

U.S. imperialism is rapidly increasing war supplies and troops in Viet Nam. Its pretense of "aiding" South Viet Nam is becoming more ridiculous. The neo-colonial imperialist aggression of Wall Street and L.B. Johnson is more vicious, more open.

CPSU revisionists and their supporters in other countries are increasing their assistance to U.S. imperialism while trying to hide their real nature by token aid to North Viet Nam. Harriman's visit to the Soviet Union, CPSU's get well greetings to Johnson (so he can increase the use of poison gas and napalm bombing), the Rusk-Gromyko secret meetings are some indications of the CPSU's services to U.S. imperialism. To Breshnev the Vietnamese war is a "minor conflagration" which is important only if it endangers the lives of Russian and U.S. chauvinists. To Breshnev the betrayal of a Socialist country as in Viet Nam or on the Sino-Indian border is an everyday habit. Revisionist traitors from France, Great Britian, the U.S. and the Soviet Union are invited to North Viet Nam. They return to their native lands, report to the CIA, call for peaceful coexistence with Johnson and do their utmost to split and divide the struggle against U.S. imperialism. Inviting revisionists to North Viet Nam encourages the war criminal Johnson in the belief that the more women and children that are burned and gassed the better chances for negotiations. By negotiations Johnson, who always had the electoral support of the Texas KKK, means white supremacy's rule in Viet Nam. Negotiation means Wall Street in control of the riches of Viet Nam and a military base for more genocide and aggression in Asia.

Silence on revisionist tendencies in the North Vietnamese Party is absolutely wrong and indefensible. Marxist-Leninists in every land have an obligation to the heroic Vietnamese Party and the world Marxist-Leninist movement. That obligation is support in every way including honest comradely criticism.

Some resistance is developing in the aggressor country, our country, on the question of Viet Nam. There are bourgeois-pacifist, reformist influences in the recent demonstrations. The demonstrators are mainly intellectuals and therefore cannot stop Johnson since only the working class and Afro-Americans have such power. The publicity and points of view of the demonstrators do stir discussion in the working class and among Afro-Americans and this is useful since serious doubts about U.S. policy in Viet Nam are growing among people with lower incomes.

U.S. Marxist-Leninists must point out that the efforts of U.S. imperialism in Viet Nam actually intensify their long range problems. Every soldier in Viet Nam makes it easier for the Afro-American people to win an armed revolt in the South. Every soldier in Viet Nam is one less for use in South America. Every soldier in Viet Nam is one less for Johnson to break strikes with at home. These factors are important provided that the Marxist-Leninists in the U.S. and elsewhere face reality and challenge the paper tiger on Viet Nam. The term "paper tiger" implies opposition from forces who face reality--who know themselves and their enemy; forces who take advantage of U. S. imperialism's military dispersion in order to support the struggles of our Vietnamese brothers.

The U.S. imperialists, and many smaller capitalists who are dominated by them, as well as top flunkies such as senators, congressmen, mayors, police chiefs, governors and similar parasites comprise not over five percent of the population.

About one out of every four families in the U.S. has an income of over 9,000 dollars. Among this section are the large farmers and landholders including some so-called family farms with investments of over \$100,000. In this 25% are the higher paid

union workers such as in the building trades, long distance truck drivers, tool and die makers as well as the upper income sections of the petty-bourgeois and intellectuals.

This 25% of favored U.S. citizens contains few Afro-Americans and a somewhat higher, but still small, section of Puerto-Ricans. That is one reason why the slogan of self-determination for Afro-Americans and Puerto-Ricans sends such fear into the hearts of U.S. imperialists. State power in the hands of Afro-American and Puerto-Ricans would quickly pass from the national democratic stage to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The higher income strata, the 25%, have expensive cars, they have either air-cooled apartments or homes in suburbia. Their sons and daughters attend status colleges. In this income bracket are the top AFL-CIO leaders, the top echelon of the CPUSA leaders, the KKK leadership and most of the church leaders in the three denominations Jewish, Protestant and Catholic. This type of person has some disagreements with U.S. imperialists, with the top 5%, but such disagreements are over the split of the loot from Wall Street aggression. This type of person, with few exceptions, will willingly burn every child in Viet Nam before they'll give up their devotion to a system which allows them fur coats and new cars. They will only desert the imperialist ship when the armed liberation forces threaten their own homes, after U.S. imperialism suffers serious defeats.

