

The following is a report adopted by a group of youth who support the program of Hammer & Steel:

The U.S. is waging a war of aggression in Vietnam. Since 1900, and especially since World War II, the U.S. government has waged many such wars against the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Such a consistent record over almost a century cannot be explained as the blundering of a president or of a secretary of state, etc. U.S. capitalism needs markets, raw materials and areas for investment in the "underdeveloped" countryside of the world. The rate of profit on capital invested in these areas is three times higher than on domestic investment.

"One of the world's richest areas is open to the winner in Indochina. That 's behind the growing U.S. concern...tin, rubber, rice, key strategic raw materials are what the war is really about. The U.S. sees it as a place to hold--at any cost." US News & World Report, April 4, 1954. DuPont, Rockefeller, Ford and other top imperialists also make huge profits on war contracts and in the general economic boom induced by government military spending--over 50% of the federal budget.

Self-determination for the Vietnamese, Taiwanese, Thais and other semi-colonial peoples dominated by the U.S. would mean the end of U.S. control over these raw materials. Defeats for U.S. imperialism in Vietnam strengthen the Afro-American and Puerto Rican liberation movements at home. They have led to sharper attacks on the dollar by rival imperialist powers.

Because the stakes are so high, U.S. imperialism will continue to pour troops and materiel into Vietnam until it is forced out by massive military defeats. It will continue to maintain its bases on every continent as a provocation and threat against other peoples it oppresses. It will continue preparations for genocide against the Afro-American people at home.

All this requires more troops. Losses in the Tet offensive and fear of the growing struggle of the Afro-American people have greatly increased the pressures on low troop reserves. Some say this means U.S. imperialism is at the end of its rope and will accept defeats without struggle. These forces (Progressive Labor) serve reaction by blinding the people on the inherent profit drive of U.S. imperialism which will force it to find more troops.

In World War II, with a population of approximately 140 million, the U.S. had over twelve million men and women in uniform. Taking this as a rough measure of mobilization potential, the present armed forces of under four million could be increased four times. Although a tremendous source of profits, military spending is putting a strain on the economy. Still there remain emergency measures, such as stopping new car production, which could increase economic resources for war production. The Vietnam war has not yet strained the manpower and economic potential of U.S. imperialism as much as the aggression in Korea in the 1950's. It is dangerous nonsense to say that U.S. imperialism is at the end of its rope in Vietnam.

The government has already sent out orders to step up its white supremacist policy of using oppressed Afro-Americans in its army and National Guard. It has already armed large numbers of Afro-Americans in Vietnam. Forty per cent of the front line troops are Black. U.S. imperialism is turning to previously untapped sources of troops among college youth.

The demands of U.S. imperialism for more troops mean, in the immediate, that it is a more dangerous enemy for the oppressed peoples. The long-range effect will be the heightening of the contradictions facing U.S. imperialism making it more open to defeats at the hands of the oppressed peoples and their allies--victories for national democratic revolutions. Such victories are a necessary stage in achieving our strategic goal--a socialist world. As revolutionary youth our present task is all-out support to national democratic revolutions against imperialism headed by the government of "our" imperialists.

This means that our line on the troop shortage and the draft is aimed at uniting all forces capable of striking a blow today at the main enemy--U.S. imperialism--and for building a Marxist-Leninist Party which is needed to lead this struggle to final victory.

The need for more forces sharpens tactical differences between imperialist groups within the U.S. One group favors increased reliance on the Navy and Air Force, on nuclear blackmail, and on political intrigue with the aid of Russia in Southeast Asia. They fear that the land war in Asia will seriously weaken U.S. ability to maintain national oppression in other areas which they regard as more important, such as Latin America and the Black Belt. They differ with the dominant imperialist group whose main spokesmen are L.B. Johnson and Humphrey over committing more troops to Southeast Asia. The squabbling sharpened after the Tet offensive and attacks on the dollar weakened U.S. imperialism leading to sharper challenges to the leadership of the dominant group.

