

## RED GUARDS AND WHITE SOCIALISTS:

### Political Resolution of the Milwaukee Local

by  
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#### INTRODUCTION

Insofar as the Milwaukee local's disagreement with the N.E.C. Political Resolution Draft begins with the first sentence ("The War in Vietnam is the Axis of world politics today."), by submitting this resolution the Milwaukee workers group (Y.S.A.) makes an urgent appeal to the membership of the Y.S.A.

We hold that to deny the Chinese Revolution the position of axis is to claim for a rifle decisiveness while ignoring the man who fires the shot. Indeed, even as the people of China were fulfilling Leon Trotsky's promise of 1940 that World War II could not but end in revolution, 1949 saw the Peng Shu Tse advancing the same way in the face of the Red Armies as Josef Stalin's hero of the Orient, Chiang Kai-shek, i.e. south! Where would the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people be without the inspirational model and solidarity of the Chinese Revolution? If left to the designs of the Comintern, have we any doubt the Asian arena would have been sold out on the European plan?

The Milwaukee Local cannot question the Peoples Republic of China's rightful seat as paradigm for the revolutionary peoples of Asia, nay the revolutionary peoples of the world. The fact that Washington knows Peking is imperialism's Enemy No. 1 speaks strongly enough, but now Peking's call for the overthrow of the Moscow bureaucracy (another Trotskyist task) places the question of China as the touchstone for our epoch.

#### THE IMMEDIATE TASK

The current line and strategic orientation of the Warde-Hansen leadership of the Socialist Workers Party has recently taken another grave turn to the right. The most significant feature of their editorial supplement on China for January 23 being, apart from an extension of their already counter-revolutionary line for Asia, the departure from Trotskyism on the Russian Question. As a first step in rectifying this disastrous course followed by the S.W.P. leadership and strongly influencing the politics and program for the Young Socialist Alliance, we feel the Y.S.A. has a heavy obligation to thoroughly denounce them at the 1967 convention.

HOW WARDE AND HANSEN GIVE CRITICAL SUPPORT TO THE  
WORKERS STATE IN CHINA

How often have we witnessed in The Militant an article or photograph publicizing the tremendous advances of socialist construction and planning in China? On the other hand, how many times have we seen that worn out photograph of toiling, huddled, and starving masses readily compiling [sic] with the ignorant American consciousness of China? Who was publicizing this image of Russia until the 1950's but the academic bourgeoisie. Such business for Socialists!!

If planned economy and state ownership of the means of production were precisely what we defended in the U.S.S.R. in spite of Stalin, why is it, even given the erroneous analysis of China as a deformed workers state, that the Warde-Hansen leadership cannot bare [sic] to credit socialist planning with a single achievement? Certainly any serious revolutionary would laugh in their face were they to reply that, "Well we did write one sentence in all those pages where we said China must be defended." What miserable hypocrisy!! Trotsky wrote volumes on exactly how and in what we defended the U.S.S.R. The Warde-Hansen gang write a sentence.

THE SIX ASSAULTS ON CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The January 23 Militant broadside in defense of the Chinese Restorationists contains six major assaults on the ruling left wing in China, and a host of complementary charges. We shall answer them point by point.

1. Chinese documents cannot be trusted. Stalin's 1936 constitution is equivalent to the August 8th plenum decision of the C.C.P. Central Committee on the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."
2. In now mentioning the Vietnam war the 16 points of the August 8th plenum decision describe non-Marxist narrow nationalism.
3. Maoism is a sickening cult of the individual and a desecration of scientific socialism.
4. China is responsible for the Indonesia catastrophe.
- 5 & 6. China is responsible for the destruction of the World Communist Movement (implying unity should be preserved) and China is selling out the Vietnamese people and revolution by sectarianism toward the U.S.S.R. in rejecting combined defense.

Empiricism

The Warde-Hansen offering, as proof that Chinese documents cannot be trusted, Stalin's (or rather Bukharin's) 1936

constitution. This is proof only to an impoverished mind! Completely removed in time and place, different governments, different people, one becomes proof of the other. How absurd. It's like saying the proof of Castro's tyrannical dictatorship lies in Miami gusano testimony. After all we haven't been to Cuba; they have. All that's proven is that all documents cannot be trusted. But Warde and Hansen offer no method for arriving at the reality. This is further evidence that they have forfeited their right to instruct cadres in anything.

The fact remains that Chinese documents can be trusted. To claim otherwise is to demand the ultimate empirical evidence, and since when have Marxists been from Missouri. The worst fate a revisionist can expect in China is severe criticism and demotion. Where are the Moscow Trials, comrades? And where is the Chinese Siberia? To call this third stage in China's Revolution a purge is to throw away our dictionary.

Or do we believe the rumors emanating out of Hong Kong? Recall the reports from the Riga lie factory in the Twenties, claiming among a host of other atrocities that Lenin had nationalized women? If Hong Kong is not the Riga of the Pacific, what is it?

