

"WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD, UNITE!!"

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## FROM SOCIALISM TO SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

### OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE BIRTH OF SOCIALISM

Each year since 1917, the international proletariat celebrates the victory of the October revolution in Russia. This marks the founding of the first workers' republic and the beginning of the epoch of socialism. Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet Union made great strides forward: the bourgeois state was smashed and a strong proletarian state was built to defend socialism from external and internal enemies; a socialist economy was built to eliminate the material basis of the classes that thrived on exploitation; and material and moral support was given to the international working classes in their struggles against capitalism.

### CAPITALISM RESTORED AND THE EMERGENCE OF SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

Since 1956, there has been a drastic change in the Soviet Union. The remnants of the old bourgeoisie and newly emerging bourgeois elements were able to seize state power and gradually transform the socialist economy into state monopoly capitalism. These class traitors have revised the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Instead of class struggle they preach class collaboration and theories of 'a state of the whole people'. Now we hear of how the bureaucratic class lives in luxury while the proletariat is exploited and repressed; we read that the Soviet Union is sending arms and mercenary troops to subvert national liberation movements and to gain military bases in Africa and other areas; we see where they are stockpiling weapons and war materials in preparation for imperialist plunder. The Soviet Union is *socialist in words and imperialist in deeds*.

### US AND USSR - ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD

Both superpowers are the main danger to the working classes and oppressed peoples of the world (see Workers' Press, V3, No 6 for a more complete analysis). Whether they are acting in *collusion*, such as trying to prevent the independence of the peoples of Angola, Eritria, or Ethiopia, or they are in fierce *contention*, with sabre rattling and war games demonstration of military might in Europe, these two imperialist powers are struggling for hegemony over the world's markets, raw materials, and countries where they can extract huge super-profits from the sweat and blood of oppressed workers and peasants.

In recent months the contention has stepped up, increasing the danger of world war. The smokescreen of *detente* cannot hide the aggressive maneuvers of nearly a million troops in Europe by the Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact countries and the US-controlled NATO forces. The failure to continue the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) allows both superpowers to scramble ahead with newer, more deadly, and more destructive weapons systems, such as the US's neutron bomb and pilotless 'buzz bomb' Cruise missile, and the Soviet Union's backfire bomber and the SS-20, a long-range multiple warhead missile. In the last issue of Workers' Press (V3,9) we elaborated other aspects of this buildup, especially how it affects the ship-building industry here in the US. We pointed out

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that while the danger of war is growing, the future is not bleak. We want to re-emphasize Mao's teaching that *either war will give rise to revolution or revolution will prevent war*. If we cannot stop the outbreak of imperialist war, then we must turn it into a civil war against our 'own' bourgeoisie, and fight to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat here in the US!

## THE HORN OF AFRICA: SUPERPOWER RIVALRY

The Red Sea region is a strategic area for both the US and the USSR. It controls the access to the Suez Canal, overlooks the main shipping lines to Europe from the Mid-East oil fields, and is itself very rich in minerals and marine wealth. Until recently, the US dominated the region, utilizing Israeli zionism to undermine the Palestinian revolution, and to train Ethiopian counter-insurgency commandos, and heavily arming the Iranian puppet regime to put down the Omani war of liberation and to act as its police force in the Arabian Gulf area. The US had established military bases at Masira Island in Oman, and in Asmara, Eritrea, as well as a massive military presence in Ethiopia to prop up their reactionary government. Since 1953, Ethiopia has received more than half of all US military aid to Africa.

The USSR began developing a foothold in the Horn with a string of military bases and 6000 advisors in Somalia in 1974. Since February of this year, they have been exploiting the split within the Ethiopian junta, and now have the upper hand, supplying the fascist (and so-called Marxist) Mengistu faction with \$600 million in military hardware, and forcing the closure of US bases. They have also introduced Cuban 'advisors' to train a peoples' militia to defend the new government. This translates as renewed efforts to crush the struggle for national liberation by the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces (EPLF) as well as the internal revolution brewing within Ethiopia.

The Somali regime of Siad Barre is now approaching the US to get arms to wage war against Ethiopia, and is receiving encouragement and money in a desperate US attempt to maintain a presence on the southern coast of the Red Sea. As the heroic Eritrean masses, led by the EPLF, near final victory (only Asmara remains in Ethiopia's tenuous control), the attempts to reverse their revolution are intensifying. Already the Soviet Union is looking to instigate a civil war within Eritrea by currying favor with different factions. In the newly independent state of Djibouti, both superpowers are vying for influence and port privileges in this tiny but strategic former French colony on the Red Sea.

What is perfectly clear behind the phoney masks of Carter's human rights approach to foreign policy and the Soviet Union's so-called 'proletarian internationalism', is the blatant attempt to subvert the national liberation struggles. Both superpowers fear the power of the people and either work to prevent revolution, or struggle with each other to dominate the economies and politics of the countries of the world. It is our



duty, as communists and advanced workers within the US, to give support to the just revolutionary struggles against imperialism and social-imperialism. We can do this best by dismantling the apparatus that oppresses us all, by building a genuine communist party of the working class that will lead us in overthrowing the US bourgeoisie.

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## RCP ON THE SPLIT IN THE WORKING CLASS

"There is a real connection, then, between imperialism and the victory of opportunism in the US labor movement. As Lenin said, 'this is the fundamental question of modern socialism' ("Imperialism and the Split in Socialism", Collected Works, V23, p105) and it is to this question that this pamphlet is addressed." (from MLC's Proletarian Revolution and the Split in the Working Class", p3)

The position and practice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (RCP) around the split in the US working class provides fertile ground for exposure of opportunism on the question. Although not an all-encompassing analysis of RCP on the split (partly due to limited experience with them), this article will look into RCP's theoretical position (based on the Programme and Constitution of the RCP,USA) and try to review some of their practical application of line and what that practice leads to.

