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ROCKEFELLER'S GAME PLAN:

- NEP
- NIXON IN PEKING
- MAO IN THE UN
- MURDER IN ATTICA

ATTICA

The slaughter at Attica lengthened the list of US imperialist crimes against oppressed peoples. The prisoners called for international support. The lack of response aided Rockefeller's murderous agents. His concentrates its efforts in the US oppressor white nation. We cannot fight US imperialism and white chauvinism without considering the cause of the Attica massacre. Who sides with the murderers at Attica?

The following report is our contribution toward understanding the real balance of forces in the world. Without such understanding there will be no Marxist-Leninist leadership. Without Marxist-Leninist leadership Rockefeller and his flunkies in Washington will not be stopped from intensifying genocide.

MAO'S THOUGHT

Like many members of oppressed nations around the world the prisoners at Attica were influenced by Mao's view that US imperialism is on its last legs.

"US imperialism is making desperate efforts to solve its economic problems." (Hsinhua). "Nixon is going to China carrying a white flag of surrender." (Kim Il Sung in the Pyongyang Times). "Blacks are being treated better in the US." (Chou En-lai in interview with James Reston). Statements such as these typify the reaction of Maoites and those influenced by Mao to the new tactics toward the People's Republic of China and world trade adopted by US imperialism.

Maoites base their view on their "analysis" that US imperialism has been going steadily downhill since 1945. H&S's answer involves a brief outline of the contradictions facing US imperialism in the post-war period.

H&S is not alone in linking the Nixon trip to events since 1945. The political chameleons of PL--long-time distributors of Mao's books--have recently published hundreds of pages criticizing Mao. When confronted with an

earlier example of such a switch a PL leader told us, "Don't quote our magazine; next month we may change our position."

HES believes revolutionary theory must be intellectually honest. Much of the material in the sections that follow is based on our newsletter of December, 1970.

Our views emphasize three factors as the basis for closer US-China collusion of which the new tactics are results: 1) Continued resistance by oppressed peoples to US takeover, especially Vietnam; 2) Challenge to US domination by other imperialist powers--Japan, West Germany and France--and dissention over tactics among imperialist groups within the US; 3) Destruction of the Socialist market--economic and political result of the return to capitalism in Russia and the 1966 seizure of power by the new bourgeois in China.

1945

US imperialism emerged from World War II with great productive and military strength. Even before the war ended, its postwar reactionary role was foreshadowed by A-bombs on Japan. Hiroshima and Nagasaki were but steps toward the US drive for conquest of the world.

In 1945 many oppressed peoples in Asia and Europe were armed with rifles and experience gained in the struggle against the Axis. The United Front policy developed by the Third International under the leadership of Stalin and Dimitroff was the basis for victory

over the Axis and post-war struggles against imperialism, now headed by the US. Oppressed peoples versus imperialism has been the main contradiction from 1945 through the present. It will continue to be so until resolved.

After World War II the US invaded many colonies and also seized important positions in the home economies of its defeated enemies and exhausted imperialist allies. The US came to this through the operation of the law of uneven development of capitalism.

World War II involved the existence of the Soviet Union, the leading anti-imperialist force at that time, as well as the inter-imperialist struggle. After the war the basic elements of the law of uneven development remained in operation. Stalin said this law means:

"Firstly, the fact that the world is already divided up among imperialist groups, that there are no more 'vacant', unoccupied territories in the world, and that in order to occupy new markets and sources of raw materials, in order to expand, it is necessary to seize territory from others by force.

"Secondly, the fact that the unprecedented development of technology and the increasing leveling of development of the capitalist countries have made possible and facilitated the spasmodic outstripping of some countries by others, the ousting of more powerful countries by less powerful but rapidly developing countries.

"Thirdly, the fact that the old distribution of spheres of influence among the various imperialist groups is forever coming into conflict with the new correlation of forces in the world market, and that in order to establish 'equilibrium' between the old distribution of spheres of influence and the new correlation of forces, periodic redivisions of the world by means of imperialist wars are necessary." ("Reply to Discussion," Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the ECCI, December 13, 1926. Works, Vol. 9, p. 111.)

World War II brought about a new situation where the contradiction between imperialist countries was still a major factor but secondary to the changed focal contradiction--imperialism, headed by US imperialism, versus oppressed peoples striving for national liberation. The essence of Stalin's 1926 statements is true in 1971 provided we take into account this new main contradiction.

