

The bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong by the Johnson Administration is a most serious crime by U.S. imperialism. It is a continuation of the aggression in Korea, of the A-bomb dropped on Nagasaki and Hiroshima, and of the many cruelties committed in Taiwan. It is an expression of the most vicious white chauvinism. It is imperialism's "freedom", "democracy" and "respect for the rights of small nations" in practice.

In view of this latest crime against the peoples of Asia it is necessary for Marxist-Leninists to evaluate anew the objective factors that caused the Johnson administration to take this action. Some of the most important factors are:

- (1) The inherent greed for super profits that is characteristic of dying, moribund capitalism, i.e. of imperialism. Southeast Asia is a very rich sector of the world. It is an area where French and Japanese imperialism have met serious defeats. It is an area where the nations are not yet united under strong anti-imperialist governments. U.S. imperialists, like all past imperialist aggressors, seek out victims with rich resources, victims whose military potential is not fully mobilized.
- (2) U.S. imperialism cannot behave as in Korea. At that time U.S. imperialism was top dog in the imperialist camp and had many areas for investment. Even after several serious defeats it was strong enough to retreat. Today, Britain, France, Germany and Japan provide competition for markets and the export of finance capital. A retreat by U.S. imperialism now in Vietnam would immediately intensify rival imperialist attacks on U.S. areas of imperialist exploitation.
- (3) A defeat for U.S. imperialism in Viet Nam will strengthen the Afro-American and Puerto-Rican liberation movements at home. The strangle hold of the labor opportunists on the U.S. proletariat, based on the betrayal of workers in the oppressed nations, would be weakened.
- (4) U.S. imperialism attempts destruction of all native industry and transport in order that DuPont, Ford, Rockefeller and Hunt can have great power, white supremacist rule in Viet Nam and Southeast Asia. These plans were made clear by U.S. senators who threatened that North Viet Nam would be turned into a desert if criminal prisoners were punished.
- (5) U.S. imperialism must destroy the economy of Viet Nam as a step toward more aggression against Cambodia and Laos. Johnson plans to occupy North Viet Nam and Burma as well as Thailand. He plans to grab the southern part of China as his Russian stooges put pressure on China from the north. A recent interview on this question featured the voice of Ky and the thoughts of Johnson.

The concept that U.S. imperialism can "withdraw" its troops is not completely correct. It is misleading if separated from the fact that U.S. imperialism cannot withdraw without massive military defeats in S.E. Asia and serious political and economic setbacks in other areas of the world. Some claim "the great American people" will stop Johnson. American whites, with few exceptions, are badly poisoned with white and great power chauvinism. Their attitude toward other peoples is worse than that of the German people before Stalingrad. Military defeats for U.S. imperialists are educational victories for U.S. workers, the Afro-American people and all progressive forces.

Only by large scale destruction of aggressive forces in S.E. Asia can self-determination for the peoples of that area be a reality. Once this is understood the anti-imperialist forces can handle Wall Street's attacks. The involvement of Wall Street-Washington in Asia is a great opportunity for substantial defeats to the aggressors. It offers great possibilities for destroying U.S. holdings in Europe, Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Afro-American territory in the South. The time is ripe for the defeat and isolation of U.S. imperialism provided a world anti-imperialist front develops. This can only develop if a Marxist-Leninist policy on Viet Nam is clear, correct and universal.

The focal contradiction in the world is that between imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, and the national liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples. Viet Nam is now the focal point in the focal contradiction.

Those who revise Marxism-Leninism, who deny the focal contradiction between imperialism and oppressed peoples, have one line on Viet Nam. It is a line of yielding to the imperialists, negotiating on imperialist terms, encouraging illusions about imperialism. It is a line of peaceful coexistence with aggression in Viet Nam--of allowing U.S. imperialism to conquer one area at a time.

The Marxist-Leninist line on Viet Nam is one of mobilizing the people and smashing the aggressor. It is a line that people are more important than war machines. It is a line that ideology is of primary importance. The Marxist-Leninist line is based on isolating U.S. imperialism economically, culturally and diplomatically as part of the military campaign to end aggression in S.E. Asia.