The Chinese say that a comrade who has made mistakes, after criticism and self criticism should be handled leniently. Cure the sickness to save the patient. If this is not Trotskyism on the question, what is?

It may be true that some individuals calling themselves Trotskyists are in Chinese jails. However the fact that they have called for (and no doubt tried to implement) the overthrow of the party leadership that made the revolution, branding it counter-revolutionary, more than justifies their incarceration. How did Lenin handle the Social Revolutionaries calling for the overthrow of the Bolsheviks during "war communism."

### What is Nationalism?

The claim that the C.C.P. August 8th plenum on the Cultural Revolution, in not mentioning the Vietnam war, issued a narrow nationalistic and non-Marxist statement, is incredible.

The Chinese from the outset have described in Marxist terms the nature of American Imperialism's role in Vietnam. They have noted every escalation and provocation, and have done marvelous work in educating their people to the nature and danger of the war, the reasons for the possibility of invasion, and the Chinese Peoples' sacred internationalist task of assisting Vietnam.

What is nationalism and what are its origins? Nationalism originates in class society as a mode of thought binding

an oppressed majority class to the interests of its rulers and their state right. It subordinates (in fact substitutes) the class interest of the oppressed to the national (ruling class) interest. Nationalism is in no way applicable to China. If the Chinese had not been holding mass demonstrations (in the millions) in support of North Vietnam and the N.L.F. now, and over the years ... if the Chinese had not been giving military and non-military aid ... one might feel it worthwhile to discuss nationalism. However the charge is groundless and another of the Hansen-Warde slanders.

This charge, based on an international omission in a domestic problem, is equivalent to charging a Castro speech on the question of sugar production with narrow nationalism if he were to exclude in his report mention of the Afro-American liberation movement.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is not to be tampered with by petty journalists. This revolution has as its goal the making of Socialist Man free of self-interest. It is expropriating the last vestiges of old culture. Workers are setting up their own councils, in some cases over the party apparatus. Leninist norms for self management are being extended on an unbelievable scale. Mao Tse-tung and his left wing have stood the masses on their feet. By claiming ignorance of reality, Warde-Hansen evade the truth and stand Marxism on its head. Not only do they call this expropriation of the Thermidorian tendency nationalism, but "narrow" nationalism.

"Have these Gentlemen ever Seen a Revolution" F. Engels.

#### Leninism or Bourgeois Democratic Parliamentarianism

Warde and Hansen go on to tell us that in addition we have not heard the minorities side in China, and, they continue, "they may not be wrong." This is a vicious lie predicated upon bourgeois democratic norms. By what right do you hang the fate of the Chinese people, alas, the world proletariat, from the Parliamentary nose count, Comrades Hansen and Warde? How do millions of youth become organized against an enemy they have never heard? Or in China do administrators and people in authority not have the right to address the masses? Now it is the people who are being heard! By debates in the street and posters on every wall. This is Leninism! This is democracy!

Let Hansen and Warde cry alligator tears. How nice and safe it is here in this bastion of high imperialism, with all its comforts and institutionalized excesses. Hansen and Warde must really feel sympathy with their brothers in China who belong "to that great fraternity The Mystic Knights of the Middle Class" (J. Boulton).

The only guarantees on the road toward cementing the dictatorship of the proletariat are of rough terrain. Sharp class battles are bound to break out at every critical conjecture. We are witnessing one such battle in China, and

Hansen and Warde side with the enemies of the proletariat.

Cultism, Paternalism, and a Psychoanalytic Category

Maoism, the Militant writers claim, is a sickening cult of the individual and a desecration of Scientific Socialism. Trotskyists have traditionally understood this term (in its organizational context) as a substitution by ideological and programmatic allegiance by personal allegiance to an individual and family politics. (Stalin ... internationally; Abernism in S.W.P. history.)

The Chinese family in the Confucian conception elevates the father (paternal image) on grounds of superior wisdom derived from longer experience in life. (The male-chauvinist content granted on historical necessity.) The eldest father holds leadership on family affairs on this basis.

Psychologically it has a far healthier content than the male role in the family deriving from Protestantism and the Puritanical sexual morality, the latter being described by extensive father (castration) fear and unsolved Oedipal attachments. It is not surprising that we find in Hitler's Nazi big brother image (a logical extension of Protestantism) a strong homosexual contingency. But how hard it is to condemn a people for their affection to the one man above all others most responsible for liberating their country and ushering in a new epoch in history. We will grant a potential danger ... however we find in China (contrary to Nazi Germany), a healthy elevation of the wisest father, who in fact acts in an anti-paternalistic manner by demanding the people master the Marxist-Leninist method. The party has taken a giant step toward combating the problem of cultism by elevating not Mao, the man, the image -- but Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. Even in its simplicity the Maoist literature makes the logic of contradiction understandable to the mass of people. It would be interesting to note how Hansen and Warde would react were the names Mao Tse-tung and Leon Trotsky reversed in historical roles now. In fact Hansen and Warde are the real culprits on the question of cultism. They envision for L. Trotsky, the old warrior jew, phony De Leonist sainthood on the parlor politics model. Their attack on Maoism neatly covers their own crime.

