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The STATE And COUNTER-REVOLUTION

The governments of China and the US have more agreements than disagreements. Their collusion against Bangladesh and Nixon's consultation with Chou and Mao just prior to new attacks on Vietnam leave no doubt about Sino-US collusion.

Collusion rather than contradiction is the main characteristic of relations between the governments of the USSR and the USA. Nixon's reception in Moscow, an objective endorsement of US imperialism's ghastly crimes in Vietnam, is further proof that the USSR's government is more partner than foe of the US government.

Revisionist and bourgeois writers base their propaganda on serious differences between the "Socialist camp" and the government, i.e., the State of US imperialism. In order to

have a Socialist camp there have to be Socialist states. In order to have a Socialist state, in the opinions of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the proletariat must establish its dictatorship over other classes. A country which claims the title of Socialist must be prepared to sacrifice its "goulash", its own territory and forces in the common struggle against imperialism.

Because Breshnev and Mao have failed to give the Vietnamese and other oppressed peoples the support necessary for victory, neither Breshnev nor Mao can count on real support from anti-imperialist forces. The governments of the PRC and USSR, failing in their obligations to the oppressed peoples, inevitably turn to US imperialism for support and collusion.

Mao and Breshnev, if they were Marxist-Leninists, heading Socialist states, would be shipping submarines, bombers and H-bombs to Vietnam instead of conspiring with Nixon on new pressures and atrocities against the Vietnamese people. Oriented toward Nixon, the PRC and USSR governments themselves adopt a colonial and neo-imperialist policy toward oppressed peoples.

Nixon's reception in Peking and Moscow is an important lesson, by negative example, for Marxist-Leninists in this period. When national liberation struggles vis a vis imperialism, especially US imperialism, constitute the focal struggle in the world, then individuals, organizations and states either place support to oppressed peoples as their primary task or become servants and allies of US imperialism.

Are there no contradictions between the governments of China and the US, or between the USSR and the US governments? Yes, there are, but they are not contradictions between Socialist and capitalist governments. Even the most devoted servants have differences with their masters. Mao and Breshnev sometimes shed a few tears when Nixon kicks them in a sensitive spot--but their fawning and cringing continues whether they are kicked, cuffed or praised for their servitude. On occasion servants become masters and vice versa. This "turning into opposites" never takes place when the servants accept peaceful co-existence with their masters.

The Vietnamese workers and peasants shoot at US imperialist forces while Mao and Breshnev shake Nixon's hand and lick his boots. That is the essence of the world situation.

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT--A MYSTERY?

According to Breshnev and his ideological disciple, Gus Hall of the CPUSA, there is a great mystery as to who rules the US. One day the imperialists are threatening democracy in the US, the next day there is peaceful transition to Socialism taking place. On certain days there are dangerous developments against Afro-Americans while on other occasions Afro-Americans have made great strides forward. One morning Nixon represents US imperialism on Vietnam; the next morning Nixon is the representative of truth, justice and peace in Moscow.

Mao and Chou are also hazy about who rules the US. According to them the US government is reactionary at times but this is of little import because the workers and pacifists are about to take power. The US government oppresses Afro-Americans, but suddenly Chou tells Reston of the New York Times that their situation is better. How and why it got better is not explained by Chou. Both Chou and Mao hail the "great American people" while they suppress the news of Calley at My Lai and of Rockefeller, with his trade union supporters, at Attica. And of course, there is the Mao-Chou practice and theory which admits US imperialism is not always nice in Vietnam, but makes a very good partner for Sino-US-Pakistani genocide in Bangladesh.

Mao and Breshnev are giving the world a false picture of the situation in our country. It is also very dangerous to the anti-imperialist cause. For the US state serves the sixty most powerful families which dominate US finance capital. The major actions of the US government seek profits and super-profits for US capitalism in its imperialist stage.

A MACHINE

Mao, Chou and Breshnev's double talk and distortions on the nature of the US government are neither original nor accidental. They are based on Kautsky's arguments against Lenin. In his polemic against Kautsky, Lenin wrote: "The state is an organ or machine for the exercise of force by one class against another." ("Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?")

If Lenin was right then Mao and Breshnev are not peacefully co-existing with the "Great American People" or with "US democratic traditions", but with the Nixon administration which is an executive committee for the Rockofellers, the House of Morgan, for US imperialism.

In different periods the executive committee concentrates force and threats against different enemies. In all periods the main function of the US state machine is keeping the imperialists in power at home and maintaining oppression for super-profits abroad.

For example, much has been said about the progressive role US capitalism in its imperialist stage, played in World War II. Much has been conveniently forgotten. Only when the Axis threatened its holdings did the US ruling class give up its dream of a USSR over-run by Hitler and imperialist Japan. The US capitalist class sacrificed little and gained a great deal in World War II.

When it was forced to turn its reactionary state machine to a progressive task, defeat of fascism. US imperialism generated Browderism which claimed that temporary unity with the anti-imperialist forces meant the end of the class nature of the US state.