Whether the peoples of the world, especially the Afro-American, Asian, African and Latin American masses, support the Marxist-Leninist line or the revisionist line on Viet Nam will be the main factor in determining whether there is a world wide anti-imperialist front and whether that front is successful.

In our opinion the difference between revisionism and Marxism-Leninism on Viet Nam has not been placed before the people with sufficient clarity. This is mainly because revisionism, headed by the CPSU, has cleverly utilized revisionism in Viet Nam. This tactic has confused many, especially in the west, but not only in the west.

Some forces here and abroad believe that it is not correct to discuss revisionism in Viet Nam because this would weaken the military struggle against U.S. imperialism. Such forces speak of their devotion to Lenin, Stalin and the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung. One reason for the success of Lenin and Stalin as leaders of the proletariat was their ability to involve the masses in ideological struggle against anti-Party opportunist elements. At the most critical moments they took major issues to the people. Did not one of the key ideological struggles testing the correctness of Mao's thought take place during the Long March? Did not Mao go to the people upholding Marxism-Leninism on the cultural front when the anti-imperialist war against Japan was at a crucial stage?

The editorial board of Hammer & Steel, to the best of our understanding and ability, has hailed all policies on Viet Nam which mobilize the people against U.S. imperialism. In order to continue this policy we raise questions concerning revisionism in North Viet Nam. A representative of the North Vietnamese Party said in Moscow at the 23rd Congress CPSU that "massive aid" was given by the Soviet Union to Viet Nam--In the magazine "Viet Nam" (Feb., 1966) is the statement that "the whole Socialist camp single-mindedly supports and assists the Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggressors." What about Soviet statements that the bombing of Hanoi-Heiphong "will not interfere with disarmament talks."? In the U.S. we witness the endless cultural, sports and diplomatic exchanges between the Soviets and the U.S. Television programs which feature Soviet cultural figures often include U.S. officers who have attacked Viet Nam. Soviet diplomats are friendly to McNamara and Rusk. Both McNamara and Rusk have made many trips to Saigon carrying Johnson's orders for the torture and murder of nearly all the Vietnamese prisoners captured by U.S. forces.

The Soviet Union is sending troops to the Sino-Soviet frontier. The Soviet Union slanders China on its historic Socialist victories in the nuclear field and signs nuclear pacts with the imperialist foe. Is it not clear that the Soviets give token help to Viet Nam and real aid to U.S. imperialist genocide in Viet Nam? Can the Party of North Viet Nam carry out its obligations to the peoples of all Viet Nam and the world until it has condemned the collusion between U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism? Until it has distinguished between real aid and phony aid in the Socialist camp? Would not massive aid by the Soviets mean economic, military, diplomatic and cultural blows against the aggressor?

Revisionists supported Johnson electorally in 1964 after that imperialist servant had committed numerous atrocities in South Viet Nam and bombed North Viet Nam. Are not revisionists in capitalist countries, supporters of Johnson, invited to North Viet Nam in order to bolster revisionism everywhere? Recently Pope Paul welcomed bloody handed Goldberg and then attacked the Vietnamese people on the question of trying war criminals. That very week the CPUSA's organ, Political Affairs, devoted a whole issue in opposition to exposure of the Vatican as a servant of imperialism. The CPUSA and Gus Hall are trying to bolster the prestige of Pope Paul so that the people will forget how Pope Pius helped Hitler. But is there any real difference between Johnson-Paul and Hitler-Pius? What is the class basis in North Viet Nam for the support to the revisionist forces in the U.S.? Is it not a fact that praise for revisionism by North Vietnamese officials has been hailed by U.S. imperialist commentators? Has it not encouraged more war crimes in Viet Nam?

Revisionism in North Viet Nam maintains the myth of the Geneva agreements. But U.S. imperialism has destroyed any obligation to separate the military efforts of North and South Viet Nam.

