

HAMMER & STEEL NEWSLETTER

OCTOBER, 1964

The immediate problems that led to Khrushchev's ouster are:

1. The partial return to private ownership and profiteering in the Soviet Union's countryside. This violation of Marxist-Leninist principles resulted in severe food shortages.
2. His German policy--Khrushchev sought to ingratiate himself with West Germany. He was obviously ready to sell out the German Democratic Republic. This proposed accommodation to German and U.S. imperialism met resistance from military and patriotic sources in the Soviet Union who had supported Khrushchev in the past.
3. The declining influence of the CPSU among the Socialist countries and the Communist Parties. The proposed Moscow gathering was shaping up as a conference of only those Party leaders ready to openly serve U.S. imperialist aggression against the national liberation struggles. For example, Asian supporters of Khrushchev could have gathered in a telephone booth.
4. Growing contempt and disgust for Khrushchev's support to U.S. imperialism in Malaya, the Congo and Viet Nam. Important forces such as Premier Sukarno of Indonesia expressed their displeasure at the recent Cairo conference.
5. The absolute failure of Khrushchev's attempts to starve, blockade and isolate Socialist Albania and China.
6. Resistance within the Soviet Union to the restoration of capitalism. Khrushchev's attempts to follow Tito ran up against the logic of three decades of Socialist construction under Lenin and Stalin's collective leadership.

7. Growing awareness in military and other sectors of the population in the USSR that Khrushchev's distortion of peaceful co-existence was disarming the Soviet Union to the danger of U.S. aggression.
8. (The nuclear success of People's China. Khrushchev had maintained that nuclear power was the exclusive responsibility of revisionists and imperialists--of white nations. Khrushchev's great power chauvinism was blown sky high in Sinkiang Province.

Khrushchev's policies had resulted in failure after failure. Under his leadership the strength and influence of the CPSU and the Soviet Union was declining rapidly.

It is eight years since Khrushchev openly broke with Stalin's policies. Since Stalin was Lenin's close associate (who carried out all of Lenin's chief policies) Khrushchev soon developed into a bitter enemy of Marxism-Leninism. Four years after the slander of Stalin he was vilifying Comrade Enver Hoxha, leader of the Albanian Party of Labor. Then Khrushchev, an intellectual nonentity, challenged the giant of Marxist-Leninist theoretical development, Mao Tse-tung.

It is important to determine which mistake in the mountain of Khrushchev's errors was the main one. All of Khrushchev's speeches, including his initial Trotskyite slander of Stalin, reflected his wrong estimate of post war forces. Khrushchev was overawed by the H-bomb and believed that it was the determining factor in human development. He posed the major contradiction, without consideration of class relationships, as one between life and death. Marxist-Leninists on the contrary have always seen the people and their struggles as decisive and the development of this or that weapon as of secondary importance since every people can develop and utilize weapons if the need arises. Khrushchev's wrong evaluation of post war forces led him into conflict with Stalin's teaching and Mao Tse-tung. Marxist-Leninists evaluate the balance of forces

as favoring the anti-imperialist camp, the Socialist nations, the national liberation movement and the workers and their allies in the capitalist nations, led by Marxist-Leninist vanguard Parties. Khrushchev's error in regard to the H-bomb led him into capitulation and adventurist errors in Cuba, the Congo, Germany and S.E. Asia. It led him to negation of national liberation struggles, of class struggle. He became a "revolutionary" who wanted to maintain the status quo, in short, he became a tool of imperialism and the chief splitter of Marxist-Leninist forces.

Khrushchev's failure to recognize the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and imperialism as the focal contradiction of our time resulted in blindness concerning the leading role of the Chinese Party. It is not accidental that the Negro people, the Vietnamese, the Congolese, the Panamanians, all oppressed peoples and Marxist-Leninists throughout the world, study the experience and conclusions of the Chinese Party and people.