What these "militant" writers really fear are the class-conscious and educated masses of China today capable of giving the petty bourgeois intellectuals a run for their money. Ping pong players and peasants discuss how the philosophy of Marxism in Mao's thought can contribute to their everyday lives. What a great, a beautiful moment for mankind this is. Why do you cower in a corner with utter pessimism, Hansen and Warde? You evidently believe capitalism will be around a long time, or you would not permit cadres to indulge in middle class professional careers. Trotsky put forward the motion [sic] that every non-proletarian in the party be placed on candidacy

until he proved himself capable of recruiting proletarians. Your pessimism at least has cost us the proletarian orientation. If Trotsky thought the class composition of the New York branch was bad in 1939, we're glad that he's spared the sight of the national party today. Workers have better things to do than attend petty-bourgeois literary salons and most don't have any middle class friends in the antiwar movement.

### Indonesia

The charge that Peking is guilty of promoting the class collaborationist popular front ideology of the Indonesian Communist Party (P.K.I.) is a foul and underhanded misrepresentation worthy only of a 7th rate sophist. Who trained and nurtured the P.K.I? What school did they evolve from? Peking? No, comrades, the Comintern. The popular frontism of the P.K.I. was "fait accompli" long before the Chinese intervened.

If one reads Peking Review one would have seen that what the C.C.P. was actually trying to do was to salvage that organization from popular frontism in a friendly and fraternal manner. For example: Peking Review would publish a speech by Aidit and alongside would be a document from the Chinese experience running counter to the P.K.I. activity. Otherwise how do you explain all the articles on guerrilla warfare, and Mao's writing on the Anti-Japanese war, etc, etc. It seems incredible that we should have to explain such obvious and simple phenomena. It further demonstrates the ideological and methodological poverty and confusion taught by Hansen and Warde.

### How Hansen and Warde Have Junked Trotskyism on the Russian Question

"We must not lose sight for a single moment of the fact that the question of overthrowing the Soviet Bureaucracy is for us subordinate to the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the U.S.S.R.; that the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the U.S.S.R. is subordinate to the question of the world proletarian revolution." L. Trotsky, "The U.S.S.R. In War."

Comrade Trotsky, propounding the above formula, noted further that an alliance with Stalin was possible but with Bukharin never, and that the formation of another workers' state anywhere in the world would signal the downfall of the Moscow regime.

Comrades in the S.W.P., Swabeck and Boulton, have noted that what is now on the Russia Question, since the Burnham-Shachtman split on the eve of W.W.II, has been the victory of the Bukharinist wing in the Kremlin over the Stalinists (20th congress). This has been an extremely important development in world politics, wholly uncomprehended by the professional

theorists of the New York literary salon. The magnitude of the event comes clearer into focus as we see that a rejection of the Bukharinist victory permits an inversion of the Trotskyist formula to read: An alliance with Stalin never, but Bukharin yes! Amazing!

They argue in assault of the proletarian internationalism practiced by the Chinese that: "All those designated as Khrushchevites may not be wrong," and that "...Peking's sectarian and suicidal refusal to consider any joint action with the Soviet Union...in defense of Vietnam against U.S. aggression...jeopardizes the security of China itself." Since when has a refusal to collaborate with Moscow's (Bukharinist) counterrevolutionary intrigues and designs described sectarianism? Would helping Moscow sell out the Vietnamese revolution constitute an act of proletarian solidarity? Or are Moscow's demands of negotiations on Ho Chi Minh, and Moscow's attempt to make North Vietnam a rationed satellite, revolutionary tasks? China has consistently demanded immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops!! Is this a sectarian slogan, comrades Hansen and Warde?

Would in fact it not be suicidal for Peking to lend any assistance to Kremlin counter-revolutionary plots? Kosygin knows which side of the cultural revolution he is on -- so does Dean Rusk. It is relieving to note that Hansen and Warde have climbed on the same bandwagon -- it's safer. To admit they are in error would require of the S.W.P. leadership admission of ten years of centrist backsliding. Mao Tse-tung calls for the urgent task of overthrowing the Kremlin bureaucracy. In calling for the overthrow of Mao Tse-tung, Warde and Hansen have overthrown Trotsky. Not out of malice, but because they no longer know the difference between revolution and counter-revolution.

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DOWN WITH THE HANSEN-WARDE MYTHOLOGY.

ADOPT THE SLOGAN: ONE WORKER IS WORTH A DOZEN  
PETTY-BOURGEOIS STUDENTS.

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM -- MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT.

Respectfully submitted for  
the Milwaukee Local

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