Revisionism in North Viet Nam claims that only the top imperialists such as Rockefeller, DuPont, Hunt, Kennedy, Ford and their governmental and labor servants such as Johnson, Goldberg, Rusk, McNamara, Mansfield, Warren, Sen. Russell, Humphrey, Reuther, Meany and similar war criminals should be punished. U.S. pilots have bragged about pushing prisoners out of planes and helicopters, bombing elephants and water buffalo for "kicks", spraying poison chemicals and poison gas on foliage, crops and people in both Laos and Viet Nam. Yet they should not be punished according to revisionism in North Viet Nam. These pilots have deliberately bombed villages, hospitals and factories. Klensmen and other white supremacists disguise themselves as police, national guardsmen and sheriffs and then murder Afro-Americans in Watts, Cleveland, Alabama and Chicago. They can be unpunished according to North Vietnamese revisionism. Revisionism aids imperialist genocide against dark skinned peoples in every country.

The unchallenged growth of revisionism in Viet Nam would mean that the world wide anti-revisionist struggle is partial; that it is weak in a crucial area. A so-called struggle against revisionism in general without condemning it in the focal struggle is sham struggle. It is shadow boxing with revisionism. World wide revisionism, headed by the CPSU, seeks to aid the victory of U.S. imperialism in Viet Nam. Failure to condemn revisionism helps bolster the war machine of U.S. imperialism.

The Chinese Socialist cultural revolution warns us that no people and no party are immune to revisionism. The great proletarian cultural revolution now taking place in China is a major victory of Marxism-Leninism. It will greatly aid the CPC in its leading role in the world Marxist-Leninist movement.

In the past some forces have, in the name of Mao Tse-tung's thought, bolstered U.S. forces who have consistently negated the teachings of Mao Tse-tung. Has not Progressive Labor in the U.S. received such support in articles and editorials in China, Australia and Belgium and in the middle character journal "Global Digest"? Why are PL forces, whose love for Tito is well known, whose hatred for Stalin, Mao and Hoxha is thinly veiled, able to obtain large numbers of Chinese books for a store in New York City? Did not Rosen, head of PL, quote Teng To word for word prior to the PL convention of 1965 on the question of "hitting cadres over the head" to make them sicker so they can then "get well"? PL uses support from a Chinese revisionist clique and uses its ties with Cuban revisionists to attack Marxism-Leninism everywhere. This dirty game will become more difficult now.

If the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung are to be utilized fully and universally on the key question of Viet Nam then we must consider:

(1) Recognition of the leading role of the CPC in the world Marxist-Leninist movement. To repeat the line of the 21st Congress CPSU advocating equality without leadership means, in practice, attacking both unity and equality among the world Marxist-Leninist forces.

(2) Recognize that partly because modern revisionism has a base in the first Socialist country it can raise its ugly head in all countries and under many guises.

(3) That as long as the compromise reached at Moscow in 1960--the 81 Party Statement--is the line of the international Marxist-Leninist forces then compromise with revisionism has a big advantage in all countries. A group on the West Coast criticized our repudiation of the 81 Party Statement. They maintain that a universal Marxist-Leninist line is unimportant compared to an "All American" line. They also claim that we didn't pay enough attention to the reasons why the CPC made the compromise. The latter criticism has merit, but explaining a fact does not alter it. The CPC publicly asked for criticism on this question and we responded. A conference of Marxist-Leninists on Viet Nam is badly needed. It would consider repudiating the peaceful co-existence line of the 81 Party Statement and the recent Havana Conference. Some think that only a conference representing every country would be positive. They forget that at the beginning of World War I the Bolsheviks were called a "sect". How could a Marxist-Leninist conference which includes the Parties of China and Albania be considered unimportant? Its importance would rest on its line and its future, not on a comparison with the numbers of opportunists gathered at Moscow for the 23rd Congress CPSU.

No doubt the peoples of Viet Nam and the world will take steps to uphold Marxism-Leninism and destroy revisionism as a result of their experience in struggle against the aggressors in S.E. Asia. But this will not happen spontaneously.

In our view, the recent statement in the Chinese Liberation Army paper and reprinted in Peking Review No. 29 is a major contribution to the unity and fighting fitness of Marxist-Leninists in all countries. It includes the following; "The first Socialist country, the Soviet Union, was dragged by Khrushchev revisionism on to the road of capitalist restoration. Now all the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations of the whole world place their hopes on revolutionary New China. Under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee, holding high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, persevering in their firm stand against imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries of various countries and greatly deflating the enemy's arrogance and boosting the morale of the people, the Chinese people have set a brilliant example for the people of the whole world. Our country has become the base of the world revolution. Our Party has become the standard bearer of the world revolution. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the beacon of the world revolution."