The upsurge of national liberation struggles faced the rival imperialist countries with a bitter choice. Either allow US imperialism to come in and take part of their colonies or see them fall to the nationalist forces. The first alternative, although hard to swallow, at least left some profits for the former colonial masters. In Vietnam, France tried to stand up to the national liberation forces and ended up watching US imperialism move in anyway.

The strength of national liberation forces after World War II was not great enough to allow them to achieve self-determination. It was enough to force secondary imperialist powers to seek US assistance--leading to re-distribution of colonies without an imperialist war. Today the imperialist

rivals are stronger than in 1945 but are still some time away from an outright military challenge to US imperialism. An important secondary factor in this "peace" lies in the "Socialist camp".

SOCIALIST MARKET AFTER WORLD WAR II

After World War II the main anti-imperialist armed struggles did not directly involve the USSR. After the Korean war they did not involve the PRC. The imperialists launched their aggression mainly against smaller and weaker nations fighting for self-determination. From 1917 to 1945 the national liberation movements were major reserves for the first Socialist country. After 1945 the USSR and other nations with Communist Parties in power either had to become reserves for the national liberation struggles or eventually to become allies of imperialism.

After World War II the USSR traded with the imperialists. This trade policy resulted from a wrong attempt to apply the principle of peaceful coexistence to the new situation after World War II. Lenin and Stalin foresaw that eventually the main revolutionary struggles could be in Africa, Asia and Central and South America rather than in Europe or North America. Stalin and all his colleagues in leadership in the Marxist-Leninist movement failed to recognize that this change had in fact occurred as a result of World War II.

Stalin stated that mutual assistance among Socialist trading partners was the basic principle of the Socialist market. (Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR, 1951). Since the main contradiction no longer involved

Socialist construction directly, mutual assistance was not enough. To have maintained a revolutionary direction, such assistance should have focused on producing bullets for national liberation fighters instead of more goulash for themselves. Because it did not, Khrushchev was able to turn the Socialist market into its opposite after Stalin's death.

Russian bourgeois forces nurtured by US nuclear blackmail ended the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union in 1956. In 1956 and again in the 81-Party Statement of 1960 the CPC endorsed Khrushchev's line of peaceful co-existence. There was limited resistance to the 81-Party Statement line in the Albanian and Chinese Parties until 1966 when Maoites crushed the remnants of that resistance as they completed the counter-revolution. The "cultural revolution" of 1966 was a further development of the revisionist actions of the CPC in 1956 and 1960.

In China the proletariat never held sole power. Before 1966 China was ruled by an anti-imperialist coalition. The working class led by the CPC was a major factor but never achieved a leading role. The "cultural revolution" liquidated the CPC, putting the new bourgeoisie into power--Army officers, intellectuals and Party cadre loyal to Mao.

Although they are at the head of the world's largest country, the new Chinese bourgeoisie does not have the military and economic power to compete directly for spheres of influence with the established imperialist countries.

In a similar situation Portugal has operated under the protection of English imperialism and the English navy. The new Chinese bourgeoisie led by Maoites borrows from them and from the Chinese emperors--placing themselves under the "protection" of US imperialism.

When he was seeking complete power prior to 1966, Mao referred to US imperialism as a paper tiger. Today Mao invites Nixon to Peking. The Paper Tiger plucks the Peking Duck.

Those who claim US imperialism has not had a respite, who claim Marxist-Leninists still hold power in China blind themselves to Mao's pressure on Vietnam for negotiations which allow US troops to move out while US oil operators move in.

The new Chinese bourgeoisie serves US imperialism primarily in betrayal of national liberation. A secondary service comes in relations with Japan.

US imperialism is trying for more influence in Japan's export markets. One of the largest potential markets is China. Part of the collusion will be to oust Japan as China's number one trading partner.

To prepare for this switch Mao and Chou are issuing contradictory statements naming the USSR, Japan and the US each as the main enemy of the anti-imperialist cause. Maoites' "main foes" vary with whatever will best cover up their role at a given time. Maoites and US imperialism have been cementing their ties since the "cultural revolution". NEP and the trip merely bring this collaboration into the open.