Khrushchev's removal is "a blow to the West" says Otto Zausmer in the Boston Globe of October 18. Which class in the West? Khrushchev never uttered a word in support of the U.S. workers. He bowed and scraped before the leaders of U.S. capitalism. His son-in-law, Adzhubei, urged the U.S. people to "be proud of your young President." He meant President Kennedy who wrote the Kennedy-Griffith-Landrum anti-labor law. Since Khrushchev's concept of peaceful co-existence was capitulation to the worst, most aggressive sections of U.S. imperialism and their government, his removal is an important positive step for the U.S. workers struggle against imperialist war and for better conditions generally.

In November, 1962, the editorial board of Hammer & Steel wired the CPSU wishing them every success in their struggle against the Khrushchev revisionist clique. We now congratulate the Central Committee, CPSU on Khrushchev's removal.

U. S. Marxist-Leninists have great respect for the CPSU and their great revolutionary heritage. All true friends of the Soviet Union hope they will eliminate every trace of revisionism and once again take the glorious path of proletarian revolution and international solidarity.

In the most comradely way, U.S. Marxist-Leninists who have fought Khrushchev's splitting, as have all Marxist-Leninists in every land, offer our hopes and suggestions based on the needs of our working class and the world Marxist-Leninist movement.

- (1) We most sincerely urge that the proposed Moscow conference be called off. In its place should be a self-critical approach and talks with the Albanian and Chinese Parties. We regard good relations between the Albanian Party of Labor, the CPC and the CPSU as extremely important to Marxist-Leninist unity and to the task of curbing U. S. imperialist aggression in S.E. Asia and the rest of the world.
- (2) We regard the question of Stalin as a principled question. Khrushchev's attack on Stalin has resulted in revisionist attitudes toward rightwing Social Democrats in the trade unions and in electoral work, the negation of the role of vanguard Parties in every capitalist country. The 1957 Declaration and the 81 Party statement contained many excellent formulations and objectives. Yet the CPSU leaders and other Parties under their influence signed them one day and disregarded them the next day. This was due in large part to the failure of these gatherings to reestablish the truth that Stalin was an outstanding Marxist-Leninist leader.
- (3) N. Khrushchev broke relations with Socialist Albania and put in a telephone to the government of U.S. imperialism. He aided U.S. aggression in Viet Nam by his failure to give support to the Vietnamese people and by trying to place the question in the UN where the U.S. government could hide its aggression.

We sincerely urge the new leaders of the CPSU to join with Comrade Mao Tse-tung in statements of support to the Vietnamese people, to the Negro people in the U.S., to the people of the Congo, to the Japanese people threatened by U.S. nuclear bases, to the Panamanian people in their just struggles. Once the CPSU returns to the path of Marxism-Leninism it will greatly strengthen the forces opposed to the rape, napalm bombings and televised assassinations of patriots in Viet Nam by the Johnson administration.

Khrushchev heaped praise on the leadership of the CPUSA. Following his "discovery" of sensible imperialists, these "leaders" have joined Henry Ford, the Hearst Press, the N.Y. Times, Walter Reuther and the white supremacist Mayor Wagner in support of President Johnson and his policies of aggression.

L.B. Johnson, a tool of the billionaire owners of the means of production, as is Goldwater, had one big asset--Khrushchev. Johnson has constantly campaigned on the idea that he can do as he likes in Viet Nam and Africa because Khrushchev is anti-Chinese, because Khrushchev capitulated and signed the so-called test ban treaty which allowed the U.S. government to continue testing. The removal of Khrushchev will strengthen the growing trend among the workers, the Negro people and not a few professionals and intellectuals to vote anti-imperialist by either leaving blank the presidential spot or by writing in the name of a victim of Johnson's policies.

The CPUSA, by electorally supporting Johnson's two faced oppression of the Negro people, his aggression in Viet Nam, his vote for Taft-Hartley, have exposed themselves as politically bankrupt. Without their sponsor, Khrushchev, they are not even much value as "Marxist" fig leaves covering Johnson's crimes.