Although Browder's "theory" of a peaceful, democratic US state was blown to ashes at Hiroshima and in Korea, present-day Browderites persist in glorifying US democratic pretenses as a rationale for "peaceful co-existence":

The US government has more military bases outside its borders than do all other countries combined. The US state bullies and threatens those who obstruct its drive for world hegemony. Capitulation to the US bases, to the US nuclear bombs, to the US state is what the revisionists practice when they uphold the theory of peaceful co-existence.

DEMOCRACY

But, say Mao, Breshnev and their US followers, there are democratic elections, trade unions and mass organizations in the US. Marxist-Leninists reply that Lenin said it was easier, when possible, for the ruling class to govern in this manner. (State and Revolution)

The democratic facade, "the best possible political shell for capitalism" as Lenin called it, is but one weapon in the arsenal of the imperialist state. At times it is used as a cover-up side by side with open aggression. The US commits genocide, bombing dikes in Vietnam for super-profits and oil. In the name of defending democracy in Indo-China, US imperialism is more vicious, more arrogant and more brutal than was German imperialism in World War II when it acted in the name of "the master race".

At other times the democratic facade is used as a partial substitute for open force. The US ruling class holds elections every four years instead of using a Hitler. Such elections

allow the ruling class to avoid taking responsibility for unpopular actions taken by the executive committee. For example, the release of the Pentagon Papers allows Nixon to continue Johnson's policies on behalf of oil financiers without accepting any responsibility for Johnson's "mistakes."

US imperialism is a dominant force in this period while Germany was a have-not in the imperialist struggle for markets, raw materials and super-profits after World War I. In the '30's the weaker German imperialists had to contend with a frustrated defeated people and a large revolutionary movement. Today US imperialism is able to concentrate its state machine, including its armed forces, against oppressed nations within and without its frontiers.

Mao and Breshnev want the anti-imperialists to forget that imperialism does not always handle domestic opponents with democratic methods; to forget what Lenin said:

"The more highly developed democracy is, the more imminent is the danger of pogroms or civil war in connection with any profound political divergence which is dangerous for the bourgeoisie." (The Proletarian Revolution & The Renegade Kautsky)

When Stalin lived--when there was an international Marxist-Leninist movement--when there was international support to the Korean people--then the US imperialists revealed their real face behind the democratic mask.

The CPUSA was practically outlawed and then blackmailed into revisionism, Afro-Americans were lynched by the score and the Rosenbergs were electrocuted. Today, thanks to Mao and Breshnev, there is no international Marxist-Leninist movement. Still, political divergencies, not yet profound, met with savage repression at Kent State and Attica.

If Lenin is defended on this question, Marxist-Leninists can prepare the oppressed peoples and all anti-imperialists within and without US frontiers to defend what vestiges of democracy there are in the US as part of the bitter struggles ahead.

IMPERIALIST STATE

Mao and Breshnev accept US democratic pretenses in order to divert attention from the national question within the US; to cover up the role of the state in the imperialist stage of capitalism as an oppressor of nations within its frontiers. These stinking corpses in the Marxist movement, as Rosa Luxemburg described the Kautskys of her time, refuse to discuss, never mind oppose, US claims over the Black Belt nation of Afro-Americans, the land seized by the US from Mexico, the Polynesian territory in Hawaii, the Eskimo's land in Alaska, the Puerto Rican nation or the land belonging to the Indians.

The concentration of US armed forces in North America in the Black Belt, Puerto Rico, etc., shows that the struggle of oppressed nations for liberation

is now the main force threatening the US state within its frontiers. US revisionists, operating under the Mao-Breshnev umbrella, talk about a Socialist revolution without winning white support for liberation of the Black Belt and Puerto Rico; they want to skip right over the stage of national liberation. They urge the oppressed and their supporters to forget about breaking up the US borders; to forget about tying down troops which could be used for further oppression in South America or Asia. The contingent of revisionists is worth several divisions of troops to the US government.

THE US WORKING CLASS

As indicated above the Maoites claim that the US working class is essentially anti-imperialist today. This view is shared by Breshnev and the CPUSA.

How did it happen that the government of US imperialism failed to use the carrot and club technique against the US workers? Or are Mao, Breshnev and Chou saying it has been used but it has had no effect? Or are the revisionists also lying on this question as another step in their collusion with US imperialism?

Until the twentieth century US capitalism used the lure of land in the West as a safety valve, as the carrot, for limiting class struggles. Once the land was settled, US white workers felt the club more frequently. But combined with the club was always the carrot of a privileged position for whites,

the material basis for chauvinism. Better jobs for whites than for Blacks, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans has always been the situation. Today the advantage of white workers relative to Blacks, Puerto Ricans and other oppressed peoples is greater than ever before.

The US government has always used white workers in genocidal attacks on the Indians and brutal attacks on Mexicans. Both the white middle class and the white workers have been used by the US capitalists and by the US state, i.e., the government, to lynch Afro-Americans.

Contrary to revisionist claims, the atrocities of US imperialism in Indo-China are consistent with the development of US capitalism. Lt. Calley acted in the tradition of US Army campaigns against Indians, Cubans, Nicaraguans, Puerto Ricans, and numerous other oppressed peoples.

