the CPSU. It involved the international Marxist-Leninist movement. A

stronger Marxist-Leninist international movement resulted. It could only have developed by this severe testing of forces. Can there be any doubt that the Chinese Cultural Revolution will lead to a more powerful Marxist-Leninist movement which will feature, in new forms, the Leninist norms of criticism, self-criticism and collective discussion? Only in this way can the thoughts of Comrade Mao be utilized fully by Marxist-Leninists in all countries.

L.B. Johnson's "State of the Union" speech indicated the growing difficulties facing U.S. imperialists. New tactics are forced on U.S. imperialism. Johnson tried to prepare the people of the U.S. for a long war in Asia. He tried to regain some of the world influence lost by U.S. imperialism as the result of defeats in Viet Nam. In words, he continued to play the demagogue on civil liberties and other external trappings of bourgeois democracy. But in contrast to previous speeches he spent just 46 words on Afro-American demands. No repeal of Taft-Hartley was even promised. The removal of Cong. Powell, the conviction of Hoffa, show that U.S. imperialism is forced to bare its fists toward the U.S. labor movement and the Afro-American people. This will intensify struggles inside the U.S.

Johnson put emphasis on his one big current asset--his revisionist allies in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. We cannot discount the menace of the Soviet-U.S. alliance. It is also true that Johnson's open affection for the CPSU leaders exposes both partners to more successful attacks and eventual destruction by the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world.

The struggle to uphold the teachings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung is growing as are the difficulties of our revisionist and imperialist enemies. With revolutionary optimism we wish all our readers new successes in the destruction of U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism, in their struggles for national liberation and Socialism during 1967.

Issued By: Hammer & Steel, P.O. Box 101, Mattapan, Mass. 02126

Subscription Rate: \$1.50 per year.