The CPUSA leaders have lauded Khrushchev to the skies. They have joined his efforts in spreading nuclear blackmail. Since we have been told by Gus Hall, Jackson, Thompson, Stachel and Aptheker to follow Khrushchev's example, it is little enough to ask that they now do the same and "retire."

But these Browderites have a long, slippery history of temporary retreats, breast beating and hypocritical repudiations of revisionism. They then sneak back into leadership and soon return to their life's work, betraying Marxism-Leninism, the U.S. working class and the Negro liberation movement.

Hall and Company, egged on by Khrushchev, have hurled the vilest slander against the Chinese and Albanien Parties, calling them sectarian warmongers. The CPUSA leaders have not hesitated to inform on, blackmail and slander anyone in the U.S. who refused to bow to Khrushchev's baton, who refused to repeat imperialist propaganda against China. Gus Hall now learns to his dismay that events move quickly, that imperialism is the dying stage of capitalism, that truth comes to the fore more quickly than in the past. The "retirement" of Hall and the elimination of the Browder-Tito-Khrushchev influence is a primary and important task for U.S. Marxist-Leninists in their efforts to build a vanguard Party united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The editorial board of Hammer & Steel hails the nuclear success of the People's Republic of China. Despite all difficulties and obstacles, whether from nature, revisionists or imperialists, the Chinese Party and people have won this scientific victory in a remarkably short space of time. What tremendous accomplishments are possible when imperialism is ousted, when Marxism-Leninism is upheld, when Socialism is built!

The nuclear success in China is another staggering blow to the handful of U.S. imperialists who exploit the U.S. working class, oppress the Negro people and commit aggression against peaceful peoples. There are great new possibilities for ending U.S. aggression in Latin America, Africa and Asia and thus eliminating the main present danger of world war. A giant step toward destruction of all nuclear weapons, the proposal of the Chinese, has now been taken.

One cannot correctly evaluate recent events without paying tribute to the Albanian Party of Labor. Organized secretly, under the guns of fascist occupation forces in 1941, at a meeting of 15 people representing only 200 Marxist-Leninists in the entire country, the Albanian Party of Labor led their people to victory over the Italian and German invaders and internal traitors and became the Party in power in 1945.

Albania was the most backward country in Europe except in two respects--courage and their Marxist-Leninist leadership. Despite the fact that they depended heavily on Soviet trade and assistance, they opposed Khrushchev's slander of Stalin from the day it was uttered. They refused Khrushchev's bribes and pressures to line up against China. Comrade Hoxha told Khrushchev, "Marxism-Leninism is not for sale in Albania." Khrushchev, Tito and hostile capitalist neighbors set up their blockade. The CPSU broke off state relations, cut off all trade and unleashed a public campaign of lies against the Albanian people, the Albanian Party of Labor and their leadership, especially Comrades Hoxha and Shehu. Comrade Hoxha and the Albanian Party went to the people, told them of the great dangers, the terrible hardships in store. The Albanian people united as one; they not only defended their Socialist accomplishments, but pressed forward to new gains. The people's Republic of China, themselves suffering from Khrushchev's wrecking, gave comradely help.

People in other lands, few in number at first, were inspired by the magnificent deeds of this small nation with great courage and great leadership and began to speak up for the defense of Albania. In Europe and the West, Albania kept the light of Marxism-Leninism burning and its rays helped waken many to what must be done.

Today in Italy, France, Belgium, Great Britain, Spain, Holland, in all Europe, new forces are breaking with revisionism and are developing Marxism-Leninism. In the U.S. we must learn from Albania that Marxist-Leninist principle is more important than great numbers, that Marxist-Leninist truth taken to the people, made understandable in connection with their problems, is a mighty force.