KIM IL SUNG & THE WHITE FLAG

Kim Il Sung has not been an out-and-out Maoite. He now compares the situation in Vietnam with that in Korea in 1952. In both cases imperialist troops withdrew. Does this "prove" both were victories? In any anti-imperialist struggle where one side gains the upper hand, troop withdrawals may result. For example, in Spain in 1936 the Fascists defeated the anti-imperialist Loyalist forces; Mussolini withdrew some of his troops. Does this prove the anti-imperialist cause triumphed?

Control of territory is more important than the number of troops withdrawn. Today US and puppet troops are able to safely enter many parts of Vietnam where they could not go in 1968. Chinese leaders have assured Nixon they intend to take no action against US presence in Asia. (Pentagon Papers).

Chou En-lai has cautioned against removing US troops from southern Korea too quickly. He raises the straw man of Japanese militarism--still in embryo--to "justify" the US presence in Korea blocking Kim Il Sung's professed desire to re-unify his country.

M&S has received appeals for solidarity from the Workers Party of Korea. Our solidarity emphasizes the warning that the "friendship" and influence of Mao spells disaster for anti-imperialists.

In our April, 1969 newsletter M&S exposed the role of Maoite agents-provocateurs in Burma. With the support of editorials from Peking these agents advocated adventurist actions and used their influence to arrange the murder of Comrade Thakin Than Tin, leader of the Burmese Party. How the CIA must have welcomed Maoite assistance. Now Mao Tse-tung welcomes US puppet ruler, Ne Win, Thakin Than Tin's murderer, to China.

IMPACT OF US - CHINA ALLIANCE

The US-China detente places those countries in a temporarily strong position. The danger of genocidal attacks against oppressed peoples has never been greater.

The strength of the alliance will lead to further re-alignments among the imperialist countries. Formalizing the US-China detente opens two possible paths for US-USSR relations.

The revisionists in Moscow may join China and the US in economic attacks on Japan and on the formal NATO allies of US imperialism. If this develops it would have its source in a history of common work against national independence for oppressed peoples. A recent example is Bangla Desh.

While US and Chinese governments openly armed and encouraged Yahya Khan in genocidal attacks on the Bengali people, the SU pressured India into renouncing its intention of recognizing their government. The result--collusion with the PRC and the US against Bengal's right to independence.

Russian imperialism will not calmly allow the US and its Chinese partner to take over Russian markets in Eastern Europe. US moves toward trade with Romania--for example-- and antagonism over oil in Western Asia could push the SU toward an alliance with Japan, France or West Germany. Russia has already opened parts of Siberia to Japanese investors. For example, Russia and Japan combined could put tremendous pressure on US markets in India.

We take note then of the two possibilities: 1) Russia allies itself with China and the US against the oppressed peoples and other imperialist nations; 2) Russia unites with other imperialist nations against the USA-China alliance and against the oppressed peoples. In any event the main tasks for anti-imperialists will center on the destruction of US imperialism and liberation of oppressed peoples.

THE UNITED NATIONS

UN has received a request for support to PRC membership in the UN. The UN plays the same international role as the World Bank, NATO, SEATO, etc. It smooths the way for US investment and promotes US attempts at world hegemony. Russian revisionists seized power in 1956. Since then they have greatly aided US imperialism's use of the UN for aggression in the Congo and in W. Asia and S. Africa.

Won't Mao play much the same role in the UN? He will be far more dangerous to the anti-imperialist cause than Chiang Kai-shek.

Chiang and Mao are both members of the Han nation. Neither advocates the right of self-determination for the Taiwanese nation. Do Mao and Chiang differ over the presence of US imperialism in Asia? Over US imperialist holdings in South Vietnam? Their main difference is over which section of the Han bourgeois oppresses Taiwan and rules China.

If the people of the oppressed and formerly oppressed nations had governments which were clear and foresighted in anti-imperialist leadership, instead of leaders either openly beholden to Nixon or indirectly beholden through the influence of Mao and Brezhnev, they would walk out of the UN and set up an anti-imperialist organization.

NIXON'S NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

Like all imperialist economies the US places trade, the export of goods, subordinate to investment, the export of capital. This subordination is reflected in dollar statistics. By 1980 US overseas corporations expect sales of \$350 billion--

"more than triple the most optimistic forecasts of US exports of all products to all countries." (David Deitch, Boston Globe op. ed. p. Oct. 3, 1971).

To reap maximum profits US imperialism needs sources of cheap raw materials and markets for the end-products of those raw materials, preferably markets where US companies enjoy special privileges.

