HAMMER & STEEL NEWSLETTER July 17, 1974 No. 4

GOOD OR BAD.

Hammer & Steel considers India's successful nuclear test an important development. The Indian government maintains that this test served to advance the use of nuclear energy for earth-moving and mining operations. It appears to have speeded the development of nuclear weapons, if the Indian government decides to develop them.

India received more criticism than congratulations for her scientific accomplishment. The New York Times, spokeomen for the US billionaire nuling class, deplored poverty in India and warned that proliferation of nuclear weapons could lead to an M-bomb war. Esinhua, speaking for Mac and the Han government, also deplored India's poverty and expressed concern over a nuclear threat to Pakistan.

Workers World in New York City used to feature a picture of Trotsky on its front page. It dropped Trotsky's picture but not Trotskyism. Workers World says, "Of course India along with the other capitalist atom powers, the US, France and England, is not about to use its newfound military resource in the interests of the world's exploited or even in the interests of its own terribly oppressed population." (McCubbin, June 14, p. 11)

Workers World does not mention that India's nuclear explosion did not even equal the power of US atom bombs used on Japan some thirty years ago. Workers World is a supporter of Maoism and refers to China as a Socialist country. Thus, in Maoite fashion, it lumps the Indian government as an enemy of the people comparable to US imperialism. The objective result of equating the Indian government with the US is to divert the anti-imperialist struggle toward the national bourgeois in India and away from US imperialism.

India is a federation of nations. English, Russian and US interests control much of its relatively weak industrial capacity. Feudal interests, which were protected and used by English imperialism during its long rule, still own much of the best land. The Indian national bourgeois contends with foreign capital and strong feudal remnants, who tend to ally with foreign interests, for control of the government. The Trotskyite-Maoits cries in the name of Marxism and the working class against the Indian national bourgeois serve to strengthen the position of foreign capital and the feudal landowners.

Workers World (ibid.) states: "It is a criminal government which answers the threat of mass starvation by flaunting an atomic bomb." Here again is an example of Trotskyism-Maoism covering up the crimes of US imperialism. The Rockefeller-backed "Green Revolution", with its disastrous result for the Indian workers and peasants, is one of Wall Street's great crimes in this era. The US has used its money, its wheat, its mass sterilization of the peasantry, and its agent-provocateurs to sabotage Indian agriculture.

It sounds so sweet and simplistic to say to the Indian national bourgeois, "Take the money used for nuclear development and feed your people." In reality it is not easy to feed people when the US and now China are using their H-bombs to strengthen their own trade in fertilizer and other oil byproducts and weaken the ability of India to buy material for her food production.

Trotskyite-Maoites are applying Trotsky's past distortions of Marxism to the present situation. In the 1930's and '40's Trotskyites served German imperialism by equating it with the owner of a French, English, US or Spanish grocery store.

Today they deny the right to self-determination for Bangla Desh and side with Pakistan. The Pakistan army raped, tortured and murdered hundreds of thousands of Bengalis. The Pakistanis, whose present premier Bhutto recently admitted that Pakistan committed the crimes, were armed and financed by Mao and Nixon.

The patriotic national bourgeoisie in the Gandhi government overcame opposition by those under US and feudal influence and helped smash the Pakistani gangsters in Bangla Desh. To a real Marxist-Leninist this was a positive development; to the Maoites and US imperialism it was a negative development.

After forcing India to use huge amounts of money to defend Bangla Desh (and India) from the intensified threats of Peking and Wall Street the Trotskyite-Maoite-US imperialist ensemble now sings its song of sympathy for India's poor.

Hsinhua and the Guardian (US Maoites) can't come up with a word of protest against the US military base for nuclear and conventional weapons on Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean.

The <u>Guardian</u>, <u>Workers World</u> and <u>Hsinhua</u> pretend they can't understand why India spends funds to defend herself. Would there be less hunger in India if Nixon uses nuclear force and invades from the sea while Mao does the same from the north?

The Trotskyite-Maoites call for an immediate Socialist revolution in India. According to them the struggle for national liberation of oppressed and semi-colonial nations is a waste of effort. Of course Mao pretended to have a different line before his bourgeois class of top party renegades, land-owners camouflaged as commune leaders and pro-US intellectuals seized power in 1966-67.

Lenin and Stalin pointed out that without a vanguard Marxist-Leninist party there can be no successful

proletarian revolution or proletarian dictatorship. But they also made clear that Marxist-Leninists do not confuse the national bourgeois of oppressed nations, no matter how much they vacillate between imperialist pressure and anti-imperialist struggle, with the imperialists. Lenin and Stalin were principled powerful Marxist-Leninist leaders in their struggle against Trotsky's line of skipping over the stage of national-democratic revolutions.

If we concentrate on the thoughts in the paragraph above we begin to understand the Maoites. Their ploy is to insist on "Marxist-Leninists" who sabotage national liberation struggles in the name of Socialist revolution. Which means there will be no real Marxist-Leninist parties to lead the workers and the peasants in oppressed nations in support of the anti-imperialist tendencies and struggles presently led by the national bourgeois.

