

HAMMER & STEEL NEWSLETTER

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Following is a cablegram sent on the occasion of China's National Day, October 1, 1966:

Central Committee, Communist Party of China  
Peking, China

Congratulations 17 years dictatorship of proletariat in China. Your Socialist achievements inspire oppressed and exploited peoples of world. Chairman Mao's teachings are great revolutionary force. Wish further Marxist-Leninist successes in cultural revolution, for building up your country, for crushing both internal and external revisionism, for smashing imperialist aggression.

Editorial Board, Hammer & Steel

Following is a letter sent to Indonesia:

President Sukarno  
Djarkarta, Indonesia

The Central Committee of the Malayan National Liberation League, whose office is in Peking, China, has informed us of the serious crimes committed by your government against members of the Mission of the Malayan National League in Indonesia. Ibrahim Mohamad, Chief Representative, Eu Chooi Yip, Deputy Representative, Abdullah Sudin, Secretary and Shamsiah Fakeh are jailed, starved and tortured.

The Malayan National Liberation League established offices in your country with the full knowledge and consent of your government. Their program and action served the Malayan peoples, the Indonesian peoples, all anti-imperialist peoples. For your government to join the imperialist forces in an attack on these Malayan patriots is a shameful deed.

Please inform us by return mail of the release of the Malayan National Liberation League members. It is our understanding that they wish to leave Indonesia and go to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. This is both an urgent and just request.

Sincerely,

Editorial Board, Hammer & Steel

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Besides mobilizing the maximum amount of protest against the counter revolutionary terror in Indonesia it is necessary for Marxist-Leninists to evaluate the internal and external factors leading to this serious setback for the anti-imperialist cause.

The Albanian Party of Labor has set an example of comradely constructive criticism and sober Marxist-Leninist evaluation in their pamphlet "The Fascist Coup in Indonesia and the Lessons Communists Drew From It." The Albanian comrades discuss the questions of (1) bourgeois freedoms (2) peaceful transition (3) over-estimation of the Communist Party of Indonesia's strength (4) over-estimation of Sukarno's influence (5) The need for a steeled Marxist-Leninist Party to play the leading role in the national democratic coalition.

The Albanian comrades also discuss the need for international Marxist-Leninist unity and point out that the phrase "real conditions of the country" is often used to cover left and right deviations which in turn lead to every thing for the moment and no regard for the future. The Albanian Comrades point out that Khrushchevite attacks on the Chinese Party are aimed at destroying Marxism-Leninism. The Albanian comrades say that real Marxist-Leninist unity is unity with the great Communist Party of China.

The Khrushchev revisionists claim the main contradiction in Indonesia is between Sukarno and the anti-imperialist forces on one side and the military authorities on the other. In our opinion, the hundreds of thousands of men, women and children murdered by direction of Sukarno's cabinet are testimony to the falseness of such a conclusion. The military authorities and their U.S. masters use Sukarno to mouth empty anti-imperialist phrases as a smokescreen for their crimes. They use Sukarno to give credence to their "Communist coup" lies. The main contradiction is between the rural poor, the national groupings seeking equality of opportunity, the working class, sections of intellectuals and a section of the national bourgeois against Sukarno, the military authorities and their U.S. imperialist sponsors.

Modern revisionism attacks Comrade Joseph Stalin's teachings and leadership. Comrade Stalin maintained that the characteristics of the imperialist stage of capitalism were not altered by World War II defeats for reaction. Stalin explained that imperialism could not exist without super-profits. The demand for super profits leads to right wing coups, aggression and war. We have reviewed Indonesian Party documents and speeches before the coup, the speech of Peng Chen, Polit Bureau member of the Communist Party of China at Aliarcham Academy and the joint statement of the Communist Party of Indonesia and the Communist Party of Australia (M-L). These documents reveal little of Stalin's teachings on imperialism, super profits and the resulting danger of counter revolution.

Speaking to the Soviet YCL in 1928 Stalin said, "Even the biggest of Parties may be caught unawares, even the biggest of Parties may perish if it does not forge the fighting readiness of its class day in and day out. To be caught unawares is a dangerous thing. To be caught unawares means falling a victim of panic in face of the enemy, and panic leads to (dis)integration, defeat and destruction."

Not a few Marxist-Leninists took a complacent attitude toward the concept of an "Indonesian path to Socialism." To claim that such a path exists is to claim differences in capitalist development are greater than their similarities, that Marxism-Leninism is no science but a miscellaneous collection of ideas which a revolutionary can use or discard depending on moods and immediate interests.

Revolutionaries in all lands must know their own people and the special conditions of their own country. But to claim that the Chinese revolution could have succeeded without applying the main lessons of the Soviet revolution is to deny the teachings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The CPC, learning from Lenin and Stalin and the Third International, never made the mistake of turning complete leadership in the national democratic front over to the national bourgeois, to forces led by people like Sukarno. Comrades Lenin, Stalin and Mao stressed the importance of arming the Marxist-Leninist section of the anti-imperialist coalitions.

It is contrary to the teachings of Lenin, Stalin and Mao and contrary to fact in Indonesia to say that "all oppressed peoples and oppressed nations of the world will take their own paths in the light of their own countries conditions and seize final victory as the Chinese people did." This is contradictory to Comrade Lin Biao's "Peoples War" which based its policy on what the oppressed peoples had in common, on that which makes a world-wide coalition against U.S. imperialism possible. There is only one path to revolution in Indonesia. That is the path of the Soviet and Chinese revolutions.

The temporary defeat for revolutionary forces in Indonesia has encouraged profit-mad U.S. imperialism to spread its aggression in Asia. Attacks on Cambodia, Laos and South China are increasing. Preparations for the invasion of Burma and further aggression in Thailand are well advanced. Johnson's Asian trip and his conference with the revisionist lackey, Gromyko, are part of the preparations for more aggression. As Lin Biao correctly said on China's National Day, "U.S. imperialism is trying to find a way out by launching a world war."