About 30% of the U.S. people have a family income of 5,000 to 9,000 dollars. From this strata comes most of organized labor. At present many of these people are influenced by the imperialists and their strong supporters. But they have growing problems from Viet Nam such as higher prices, more taxes, poorer schools and housing. They are a potential revolutionary force.

Forty percent of families (about 80 million people in the U.S. live on five thousand dollars or less (family income). Here are the great mass of Afro-Americans and Puerto-Ricans as well as large numbers of both rural and urban workers in Appalachia. Here are the tenant farmers, sharecroppers and agricultural laborers. These people are dissatisfied with their lot. These people are the first to be hit by higher prices. It is mainly their sons who are drafted for Viet Nam or who are unemployed.

Coalition efforts on Viet Nam that have power and meaning will rely mainly on work among the 40%. This cannot be primarily "open work", "electoral work" or any other kind of effort that relies on faith in U.S. bourgeois democracy. The Dimitrov-Stalin policy of united front against imperialist war and fascism was correct until the end of World War II. But today the enemy is not Hitler, but Johnson and U.S. imperialism. The tactics of the main enemy do not emphasize fascism as the form, but aggression is committed in the name of democracy. A new kind of coalition is needed in our country. It will not immediately draw great strength from overwhelming numbers as in the anti-Hitler war. As a conscious force it will be in the minority at first. Its power will flow in part from its ties with the vast majority of the world's peoples who are opposed to our common enemy--U.S. imperialism.

Defeat of U.S. imperialist aggression in Viet Nam is a major task for every Marxist-Leninist in the world. A common world Marxist-Leninist policy on Viet Nam is needed. This policy cannot be reached unless discussion on the strength and weakness of ourselves and our enemy and the specific responsibility of every revolutionary is made clear. We cannot accept U.S. imperialism's claim that they can bomb and attack when, where and whom they see fit while the army of North Viet Nam watches inactively the mass murder of their fellow patriots in the South. Nor can we remain silent about a minority of

revisionists in the Vietnamese Party anymore than we can be quiet while the gains of the Soviet people are betrayed by the Breshnev clique. Those who say anti-revisionists should concentrate solely on the CPSU leaders, those who fail to warn the masses of negative developments elsewhere are falling into a trap. They are failing to mobilize the invincible power of the peoples.

Marxist-Leninists in the capitalist countries must build coalitions in opposition to U.S. imperialism. In Europe, North American, Australia and Japan, in every industrialized capitalist country, the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its stooges on Viet Nam is based mainly on the needs of the semi-skilled and unskilled and on the needs of the oppressed peoples within these countries. All Marxist-Leninist Parties in such capitalist countries must avoid emphasis on open legal electoral work. Public spokesmen and electoral work should be utilized only when they will strengthen illegal and semi-legal work. To describe U.S. imperialism as a vicious monster in one breath and foolishly expose Marxist-Leninists to its agents in the next breath is to deny the real nature of today's struggle.

This does not mean less demonstrations or other types of mass struggle. It means more effective, consistent struggle so the conscious anti-imperialist forces will not be continually exposed and at the mercy of the police. Some Marxist-Leninists in other countries are praising Progressive Labor and Workers World who get their members and other people arrested and beaten when ever possible. PL and WW advocate open work and exposing the maximum number of revolutionaries to U.S. police and the FBI. On this question, as on many others, there is little real difference between the Trotskyites, Workers World, PL and the CPUSA leaders. They are all making the organization of a Marxist-Leninist Party in the U.S. as difficult as possible by their devotion to bourgeois-democracy--the form of U.S. imperialist rule.