In turn this means no successful anti-imperialist national-democratic revolutions, and that means no chance for proletarian revolutions to develop later. All this means that Maoism is the main "Marxist" servant of US imperialism since Mao is the most influential obstacle to a correct Marxist-Leninist line on the focal struggle between oppressed peoples and imperialism, especially US imperialism.

THE "SOCIALIST" H-BOMBS

We have the Leminist idea that a Socialist country means a country ruled by the dictatorship of the proletariat,

not the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. We don't see any evidence of a proletarian dictatorship in either China or Russia today, although we see plenty of evidence of a bourgeois attitude toward oppressed peoples. In fact we see the governments of China and Russia in the name of detente contending for the role of junior partner and main colluder with US imperialism against oppressed peoples.

We see the leaders of Russia and China discussing the maintenance, the direction, and the potential use of their H-bombs with Kissinger and Nixon. We fail to hear of one conference with the Palestinians, the Vietnamese, the Afro-Americans or the Bengalis on how the "Socialist" H-bombs could be pointed in an anti-imperialist direction.

We don't see non-Russian and non-Han people within the state frontiers of Russia and China gaining strength from Russian and Han H-bombs. On the contrary t e Russian and Han rulers appear to use their H-bombs to strengthen their chauvinist hold.

It is correct to say that, in the long run, the Russian and Chinese H-bombs have a positive aspect. They broke the US monopoly. But is it correct to jump to the conclusion that the Russian and Chinese H-bombs are now an anti-imperialist force? Where's the proof? How did the "Socialist" H-bombs stop the US from blockading and bombing North Vietnam?

5017 454

The test of theory is practice. The practice on Vietnam proved that the "Socialist" H-bombs did not deter the US. A AND ASSOCIATION OF A SECULIAR SECULIA

THE U. A. R. The U. A. R. asked Peking for nuclear weapons to counter nuclear weapons furnished to Israel by the US. Peking refused because it wanted to help Arab "self-reliance". Sadat turned to Nixon who agreed to give the U. A. R. nuclear assistance in an effort to strengthen US imperialism's power in West Asia and North Africa. So much for "Socialist" H-bombs, "Socialist" nuclear policy and Mao as a Marxist-Leninist. PROLIFERATION

The spokesmen for US imperialism and Maoism imply that the subjective desires of Mrs. Gandhi, of President Sadat, Nixon, Mao, Brezhnev, etc., will determine the number of nations that develop nuclear energy and nuclear weapons. We challenged that view in our March 1971 newsletter when we indicated that all large states would develop nuclear weapons within two or three decades.

US imperialism dominates much of the world. It is more powerful than any world power in history. But it does not completely control the world.

Do semi-colonial and oppressed states such as Brazil, Argentina and Indonesia--states now subservient to US imperialism--have a choice about nuclear development? It is inevitable that their national bourgeoisie will develop capital just as it is inevitable that they will try to protect that capital which means investing some of it in nuclear weapons.

Sections of European capital, and Japanese capital as well, are beginning to resist US dominance even as Stalin, in 1950, said they would. It is almost certain that the Germans and the Japanese will be forced to develop both nuclear energy and nuclear weapons.

The US, which comprises five or six percent of the world's population, cannot occupy every nation in the world with bayonets. The US must provide some of its gendarme states with nuclear weapons. Many believe it has already done this with Israel.

Is it possible to exercise the right to self-determination in a world where the US, China, France, England and the USSR have nuclear weapons while other nations do not?

Real Marxist-Leninists--as opposed to the Maoites and Brezhnevites--must stand for the right of all nations to self-determination, which includes, in the present situation, the right of all nations to nuclear weapons.

Whether Marxist-Leninists support a movement for nuclear weapons in any specific nation is another question which will be answered by the needs of the international struggle against imperialism, especially US imperialism.

Under no conditions will Marxist-Leninists support nuclear weapons for puppet or gendarme states which are occupying other nations' territories. Examples of such states are Rhodesia, South Africa, and Israel.

Nor will, in our opinion, Marxist-Leninists overestimate the H-bomb as the key or decisive weapon in national liberation struggles. However, it is inconceivable that leaders of national liberation struggles can succeed without insisting that their nations have as much <u>right to nuclear weapons</u> as do the Chinese, Russians and the US.

PROLIFERATION AND WAR

The imperialists and revisionists have polluted many minds with the idea that the fewer nations having the H-bomb the less danger of H-bomb war. This line won't stand up to close scrutiny. Hitler would have used poison gas in World War II. He didn't do it mainly because too many other nations had it.

The US, the state with the most H-bombs and the most effective delivery system, is the only nation ever to use nuclear weapons in war. The US had a monopoly on the atom bomb at that time.

Every US president since Truman has approved his dropping atom bombs on defenseless cities when, as the late Gen. Spaatz stated, Japan was already defeated. Only recently Nixon bragged that he could give an order which would kill 70 million people within forty-five minutes.