Resistance of oppressed peoples to imperialist rule and competition from imperialist rivals have placed a strain on the US economy and the US dollar. The Vietnam war is the main cause of inflation in the US. NEP is the US answer to this resistance and competition and more. It is an effort to secure greater profits from economic relations with oppressed nations and imperialist rivals. The basic NEP measures have been kicking around for years in economics journals and congressional committees. The nearing detente with China made them a reality.

In 1964, '65 and '66 US representation travelled to Tirana and Peking to meet with leaders of the CPC and PIA. On each occasion US proposed that anti-revisionist forces lead a world-wide boycott of US exports. We saw this as an effective means of aiding oppressed peoples fighting US imperialism.

Those close to Hoxha and Mao refused to support, never mind lead, a movement aimed at boycotting US exports. Even then these self-styled anti-imperialists must have been dreaming of entertaining Nixon in Peking.

The dollar's problems and NEP prove we were correct-- that Hoxha and Mao can only bow to Nixon--they cannot fight him or his class.

NEP AND THE OPPRESSED

Nixon says high profits from frozen wages will build more factories and create more jobs in the US. In reality, their main use will be investment abroad where they can return super-profits. The surcharge exempts oil and raw materials--the class of imports produced by overseas companies owned by the dominant sector of the US ruling class. The result--further weakening the feeble industries of oppressed nations and increasing dependence on the US. The following are examples of NEP's impact:

The national bourgeois in oil producing countries of W. Asia and N. Africa receives payments in fixed dollar prices. Devaluation reduces their revenues--more super-profits for Rockefeller, et al.

NEP's 10% import tax hurts the industrial export industries of oppressed nations. Increased unemployment is probable in Quebec and Mexico. (N.Y. Times Sept. 13, 1971 pp. 53-4)

The PRC is a formerly oppressed nation, turned sub-imperialist power. This special role is reflected in favored treatment by NEP. Hong Kong, chief outlet for PRC exports, expects little damage from the surcharge. (N.Y. Times, Ibid.)

Within US borders NEP hits hardest at the Afro-American and Puerto Rican nations. Puerto Rican migration to the mainland cities has slowed during inflation years. Bad as economic conditions may be in imperialist agriculture, they are worse in the cities. Largely excluded from organized labor, the relative economic position of Afro-Americans has declined since 1960 according to a recent study of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Nixon's inflation "remedy" raises prices and restricts supplies of inexpensive Japanese goods bought by Afro-Americans. The remedy intensifies the problem of inflation for Blacks, Puerto Ricans and poor whites.

NEP AND IMPERIALIST RIVALS

NEP aims at increasing US profits at the expense of other imperialist countries. In the 1960's US imperialism was forced to concentrate on Vietnam. Other imperialist countries used this opportunity to challenge US prerogatives in the world market. Among the foremost challengers was Japan. Japanese imperialism, growing economically twice as fast as the US, made inroads in US markets and used some of its profits to search for oil in SE Asia. The US, with Maoite aid, has secured a temporary stabilization of its position in SE Asia. Now with Maoite aid it moves to meet Japanese imperialism's challenge.

Almost every economist of whatever persuasion agrees that NEP is aimed at reducing the economic influence of Japan and W. Europe. The attack on Japan's exports is an attack on profits from trade which were partly invested in horning in on

US spheres of influence in Asia. Nixon's technique of dollar devaluation without changing the gold price makes Japanese and European exports less competitive while reducing the value of their dollar currency reserves. This reduces the size of their potential capital exports.

The result--more markets and more investment opportunities for US banks.

NEP AND ATTICA

Within US borders the main contradiction is between Rockefeller-DuPont-Munt-etc.--the ruling class--and the oppressed nations--the Afro-American nation and Puerto Rico. Because imperialist industry exploits the white US workers some claim there now exists an important secondary contradiction between the ruling class and the working class. Yet, with few exceptions the white middle class and working class in the US and Europe side with imperialism against oppressed nations.

Engels, Lenin and Stalin taught that capitalism in its imperialist stage bribes large numbers of workers who become a base for opportunism. Imperialist media barrage the entire working class with the propaganda of great-power and white chauvinism. Imperialism needs support from the working class at home. Because the focal contradiction in the world directly involves the oppressed peoples, the stakes are high. Great-power and white chauvinism are more deeply entrenched in the US and Western Europe than ever before.

Not one white labor union local protested the massacre at Attica.