In Indonesia we see the interconnection between open legal work and opportunism in united front work. A fully "legal" Party, even in a semi-colonial country, cannot uphold Mao Tse-tung's line on independence of a real Marxist-Leninist Party in a coalition or on working class leadership in the worker-peasant coalition, or on the question of arming workers and peasants. Recently Lin Piao wrote in a policy article on People's war, "History shows that within the united front the Communist Party must maintain its ideological, political and organizational independence, adhere to the principle of independence and initiative and insist on its leading role."

The Albanian comrades have correctly upheld a Marxist-Leninist approach to united front. In a recent pamphlet on Stalin's policy in World War II they say, "J.V. Stalin honored with strictness all inter-allied commitments, maintained sincere military relations with England and the U.S.A., but he never struck up bargains and allowed no one to strike up bargains to the detriment of the Soviet Union and of the enslaved peoples."

Recently a representative from H&S discussed the question of leadership and unity in the world Marxist-Leninist movement with a representative of a Marxist-Leninist Party from another country. The representative of a Marxist-Leninist Party maintained that Indonesia's Party was equal to the Chinese Party in giving leadership to the world Marxist-Leninist movement. H&S's representative correctly upheld the CPC's leading role but wrongly conceded in passing that the Indonesian Party was "a great Party." It would be more correct to say that H&S had serious reservations on the line of the Indonesian Party. We recognize some value in President Sukarno's stated stand on U.S. imperialism and on the United Nations. U.S. imperialism could withstand all the verbal attacks as long as its forces had the guns. P.K.I. leaders acted as though the working class and peasants had power already and attacked "village devils" rather than the main Indonesian stooges for U.S. imperialism.

stooges for U.S. imperialism. The anti-imperialist form was fine in Indonesia. The essence of the situation was that the Party supposed to be standing for working class dictatorship was completely dependent on the initiative of Sukarno.

It was proved wrong for the French and Italian Parties to disarm the workers in order to get into bourgeois governments after World War II. It certainly appears that participation in the Sukarno government was purchased at a high price. That price was silence on Sukarno's tolerance of reactionaries in the military, of his dependence on the comprador capitalists.

Did Comrade Aidit learn the lessons of Iraq? Did he fully recognize the leading role of the CPC and insist the P.K.I. membership study well its history--its errors and its tremendous strength reached in overcoming them? Would not a Party smaller but ideologically stronger, a semi-legal Party capable of arming the workers and peasants be of more value than a united front organization calling itself a Leninist Party? P.K.I. Chairman Aidit wrote, "The September 30 event is a internal affair of the army, and the Indonesian Communist Party will not intervene." This is the Khrushchev line of peaceful transition, of accepting the right of U.S. imperialism to have guns while the workers do not "intervene."

Some Marxist-Leninist leaders in Socialist countries judge the value of Marxist-Leninists in other countries by the size of their membership, by their formal education, by their professional status, by their tendency to always praise and never criticize. Bourgeois values are substituted for revolutionary standards. With such emphasis on trivia it is difficult to develop a Marxist-Leninist policy or even see the need for conferences and discussions to reach a collective policy.

HAMMER & STEEL believes that valuable lessons can be learned from the serious trials of the Indonesian people. Out of the present struggles will come an Indonesian Marxist-Leninist Party which corresponds to the teachings of Lenin, Stalin and Mao. Revisionists always over emphasize the differences in various countries, always aim at liquidating international solidarity. Marxist-Leninists first stress the principles of Marxism-Leninism as applying to all countries, then apply the necessary flexibility for each nation. The revisionists keep splitting. Italian CP leaders recently proposed to CPUSA leaders a western confederation of CPs which would not include the CPSU. Marxist-Leninists unite around principles and uphold international solidarity.

In every nation of the world, including countries where there are no Parties now such as the Soviet Union, Marxist-Leninist Parties will be built. And they will be of the Lenin-Stalin type. They will learn from, and pattern their style of work after, the CPSU under Stalin and Lenin, the Albanian Party of Labor and the Communist Party of China. American exceptionalism, Indonesian exceptionalism and all other exceptionalisms are expressions of modern revisionism. They will be vanquished by Marxism-Leninism. Let us put an end to spontaneity and anarchy on the question of building Marxist-Leninist Parties in every country. We have the forces, the opportunity and the leadership for the task!

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