At this critical moment, the Russian partner of U.S. imperialism came to its aid. By forcing the North Vietnamese

to the conference table, the Russian revisionists were able to turn potential victory for Vietnam into a breathing spell for the U.S. The negotiations have for a time made academic the questions of where to use troops and how best to raise them. They have enabled the government to temporarily lower draft calls, a move which has fooled not a few people about its "peaceful intentions." The negotiations have strengthened the ability of Russian revisionism to channel protest against the war into the line of "peaceful co-existence." This line does not challenge the U.S. imperialist policy of grabbing territory and resources and super-profits under the guise of "defending democracy." It softens up future victims of U.S. imperialism, prepares the U.S. people for future wars, prepares them to "protect the people of South Cambodia from invasion by the people of North Cambodia."

The propaganda of "democracy" finds widest acceptance among the white middle class and higher paid section of the working class, still receiving bribes from imperialist aggression, enjoying a multitude of goods, and making few sacrifices. In trying to preserve its privileged position, this stratum, base for the anti-draft movement, clashes with U.S. imperialism's need for more troops. This antagonism forces U.S. imperialism to coerce these people into its army, weakening the appeal of its "democratic" propaganda and potentially weakening U.S. imperialism and strengthening the Vietnamese people.

The potential of this contradiction goes largely unrealized since the Russian revisionists have pressed the anti-draft movement into the service of the U.S.-S.U. alliance. These betrayers of socialism support, in the name of socialism, the pretensions of the anti-draft movement that it can stop U.S. imperialism from raising troops. Real supporters of Socialism must point out that no capitalist government has ever been prevented from mobilizing forces to defend its class rule by pacifists.

Is it possible that the pacifist anti-draft movement can stop the most brutal capitalist government in history from raising troops?

Real supporters of socialism must also point out that never has there been a successful revolutionary struggle which did not win a section of the armed forces of the reactionary government. Can the Afro-American people win national liberation with all its supporters in imperialist jails and none in the U.S. Army as the anti-draft movement advocates?

The revolutionary answer was formulated long ago by Lenin and expressed in a 1928 resolution of the Communist International:

"...when the question of joining the bourgeois army or refusal of military service (boycott) is raised, the Communists must advise the workers and poor peasants to reject the refusal of military service slogan, to avail themselves of opportunity to learn the use of arms, to carry on revolutionary work in the army, and, at the proper moment, to turn their weapons against the bourgeoisie."
The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists, Workers Library Publishers, New York, N. Y. 1932. P. 23.

The dominant section of U.S. imperialism is represented in the government by Johnson-Humphrey. The intensifying focal contradiction between U.S. imperialism and the oppressed peoples has produced the sharpening of the contradictions between rival U.S. imperialist groups. The dominant group of U.S. imperialism, now sponsoring Humphrey, has not tolerated even the tactical criticisms of the Kennedys. Pressures and threats are made against the remaining Kennedy brother so that he will

yield to Humphrey. Cannibalizing by the billionaire masters of Johnson-Humphrey-J. Edgar Hoover against rival imperialists cannot resolve their problems. The basic question of national liberation still remains. With such a foe as Humphrey and his backers, how can any Marxist-Leninist succumb to the illusions of the pacifist revisionists? How much more effective would be the struggle of those white anti-draft forces who genuinely want to support national democratic revolutions if they had entered the army when called, preparing in the army for the proper moment to oppose imperialist violence with revolutionary violence in support of the Afro-Americans and Vietnamese!

Since it takes ideological leadership from the Russian revisionists, betrayers of Lenin's teaching, the anti-draft movement has become in practical impact little more than a pawn of the U.S.-S.U. alliance. If this is not true how explain the reversal of U.S. imperialism's attitude toward the pacifist anti-draft movement in the last year? When the U.S. was taking a beating in Vietnam and badly needed a rest, it built up the anti-draft movement to emphasize its "peaceful" intentions. With Russian connivance its leaders were allowed to fly to Vietnam, to hold giant demonstrations here. Now, after the Russians have forced peace talks, U.S. diplomacy adopts a tougher position, and the anti-draft leaders, temporarily of less value, find the imperialist carrot replaced by the stick. The same administration which secured Dr. Spock's parade permit is putting him on trial for conspiracy.