The attitude of the white guards at Attica is typical of US union members. They supported Rockefeller against the Afro-American prisoners. Yet many white guards were mowed down at Rockefeller's orders--sacrificed to the cause of super-profits. They paid a high price for their white supremacist thinking and bribes.

The families of the dead guards still support Rockefeller's actions. How poisonous and deep-rooted is white chauvinism!

Defection of the Socialist countries and China from the anti-imperialist forces means white chauvinism will get worse. Support to oppressed peoples from US whites will be slim for some time. As bribes become fewer and defeats for US imperialism more common a section of the oppressor working class will swing to the side of oppressed peoples and uphold the long-range interest of their class.

H&S's program for fighting white supremacy emphasizes:
1) Recognizing the problem--white chauvinism is at an all-time high in the US; 2) Exposing the "price" of white supremacy--US whites who support genocidal attacks are running up a blood debt which will be collected by the national liberation forces; 3) Supporting the right of oppressed nations to self-determination.

The murders of George Jackson and the Attica prisoners were the logical result of the profits of Rockefeller banks in the Black Belt and Puerto Rico. They drive people off

the land into northern cities; jail them through white supremacist courts; murder them in prisons. There can be no real solution to the prison question without struggle for the right to self-determination--land, state power, armed forces in the Black Belt and Puerto Rico.

In our last newsletter we characterized Chou's uncritical praise of all US white youth as objective support to Calley. A reader has criticized this view as unclear.

Who bought one million records of the popular song, "Ballad of Lieutenant Calley"? Who sent thousands of letters and telegrams to Nixon protesting Calley's conviction? Was it only the ruling class? All evidence bears out our conclusion--Chou praises Calley's admirers and fails to condemn Calley's actions.

Maoite reaction to NWP continues the glorification of US whites. According to Peking Maoites, PL and Ad Hoc in Chicago, the wage freeze is being met by a great wave of anti-imperialist strikes of which the West Coast longshore strike was a shining example. Apparently the Socialist revolution is to be led by Meany, Bridges and Woodcock.

The essence of the Meany-Bridges-Woodcock position is that the oppressed peoples are the main enemy of US white workers, i.e., white chauvinism. Longshoremen on strike continued to lead war supplies for US aggression in Vietnam and Bengal. Labor leaders fear that higher-paid US workers will have to bear some of the cost of US imperialism's new tactics. When Mao endorses their

position as "anti-imperialist" without challenging their chauvinism he strengthens the hold of white supremacy over the US working class.

Mao refuses to uphold the right of the Afro-American nation in the Black Belt to self-determination. Exposing and destroying Maoism is the fourth point of HES's program for struggle against white chauvinism. It is the number one priority in building a new Marxist-Leninist movement capable of leading in the destruction of US imperialism.

CONCLUSIONS

1) NEP and Nixon's trip represent a switch to new tactics by US imperialism. The reliance on Chinese revisionism is not new. It existed prior to 1966 and then became qualitatively stronger when Mao's "cultural revolution" hoisted the white flag of surrender to US imperialism. What is new is the new temporary strength and the new brazen openness of the collusion.

2) The main goal of Nixon's new tactics is strengthening US imperialism relative to oppressed nations. An important secondary task is consolidating hegemony over Japanese and W. European imperialists.

3) Within US borders the brunt of US imperialism's offensive falls on the Afro-American and Puerto Rican peoples. The faint protest by leaders of organized labor against the wage-price freeze is an unprincipled squabble

over division of the loot from oppression. Wages and working conditions cannot be defended over a long period by pro-imperialist trade union leaders who are enemies of national liberation.

4) US-China detente raises the question of genocide as never before. Mao and his fellow neo-revisionists bear heavy blame for the atrocities already committed. Those "Marxists" who accept ideological leadership from Mao and Brezhnev are bankrupt in the struggle against US imperialism. They share responsibility for US crimes, including Attica.

5) "Marxist" leaders in state power are incapable of preventing future Atticas because they side with US imperialism against the oppressed. If they were sincere in opposing Attica, "Marxist-Leninists" in state power would call for a boycott of US goods abroad and breaking diplomatic relations with the US. They would join HAS in calling for the liquidation of the U as a tool of US imperialism.

6) Mao and Brezhnev are spreading revisionism--a disease already fatal to millions. They must be quarantined and destroyed ideologically and organizationally. This is an indispensable part of the struggle to destroy imperialism.

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