Recently a professor of psychology interviewed a large number of US citizens on Calley. Over half of those interviewed said they would have done what Calley did. Yes--these are the "great American people" so dear to the hearts of Nixon's "Marxist" pals in Peking and Moscow.

Both Governor Wallace and Gus Hall are running for president of the USA. Both are bitterly opposed to the right to self-determination in the Black Belt. Hall claims opposition to oppression of Blacks and has a Black running mate on the CPUSA ticket. The CPUSA is thus able to collect thousands of signatures of Afro-Americans in the Black Belt to get Hall's name on

the ballot. These names are turned over to election officials who turn them over to the KKK and the FBI. Thus Hall does his bit for the US government.

Meanwhile Wallace, the symbol of white supremacy, rolls up a tremendous vote in the Democratic Party primary in white working class and white middle class neighborhoods. Thus Gov. Wallace does his bit for the US government since Nixon and all the Democratic candidates are conceding the need for unity with Wallace's open chauvinism.

To conclude from the above that the main trend today among white US workers is anti-imperialist is to defy facts. The fact is that US imperialism and its government have been very successful in poisoning the white working class with white chauvinism. The distortions and lies of Mao, Chou and Breshnev are no cure for this poison.

The cure must come in two parts: first a principled exposure and rejection of Mao and Breshnev within and without the US; then and only then will the way be open for a principled struggle within the US working class which dares to identify and expose the bribes. The long-range interest of US white workers is to support those in the front line fight against the most powerful exploiters of labor; those in the front line are the oppressed peoples.

AN INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE

On not a few occasions in the past Albanians and Chinese leaders have criticized Hammer & Steel for

"over-emphasizing" statements by Mao, Chou, etc., which, we thought, were in error and hurt the anti-imperialist struggle here and in the rest of the world.

How can we strive to develop Marxism-Leninism and not criticize the statements from "Marxists" abroad on Angela Davis? The gist of these statements is that Miss Davis' acquittal by an all-white jury proved that US courts are fair, that whites are not chauvinistic, that Miss Davis' freedom is a peoples' victory, that the US state is, at its worst, a benign growth on the world's surface.

The same "Marxist sources" are silent on the life sentence given Mr. Hekima Ana, Republic of New Africa leader and proponent of an independent Black Belt nation.

In our view, Miss Davis is free to do what she was doing before her trial. In the name of Marxism she will oppose the right to self-determination in the Black Belt. In the name of Marxism she will ward off attacks on the US government and its institutions.

In contrast, Mr. Ana and his associates who challenge US borders receive no "fair trials" from the US state.

Chou En-lai says he was "taken in" by Dulles who represented the US state at the Geneva convention in 1954. (New York Times, 6/17/72). Now his "great hope" is cultural

exchanges between the USA and China. (Ibid.) How can US Marxist-Leninists ignore that? Wasn't Chou "taken in" by Nixon in Peking? Didn't Nixon assign Chou to "take in" the oppressed peoples on the role of US imperialism and its state? Have not all Marxist-Leninists in all countries the obligation to ask the Chinese people to stop Chou from being "taken in"? Shouldn't Marxist-Leninists suggest to the Chinese people that they "take him out" and get rid of him?

Then there is Nhan Dan of Hanoi telling the people what a wonderful man George McGovern is and how quickly he'll end the war in Vietnam. There are minor differences among US imperialist groupings on tactics in Asia and therefore McGovern has minor tactical differences with Nixon. Johnson had the same type of differences with Goldwater. After his election Johnson did in Vietnam what the Rockefellers told him to do. And so will McGovern. When it comes to the nature of the capitalist state, the leaders of North Vietnam are followers of Chou, Breshnev, Trotsky and Kautsky. As long as they reject Lenin and Stalin on this question they will be fighting with one hand tied behind their backs.

The defection of the governments in the USSR and the PRC from the anti-imperialist camp has created a most unusual situation. Every revisionist phrase from Chou, Breshnev or the like is given great attention in the capitalist press, especially in the USA. Those who criticize the revisionists on the state are told they are "rocking the boat" and harming unity. Where is this boat heading? It is heading toward the rocks. Its helmsman, Mao

and its Captain Breshnev are intoxicated with toasts from Nixon.

MARXIST-LENINIST IDEOLOGY AND THE STATE

H&S does not deny that heroic anti-imperialist struggles are being waged without a common, correct, international Marxist-Leninist program on the nature of the US government. What we do deny is that successful, victorious struggles can be waged without understanding the main enemy, his allies and how he works.

Many difficult organizational and ideological problems face the presently weak, potentially strong, upholders of Marxism-Leninism in the world. Such problems as counteracting the revisionist insistence on only open legal work, or how and where to concentrate forces are serious questions for Marxist-Leninists. Yet they can only be solved as important ideological problems which are secondary to the struggle against Mao and Breshnev's line of peaceful co-existence with the US government.

A lot of time, paper and ink is being wasted by "anti-revisionists" who do not challenge Mao and Breshnev's revisionist line on basic ideological questions. May we suggest that this time, paper and ink be put to better use?

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