Whether rewarded with the carrot or the stick, anti-draft struggle means support to the U.S.-Russian alliance, means strengthening U.S. imperialism. Far from changing the basic aggressive nature of imperialism such strengthening whets its appetite for further aggression. And, since this will inevitably require more troops, the anti-draft activity actually accomplishes the opposite of the desires of its middle class and labor aristocrat supporters.

For this reason a section of these forces can be won for real struggle against the main source of war--imperialism headed by the U.S. This task will require the development of Marxist-Leninist leadership to expose the danger of the U.S.-S.U. alliance.

Afro-American and Puerto Rican resistance to the draft has a different base than that of whites. Those nations, oppressed by U.S. imperialism, have the right to self-determination, the right to separate from the U.S. The draft and economic pressures to volunteer are part of the national oppression of these peoples by Wall Street. U.S. imperialism uses colored to fight colored, the oppressed to fight other oppressed nations.

White revolutionaries uphold the right of the Afro-American and Puerto Rican peoples to be free from the draft as part of the right of these nations to self-determination. What is the position of the anti-draft movement on this question?

The anti-draft movement seeks to preserve the privileged position of middle class and labor aristocrat whites at the expense of the oppressed peoples. Its struggle around student deferments objectively supports white supremacy--U.S. policy of sending oppressed Blacks against oppressed Vietnamese. In its work, the anti-draft movement relies almost exclusively on bourgeois "democratic" rights limited to whites. There is no anti-draft tradition among the oppressed peoples in the U. S. Blacks do not have the same chance as Dr. Spock or middle class white protestors in the white imperialist courts. White supremacist terror restricts the development of an open pacifist movement among Afro-Americans in the Black Belt. In short, both the general direction and the tactics of this movement are opposed to the right of self-determination of which the right to no U.S. draft is a part.

Marxist-Leninists hold that the Afro-American people will win victories against the draft and genocide as they become more united in the struggle for the right to self-determination--the right to land and state power in the Black Belt.

Since Morgan, Rockefeller and the L. B. Johnson landlords of the Black Belt will never surrender their holdings voluntarily, this question must be settled mainly by the barrel of a gun. Cannot the Afro-American and Puerto Rican peoples utilize the military training offered by the draft in the fight to achieve self-determination, in the fight to end the drafting of their people?

Those anti-draft forces who camouflage their subservience to U.S. imperialism by use of Marxist-Leninist phraseology are dangerous enemies of the Afro-American, of all oppressed peoples and their allies. Because the open advocacy of non-violent peaceful transition by the CPUSA is so contrary to the daily experience of the oppressed Black and Puerto Rican peoples, U.S. imperialism has developed neo-revisionism whose main representative in the U.S. is Progressive Labor. PL can claim support from forces in China, a former semi-colonial country. It disguises its adventurism, its lack of principle, and its revisionism by claiming to be on the side of "Mao's thought": PL wants to "oppose" U. S. imperialism in Vietnam while denying that the Afro-American and Puerto Rican liberation movements are the main forces in the U.S. actually fighting U.S. imperialism and the basis for an anti-imperialist coalition in our country. PL is opposed to self-determination for Afro-Americans in the Black Belt; opposed to an independent Republic of New Africa demanded by a recent conference of Afro-Americans in Detroit.

The April, 1968 issue of PL's "revolutionary" newspaper, Challenge, contains an editorial attacking the Vietnamese Workers Party for accepting talks with U.S. imperialism. The main responsibility for the tragic step toward capitulation in Paris lies not with the VWP, but with the modern revisionists headed by the CPSU and their neo-revisionists headed by the powerful Rittenberg clique in China. PL is too modest on their own role as followers of Rittenberg and neo-revisionism. PL has contributed to the Paris talks by spreading pacifism among white forces in the U.S. and opposing armed struggle for the right of self-determination in the Black Belt. They have sabotaged the struggles of Vietnam's main allies in the U.S. the Afro-American liberation movement. In PL's theory and practice Rev. King and the black bourgeois become the main enemies of Vietnam while white anti-draft forces, objectively serving U.S. imperialism, are the main friends of Vietnam!