Khrushchev had the prestige connected with leadership in the Party of the first Socialist revolution. He preyed on the peoples fear of war, he received billions of dollars of publicity from the capitalists, he was given great praise by the right wing Social Democrats who flocked to Moscow, he was hailed by the bourgeois pacifists. Despite all this, he lasted only eight years. His attacks on Marxism-Leninism have only served to strengthen it ideologically and organizationally. For Marxism-Leninism is the science of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of Socialism. It is invincible!

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In this issue of Hammer & Steel we print sections of a political report recently delivered in New England. The report was unanimously adopted by those present.

Comrades:

The presidential election returned L.B. Johnson to office with a high percentage of the votes cast. Johnson's vote was partially a result of popular dislike for Goldwater--a perfect set-up man for the President. Johnson got votes by posing as a friend to the Afro-Americans. He appealed to the higher paid workers and middle class on the "you never had it so good" line. He also promised great days ahead for the 30 million people living in abject poverty--families with less than 3,000 dollars income a year.

Johnson's main vote getting was based on his demagogic exploitation of the people's fear of nuclear war. Goldwater helped him greatly on this question. Johnson claimed that Khrushchev, and then the new leadership of the CPSU were under his domination. After bombing North Viet Nam he said in effect--we are strong--we can do as we like--the Soviet Union is not coming to the defense of Socialist North Viet Nam.

The CPUSA leaders and the Worker are going into ecstasy over the election. They claim that Johnson has a mandate to solve all problems--discrimination, poverty, unemployment and war.

We take issue with the rosy outlook of the revisionists. Some of the reasons follow:

The percentage of eligible voters casting their ballots dropped from 1960. Hundreds of thousands of those that did vote did not vote for either presidential candidate. With 40 million not voting of those registered, with millions of others either kept from voting as in Mississippi or not bothering to register, the voting in the presidential election was done by a minority of adults. Millions of U.S. people understand that the election was a hoax--a "choice" between two stooges of Wall Street. Thus millions are far ahead of the phoney Marxists, Hall and Khrushchev in this respect.

The economy of our country is a capitalist economy. Production is social, it is the result of the efforts of large numbers of people working together. The beneficiaries of production in the U.S. are mainly fifty families--the DuPonts, Kennedys, Hunts, Rockefellers, Fords, etc. Production in our country is based on exploitation of the many for the benefit of a handful. Johnson is a political servant of the fifty families.

U. S. capitalism is in its imperialist stage. It exports finance capital in huge amounts to Latin America, Asia and Africa. This capital is used to rob the colonial nations of their raw materials, to sell finished goods back at high prices and thus restrict native development of agriculture and industry. U.S. finance capital imposes reactionary regimes on the colonial peoples who suffer from unemployment and starvation. This process is called U.S. aid! U.S. finance capital also invades weaker capitalist nations and seeks profits at the expense of their economy. L.B. Johnson is an aggressive representative of U.S. finance capital, a bitter enemy of the colonial peoples.

Because a handful of billionaires own and operate the economy and government of our country the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. Johnson admits that 30 million are poverty stricken.

Another 100 million men, women and children are dependent on incomes from semi-skilled and unskilled wage earners. A family of four can no longer live decently on \$100 a week (take home pay). These million are caught between the wage freeze dictated by Johnson and his stooges in labor leadership and the rising cost of living. They are running up high personal debts. They are forced to work overtime when they can get it. The 40-hour week, won in fierce class struggles, is no longer an actuality for millions of U.S. workers. In many areas workers are hit by the crisis in transportation, particularly railroad passenger service. Educational facilities for children, medical service for the family and housing are deteriorating rapidly.

Rising unemployment, slum housing and brutal oppression are the facts of life for the vast majority of the Afro-American people. Twenty-five percent of Afro-American youth are unemployed. Most black women are doing menial work or toil at other types of the poorest paid jobs such as agricultural labor. Despite all of Johnson's mealy-mouthed words about equality: the brutality, murder and oppression of Afro-Americans has never been so fierce since the Civil War. Urban automation and rural mechanization have lessened the role of Afro-Americans as a source of super profits. They are a revolutionary force against U.S. imperialism.