The discussion and implementation of the above by Marxist-Leninists in all lands will constitute a long stride toward an international Marxist-Leninist policy, toward a united Marxist-Leninist movement.

In the name of all the revolutionary American people, and especially in the name of the brutally oppressed and victimized Afro-American freedom fighters, I salute our glorious Chinese brothers and the mighty Chinese People's Republic on this historical 17th anniversary. To salute our glorious Chinese brothers and the mighty Chinese People's Republic is to pay tribute to its great architect, liberator, helmsman and universal leader and teacher, whose thought is transforming the whole world. On this great National Day revolutionaries throughout the world realize more than ever how much we are indebted to the architect of people's warfare, the immortal leader and teacher, Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

This mighty assemblage here today is a vivid testimony of the people's determination to make and sustain revolution. It is symbolic of the growing unity and solidarity of the struggling peoples of the world. It reflects the fraternal ties of we who labor and struggle in a common front against a common enemy, U.S. imperialism. On this glorious 17th anniversary, I am convinced that from People's China shall flow the spirit and inspiration that shall inspire patriots everywhere to resolutely struggle to build a people's world.

Only in a people's republic would a refugee from racist "free world" tyranny, grandson of chattel slaves robbed from Africa, one imprisoned on his own native soil for sitting on a public seat reserved for "white people only", one fanatically and violently pursued by the fascist U.S. Government for demanding human rights, social justice and stressing the right of armed self-defense, be extended the honor of representing his oppressed people as I am accorded here today. We brutally oppressed Afro-Americans, the nearly exterminated American Indians, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans and other oppressed U.S. minorities know the true nature of the savage Yankee. We know what he truly means when he so piously and hypocritically proposes to bring peace and democracy to Vietnam and the world. He is a jingoist, a cold-blooded murderer and plunderer who respects the rights of colored peoples less than those of common street dogs. We revolutionary Afro-Americans know the true nature of the peace he offers and we prefer the rigors and sacrifices of redemptive people's struggle.

We call upon our oppressed people to further intensify the battle and to coordinate their revolutionary activity with the liberation forces of Asia, Latin America, Africa and the justice and peace loving peoples of all races throughout the world. We do not seek peace and fraternity with the devil and a favored lackey status in his hell. Instead, we seek his resolute and total destruction and the glorious heritage of a people's world. Contrary to what some cynics would have us believe, our vicious enemy is not invincible. Chairman Mao has said, he is "a paper tiger" and our people have come to realize this incontrovertible truth. And the thunder of BLACK POWER echoes throughout the land, while U.S. imperialist tyrants, armed with horrible death weapons, tremble from the terrifying shock of a confrontation with wretched and angry masses, armed with a common household match and a bottle of gasoline.

On this glorious 17th anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic, reliable base area of the world's peoples' struggle, we take great pride in the technical and scientific achievements of the glorious Chinese people which explode the U.S. imperialists' Hitlerite racist myth of the inferiority of non-Anglo-Saxon peoples. We are more confident than ever of the final triumph of our cause. In this mighty year of the Great Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution, racist and imperialist America sees her last big hope for world domination slipping ~~fast~~ away. We revolutionaries of the whole world shall intensify our revolutionary struggles, confident that our Chinese brothers and sisters in the Red Guard, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, are at their battle stations in a mighty base area of world revolution, being waged for the heritage of a people's world.

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA!

LONG LIVE MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT!

LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG!

LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES OF THE WORLD!

The editorial board of Hammer & Steel has always upheld the right of self-determination i.e. state power, armed forces and a redivision of the land for the oppressed Afro-American people of the South and for political and territorial autonomy in the large urban areas of the North and West. We feel that the above address of the exiled Afro-American leader, Robert Williams, is of significant importance in moving the Afro-American liberation struggle into greater unity with the struggles of all oppressed peoples against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism.

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