Not content with attacking self-determination from the "left", PL advises Afro-Americans and potential supporters among middle class college youth where PL has its main influence, to join the anti-draft movement and reject the rifle. In this way, anti-imperialist forces isolated from each other by individual acts of "refusal", will be tucked away in jails and isolated from the armed struggle for land and state power in the Black Belt which will develop as the principal support to national liberation wars. Unarmed, the Black people would be dependent on the support of the millions of whites who, according to PL, "have been aroused and gone into action against the government."

The working class and middle class of the white nation have been badly poisoned with the imperialist ideology of white chauvinism. For this reason these millions were unable and unwilling to prevent the assassination of Dr. King, unwilling and unable to prevent genocidal attacks in the past. Without a strong Marxist-Leninist Party with influence in the working class and sections of the white middle class, there is no possibility that these forces will prevent further genocidal attacks this summer.

The main hope of preventing genocide will be support from other oppressed peoples for land and power for Afro-Americans and armed self-defense by Afro-Americans.

Reuther, Meany, and other labor opportunists are going all out to attack any possibility of working class support to the Afro-American people. They never lifted a finger to support the Black garbage workers in Memphis, preparing the climate for the assassination of Dr. King. PL supported them from the "left" calling Dr. King's murder: the removal of an obstacle to Black liberation.

Victories like the Tet offensive, the increasing intensity of the Afro-American struggle are beginning to sharpen class contradictions within the U.S. The dirty game of PL, CPUSA and the labor opportunists will become more difficult. Military defeats for U.S. imperialism will begin to educate U.S. workers. Possibilities for waging struggles to win white workers in support of national liberation exist now. What is lacking is Marxist-Leninist leadership to bring the lessons home to the workers. Such leadership will develop in efforts to expose PL's "class struggle" line which unites with Reuther, Meany and U. S. imperialism in denying the right of the Afro-American people to have armed forces, and state power in the Black Belt.

Unlike the revisionist CPUSA and PL, Marxist-Leninists do not base their line on the immediate only; they do not promise the peoples easy victories in pacifist movements. They believe that peace will not come without answering U.S. imperialist violence with revolutionary violence. As long as imperialism exists there can be no peace. All-out support to the struggles of the Afro-American, Puerto Rican and all peoples oppressed by U.S. imperialism for the right of self-determination is the best step toward peace.

The exposure and smashing of the revisionist line on anti-draft struggle will be a major step toward building such a Party and armed forces.

No doubt there are honest non-Marxist forces who believe that Afro-Americans and other anti-imperialist forces would be isolated from liberation struggles while serving in the Army or National Guard. These people should learn from Malcolm X who urged white supporters of Afro-American liberation to use any opportunity to infiltrate reactionary armed organizations like the KKK. Won't Black liberation fighters be able to serve their people while draftees in the U.S. armed forces? Denial that Afro-American youth and their supporters must follow the example of Vietnamese liberation fighters who accept arms and training in the draft program of "their" comprador government, is agreement that peaceful transition will work in the U.S.

Many white forces will continue to use counter-revolutionary violence for the preservation of U.S. imperialism (the rule of the top 5%). Others, who better grasp their long range self-interest, will use revolutionary violence to help destroy U. S. imperialism. There can be no middle road. Many young people, now confused by pacifist propaganda, will come to understand the imperialist use of "democracy" and be won to the Marxist-Leninist line of struggle to destroy U.S. imperialism.

The significance of pacifist forces uniting with Hoover and Humphrey for gun control laws will not be lost. Such laws aim at taking weapons from the Black and Puerto Rican people while Gov. Maddox, J. Edgar Hoover, the KKK and the government of the DuPonts are armed to the teeth.

Our goal is to build an anti-imperialist youth movement which will include the honest forces now in the anti-draft movement. Such a movement will unite the white youth to act in the spirit of John Brown; to act in support of peoples' war by the Arab, Afro-American, Puerto Rican, Vietnamese, and all peoples oppressed by imperialism headed by "our" imperialists. We must prepare for military struggle by utilizing the training offered by the draft.

We are living in the era in which U.S. imperialism can be destroyed. Black youth has played and will play an heroic role in the struggle of their people for national liberation. White youth must struggle alongside the oppressed nations in the destruction of the main enemy of all peoples.

Let us set our sights on the destruction of U.S. Imperialism!

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