Conditions of the working class youth, both Afro-American and white, are worse than in the depression years. Automation hits them hard. They are subject to the first draft in so-called peace time. The suicide rate in the 15 to 19 age group has increased nearly 50% in this decade as compared with the past decade. In the 20-24 age group there is a 25% increase. (Parade Magazine, 11/15/64)

The competition for markets and the interference of U.S. finance capital into the internal affairs of other capitalist nations has produced sharp clashes with so-called allies. Not only France, but Britain and Japan are resisting U.S. imperialism. Attempts to use West Germany as a nuclear pawn for U.S. domination of Europe are increasing the tension.

The people in almost every country in Latin America are suffering under the heel of Yankee imperialism. Castro's 1962 involvement with Khrushchev in the latter's policies of adventurism and capitulation has only temporarily slowed down the revolutionary movement. Millions are moving along the Cuban, the Algerian, the Chinese and the October Revolutionary road.

In Africa what U.S. imperialism considered a great victory--the murder of Lumumba and the return of Tshombe--is turning into its opposite. Nation after nation in Africa are raising the flags of independence and the peoples are determined to make independence a reality by struggling against both old and neo-colonialism.

In Asia the U.S. government tries to inflict its military domination on every country surrounding China, to exploit the natural resources of those countries for Wall Street and to re-establish imperialist rule over 700 million people in China. This policy is meeting resistance in Japan and Okinawa. It is suffering outright defeats in Indonesia, Cambodia and Viet-Nam. The successful nuclear test by China has greatly strengthened the resistance to Johnson's rule or ruin policy in Asia and the rest of the world.

A most severe setback for U.S. imperialism was the removal of Khrushchev. Khrushchev symbolized fear of imperialism, awe of the H-bomb, capitulation to military aggression and the return to capitalism in the Socialist camp. His major error was under-estimation of national liberation forces and over-estimation of imperialism's strength. Khrushchev's ouster was a victory for Marxism-Leninism over theories of peaceful transition to Socialism--over distortions of peaceful coexistence to mean capitulation to the main enemy of all peoples--U.S. imperialism. Khrushchev's ouster symbolized the bankruptcy of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU.

Khrushchev's removal demonstrates the failure of imperialist propaganda to divide and immobilize the Socialist camp and especially the unity of China and the Soviet Union.

Does this mean that the present leaders of the CPSU are prepared to examine what class forces within the Soviet Union, forces alien to the working class and its allies, produced Khrushchev? Does this mean that present CPSU leaders are self-critically examining what class forces in what country Khrushchev served when he slandered Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the CPC and launched his attacks on Comrade Hoxha and the Albanian Party of Labor?

No, it simply means that the revolutionary forces in the world, including the Marxist-Leninist and other patriotic forces in the Soviet Union, will rid themselves of anyone who fails to take a self-critical approach and cleanse their Party of revisionism. And it won't take eight years.

We take sharp exception to Breshnev's remarks greeting Johnson's re-election as a victory for peace. When did the President of the most powerful imperialist nation become a dove of peace? What right does Breshnev have to side with Johnson against the U.S. working class and Negro liberation movement? Is the Breshnev concept of international solidarity greeting one who commits aggression against Socialist Viet-Nam? Can a "Marxist" be trusted to defend his own country if he won't aid North Viet-Nam?

Evidently there are forces in the CPSU leadership toying with the idea that they can gain time for revisionism and imperialism and that they can out-Khrushchev Nikita.

This won't work for while U.S. imperialism is temporarily aggressive and dangerous its inherent characteristics of exploitation at home and oppression abroad bring it into conflict with the vast majority of peoples both here and abroad. Its doom is certain.

When Gus Hall, a follower of Khrushchev, evaluates Johnson's victory as a step toward ending poverty and fascism he denies the revolutionary role of the U.S. workers. He ties the CPUSA to the futile attempts of U.S. imperialism to dominate the world by aggression and war.