The more U.S. imperialism invades Asia the greater the possibility for its defeat. Will this defeat happen spontaneously? Comrades Lenin, Stalin and Mao have taught that regardless of the favorable circumstances victory will never come unless the enemy is respected tactically and despised strategically.

Revisionists say that everything is fine, don't worry, don't bother to correct errors, don't worry about policy, don't alarm the people. What about the serious setbacks in Indonesia, Ghana and Iraq? Are they not reflections of ideological errors which weaken revolutionary forces in every country?

It is not enough to praise the heroism of the peoples of Viet Nam. Why is there no Marxist-Leninist appeal to the world's peoples to boycott U.S. goods? Why is there no appeal to the countries of Eastern Europe, who won national freedom from Hitler under Stalin's lead, to break cultural and diplomatic relations with U.S. imperialism on Viet Nam?

Why is there no appeal to the peoples of India, of Pakistan, of Burma, of Ceylon to drop the "neutrality" that aids U.S. imperialism and to help drive out the aggressors from Asia?

The masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America cannot be mobilized against U.S. imperialism without emphasizing the profit motives of Johnson's government. Why aren't the super-profits of imperialism stressed in much of the material in the Marxist-Leninist movement?

Mr. Milton Rosen, Chairman of Progressive Labor never was much of a force in the U.S. until he received support from forces abroad. In "Challenge" of Sept. 13, 1966 Rosen hails members of his party who, at a recent Congressional hearing, "Did not hide their affiliation or their Communist beliefs." Is not the objective result of Rosen's line the same complete faith in bourgeois democracy that helped lead the Indonesian revolutionary movement to great losses? Will not this line help U.S. imperialism to perpetrate Indonesian type genocide against Afro-Americans and Puerto Ricans?

Marxism-Leninism is a science developed by revolutionaries of all countries. All Parties and individuals in every country contribute to the development of Marxism-Leninism. Marx and Engels organized the First International and from that day on revolutionary leaders and Parties were judged by their application of a policy which was international in scope. Marxism-Leninism without an international attitude is impossible. Today all Marxist-Leninists are influenced by, and responsible for, the 81 Party Statement.

The 81 Parties in Moscow in 1960 claimed that mankind was entering a period of peace, that wars could be eliminated while imperialism existed, that the main contradiction was between Socialism and capitalism instead of between national liberation movements and imperialism. The Statement claimed all contradictions in the world were non-antagonistic, that they could be solved peacefully. Partially correct formulations on U.S. imperialism as the main enemy, on revisionism as the main ideological danger and on Titoism served to cover up the pacifist, revisionist, anti-Stalin nature of the 81 Party Statement and its accompanying appeal to the peoples of the world. In over one hundred instances the Statement and Appeal emphasized peace and peaceful transition.

A correct evaluation would have called for the people to prepare not for peace but for use of the revolutionary sword.

Hammer & Steel's editorial board has been influenced by its past background in the CPUSA, by our past errors in over-estimating bourgeois freedoms, of over-estimating the anti-imperialist character of bourgeois elements who opposed Hitler, by our failure to recognize in timely fashion the present focal contradiction--national liberation struggles versus imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism. We therefore wrongly supported the 81 Party Statement for several years.

Indonesia teaches us that favorable international conditions do not insure anti-imperialist victory. A correct Marxist-Leninist line is of first importance. The destruction of the 81 Party Statement is a major step toward the construction of an international Marxist-Leninist policy, toward victory in Viet Nam, toward ~~the~~ defeat into victory in Indonesia and toward smashing imperialism and revisionism.

At present the imperialists and revisionists are conspiring for a military attack on China. Does the 81 Party Statement warn the peoples of such a development? Can it mobilize them against it? The opposite is true. The proletarian cultural revolution seeks to curb the development of revisionism in China. The 81 Party Statement is a roadblock on the path of the Chinese cultural revolution, an obstacle in developing the dictatorship of the proletariat in all countries.

A fitting monument to the martyrs in Indonesia would be collective discussions in the Marxist-Leninist movement concerning a policy which rejects the Khrushchev line of the 81 Party Statement. A Marxist-Leninist policy based on the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao must be hammered out.

With a correct Marxist-Leninist policy a powerful anti-imperialist coalition will develop and smash U.S. imperialism.

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We have received several criticisms of our stand concerning the pacifist movement in the U.S. Some of our critics maintain they are Leninists. To them we offer a quote from Lenin. It was written in 1917 concerning a peace plea by Gorki.

"...there is just as much sense in asking the Guchkov-Miliukov government speedily to conclude an honest, democratic, neighbourly peace as there is in the appeal of the kindly village priest to the landlords and merchants to live a godly life, to love their neighbours, and to turn the right cheek when one strikes them on the left. The landowners and the merchants listen to the sermon, continue to oppress and rob the people and extol the priest's ability to console and pacify the peasants.

"Precisely the same role--whether they realize it or not--is played by all those who in the present imperialist war come to the bourgeois governments with kindly proposals of peace. The bourgeois governments at times refuse to listen to such proposals and even prohibit them altogether, but sometimes countenance them and issue assurances right and left that what they are really fighting for is the speedy conclusion of a 'most righteous' peace, and that the only one at fault is the enemy. All such proposals of peace and appeals to bourgeois governments turn out in fact to be a hoax upon the people.

"The groups of capitalists who have drenched the earth in blood over the partition of territories, markets and concessions, cannot conclude an "honourable" peace. They can conclude only a dishonourable peace, a peace based on the division of spoils..." (V.I. Lenin, Letters from Siber)