Obviously, if US imperialism could increase its superprofits one-tenth of one percent by using H-bombs it would
do so. The only possible deterrent to the US H-bombs are
H-bombs in the hands of those who, unlike the peaceful
colluders in Peking and Moscow, have real contradictions
with US imperialism. When there is sufficient proliferation
of H-bombs then there is the possibility that the US, China
and Russia will lose the advantage they now have and agree
to the destruction of all H-bombs.

For years the Russian, Chinese and US governments have been cultivating the mystique of nuclear power in order to blackmail and intimidate other peoples. The Russian and Chinese CP leaders are experts at spreading this mystique. They were intimidated (and still are) by US nuclear blackmail.

It is not self-described Marxists who are now destroying the revisionist-imperialist lies about exclusiveness in nuclear development. It is the Indian national bourgeois and a US bourgeois writer named John McPhee in his book The Curve of Binding Energy. McPhee realizes that in the near future almost every nation can build an H-bomb.

Regardless of anyone's wishes, the handwriting is on the wall. The US nuclear arsenal probably now surpasses that of all other nations combined. This will not always be true. Unless large sections of US whites, especially the working class, overcome their great-power chauvinism and help the world's people resist and destroy US imperialism then the US will have sown the wind at Hiroshima and reaped the whirlwind of H-bombs dropped on US cities.

TWO SUPERPOWERS?

In order to justify aid from, and aid to, US imperialism, and in order to serve US imperialism better in the future, Mao has discovered two superpowers—Russia and the US. Really, Mr. Mao—was it the Russian government that gave you orders to invite Nixon during the blockade and bombing of North Vietnam? Have you ceded Chinese oil to the Russians, Mr. Mao? Did the Russians order you to arm the Pakistanis in order to slaughter the Bengalis? Mao's own actions show there is one superpower with H-bomb supremacy, and that superpower is the US.

Mao's description of the USSR as a superpower comparable to the US objectively serves US aggression and its plans for world hegemony. Mao diverts people from concentrating on the main danger, US imperialism.

NIHILISM AND THE H-BOMB

We live in a world where capitulation to US H-bomb blackmail is widespread. The US H-bomb has shattered the international Marxist-Leninist movement in the same way the US A-bomb shattered families in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Resistance to US imperialism is led by either rival imperialists or the national bourgeois in oppressed and semicolonial nations. Such resistance is now very weak and vacillating.

We believe that steps toward a new Marxist-Leninist movement in the future demand critical support <u>now</u> to each and every act of genuine resistance to US imperialism. We disassociate ourselves <u>absolutely</u> from those "Marxists" in the US whose "left" slogans about class struggle and "Socialism now" cover up their shameful betrayal of national liberation struggles and capitulation to US imperialism.

We are confident that the US white working class and sections of the US white farm and middle class population will eventually play a revolutionary anti-imperialist role. We will help speed that day by exposing the idolization and glorification of today's US working class. We will identify their trade unions as organizations which take a little of the profits from the imperialists while their white and great-power chauvinist policies help US imperialism gain super profits.

We are well aware that most US workers both fear and glorify the US H-bomb. The average worker fears it because he might be destroyed in an H-bomb war. He glorifies the US H-bomb because it helps bring him cars, televisions, houses and various other bribes from the imperialists.

The same type of bribe that corrupts the US worker also feeds the Workers World editors, the Guardian editors, and Gus Hall of the CPUSA. These running dogs for US imperialism can live high and peddle their Marxist pretensions as long as they praise peaceful co-existence with US imperialism and capitulation to the US H-bomb.

We live for the future. Capitalism in the US is in its imperialist stage. The US H-bomb has helped corrupt the white workers and middle class with revisionist, reformist ideas that peacefully co-exist with feminism, drugs, Malthusianism, abortion, hedonism, chauvinism, and nihilism. But in the long run that which is weak and growing will overcome that which is now powerful but rotten to the core.

Our working class will suffer great losses but will learn a great deal as US imperialism and its H-bomb are destroyed. The oppressed people will eventually have support from some US white workers in the struggle against US imperialism.

We look at the Indian nuclear test and then look ahead to the end of US nuclear dominance. We look at the gallant struggles of the oppressed peoples and we look forward to the day when both Mao and his line of capitulation to US imperialism will be destroyed. A new and powerful Marxist-Leninist movement will emerge as Mao, Maoism and all Maoites are ground into the dust.

Mao has often stated that political decisions are made by the barrel of the gun. When it comes to explaining who is to use the gun, when it is to be used and where it is to be used then Mao is out dining with Kissinger. We believe that Mao will see some guns, H-bombs and political decisions that neither he nor his master--US imperialism--will appreciate.

Non under the influence of imperialism has developed the N-homb. Anti-imperialist man can control the H-bomb, use it if necessary for liberation of oppressed peoples and eventually create a world without H-bombs. Let us remorably that anti-imperialist control of the H-bomb requires long, hard, successful struggle against Maoism and its sponsor--US imperialism.

ISSUED BY Hammer & Steel, Box 101, Mattapan, Massachusetts 02126, USA.
SUBSCRIPTIONS: \$2.00 per year (no checks, please).