Hall and the U.S. labor opportunists place great stress on the relative prosperity of the top strata of U.S. workers and the middle class. When they say, "Back Johnson" they mean the aristocrats of labor and the middle class should aid the imperialists not only in Viet Nam, but also in their exploitation of the unemployed, the semi-skilled, unskilled and the Afro-Americans at home. When Hall says, "Unite around Johnson" he is urging the higher paid workers to pick up the crumbs that the imperialists allow for assistance in maintaining the status quo of oppression for Puerto-Ricans, Mexican and other oppressed minorities in our country. The hatred of U.S. revisionists for Stalin is no accident. Stalin's teachings were permeated with the Leninist concept of unity of the working class in capitalist nations with the national liberation movements and the Socialist camp against imperialism.

In the Socialist camp the Chinese and Albanian Marxist-Leninists have upheld Leninism against Khrushchev and the revisionists. They are supported by the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Korean, Japanese, Indonesian, Australian, New Zealand and Viet-Nameese Communist Parties. A large section of India's Communists uphold Marxism-Leninism.

Developing Marxist-Leninist groups and organizations exist in all countries of Europe and many nations in Africa and Latin America.

The people need an organization which will tell the U.S. working class that alliance with Johnson and U.S. imperialism is partnership with paper tigers headed for an inferno. Our class needs a Party which will stand for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.--a Party which leads the struggles of the workers and tells the truth about their real allies--the Socialist camp and national liberation movement. Our working class needs a Party which will lead the Afro-American liberation movement to state power in the South and to autonomous rights--their own leaders bargaining for jobs and education--in the cities of the North and West. These are steps which will unite black and white workers. Our class needs a Party which will uphold Marxism-Leninism, which will expose and defeat the futile betrayals of revisionists and the labor lieutenants of capitalism.

In New England the C.P. has abandoned even the pretense of leading class struggle. The leadership is only seen passing out Democratic Party propaganda or appealing for funds to protect themselves against the very Democrats they endorse.

One New England C.P. "leader" lives on and helps operate a large estate together with one of the worst sweat shop operators in Boston. A woman "leader" is in charge of collecting funds from the middle class promising that the Party will not conduct militant struggle against the government or bother anyones middle class respectability. When she meets resistance she is not above subtle blackmail. The handful of members remaining in the Party never receive a true account of these funds. The N.E.C.P. "leaders" keep known stoolpigeons in their ranks and cooperate with them in expelling Marxist-Leninists. This is also national C.P. policy. It has been established that Clarence Hathaway was expelled as an FBI agent in 1938, although the membership was not so informed. Whether in spite of this or because of it, he was reinstated in leadership in 1959. Hall and Jackson used him to help oust Ben Davis and others from the N. Y. leadership in 1960.

Davidow's articles in the Worker attacking the National Guardian are an example of the splitting activities of U.S. revisionists. The Guardian has mildly opposed some of the most vulgar support given to Johnson by CPUSA leaders. Anyone familiar with the CPUSA leaders tactics recognize Davidow's articles as the national leadership's orders to the districts to destroy the National Guardian--to close it down.

We believe that Socialism in the U.S. can only be achieved by struggle against the policies of our own U.S. imperialism at home and abroad. We do not believe this can be achieved without sacrifice, without hard theoretical and organizational work.

With confidence in the people of the U.S. we organize a Marxist-Leninist Party to defeat and smash capitalist dictatorship and establish a dictatorship of the working class, a Socialist U.S.A.

Our Marxist-Leninist Party will be built on the basis of three main efforts:

- (1) A policy of class struggle in the labor movement.
- (2) Victory for the Afro-American liberation movement.
- (3) The withdrawal of all U.S. armed forces from the Congo, Viet-Nam and Cuba.

We hereby establish the NEW ENGLAND PARTY OF LABOR.

Many of our subscribers will agree that the report printed in this issue is an important development. Extra copies can be obtained by writing to us.

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