What does the RCP say about the split in the working class, particularly about the upper stratum of the labor aristocracy:

"Within the working class there is a stratum of 'better off' workers which the bourgeoisie tries to use as a social base for spreading reformism and accommodation to the system among the masses of workers. This group of 'better off' workers is not easily defined, as they come from different industries and have different characteristics. Some have relatively high incomes, some work in highly individualized situations, some do all technical work and have relatively easier jobs. But generally they are those workers who as a group have the greatest possibility of getting out of the working class and becoming 'their own boss' in one form or another (though they are frequently pushed back into the working class)."

"This stratum of 'better off' workers must, however, be distinguished from the highly paid union officials, who act as labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. Especially with the development of the crisis the capitalists have launched sharp attacks on the working class as a whole and there has been militant response from all sections of the class." (PP 84-85)

Further, on the trade union bureaucrats:

"Following World War II the capitalists and their agents sabotaged the unions and succeeded to some degree in holding back the overall workers' movement. They built up hacks who had entrenched themselves at the top of the unions which millions of rank and file workers had built through heroic struggle and great sacrifice." (p 21)

"In this same category are the bigshot bureaucrats in the trade unions who have taken the blood-soaked bribes of the ruling class as payment for betraying the working class and have, in many cases, invested large sums and become capitalists in their own right." (p 81)

Right away there is one thing that is strikingly missing. The RCP fails to recog-

nize the connection between the split in the working class and imperialism. This error is fundamental, and can be seen in a number of ways. First and most importantly the RCP does not mention anywhere in their program that imperialism is connected to the split nor do they explain that the material basis for the bribery of the labor aristocracy is the superprofits of imperialist plunder. After reading RCP, one is left with no explanation whatsoever of how this section of the class is bought off by the capitalists. Second, the term 'better off' used by the RCP totally understates the concrete economic, political, and social benefits that this section of the class is afforded. It is a watered down term which glosses over the bribery of the upper stratum. Added to this is the inference made by the opportunists of RCP that while the bourgeoisie "tries to use (the 'better off') as a social base for spreading reformism and accomodation to the system", the capitalists may, in fact, not be successful in doing so. Without a definite statement that the upper stratum is used *to spread reformism, as the social base for opportunism, and as the principal vehicle for bourgeois ideology in the working class*, the line is bankrupt and actually spreads illusions about the class stand and revolutionary potential of this section of the working class, and leads to class collaborationist tactics within the trade unions. Third, the RCP emphasizes the differences between the trade union bureaucrats and the 'better off' workers, but ignores, or fails to recognize, the unity between them. Sure there are differences: the union bureaucrats are generally given a bigger bribe, more prestigious government positions, and in some cases have direct control of capital (making them capitalists themselves). In other words, they are more openly tied up with the capitalist system. But, are these differences primary? We think not. In fact, the primary aspect of the relation between the trade union officials and the rest of the upper stratum is one of unity, together acting as labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. The RCP does not understand, or wishes to obscure, that the higher-paid craft workers (mostly building and construction trades, craft workers of industrial unions such as UAW and URW), the better salaried clerical and technical workers serve as the solid base for the union bureaucrats, implement their plans and decisions, and in return get more of the 'goodies' for themselves at the expense of the rest of the class. The differences that do exist are quantitative, not qualitative, meaning that while the trade union bureaucrats may get a little more and better for themselves, the class stand of the entire labor aristocracy is the same. While certain individuals within the craft unions and in the rest of the upper stratum may change their class stand and become revolutionary, the trend that the labor aristocracy represents is alien to the interests of the proletariat.

Other errors in the RCP's position include: incorrect and opportunist stand on the effect of the crisis on the 'better off' workers. The RCP implies that the 'better off' workers are as hard hit as the masses of lower-paid workers ("...with the development of the crisis the capitalists have launched sharp attacks on the working class as a whole and there has been militant response from all sections of the class." p 85 Two logical conclusions can be drawn: first, that the bribery of this stratum is not a permanent thing, that it is transitory dependent on the economic condition of capitalism. This denies the planned efforts of the bourgeoisie to buy off this upper stratum, and denies the actual successful effects of the bribe on them. Second, that the upper stratum (excluding trade union bureaucrats) will fight militantly for the entire working class and become revolutionized as the crisis deepens. RCP gives no evidence, and there is very little around to give, that as the upper stratum begins to feel the effects of the crisis they will rejoin the ranks of the masses of workers. Evidence does show, however, that as the crisis effects the upper stratum, their militancy does rise, but for their narrow self-interests only (S.F. City Strike, Spring, 1976).

The theoretical position of the RCP reveals a very unscientific approach (failure to analyze the connection of imperialism with the split), a metaphysical outlook (not seeing things all-sidedly, and having a 'wishful' attitude that all workers are revolutionary rather than seeing concretely that a section of workers are reactionary) and a stone opportunist stand in the trade unions and workers' movement (tactics such as unprincipled

alliances with the trade union bureaucrats: RCP's uncritical support of Sadlowski of the USW, their failure to consistently struggle against and expose the mis-leadership provided by this section of the class, their line of 'pushing the trade unions to the left', etc.)

We will deal more with the practical application of their line on the labor aristocracy in the second part of this article. The MLC thinks that to deepen our understanding of the split in the working class, analyzing and exposing various opportunist lines and forces on the question becomes a necessary and vital task. Since a solid grasp of the split in the working class is so important in order to uphold the interests of the masses of proletarians, then serious attention must be paid to the opportunists who spread illusions about the labor aristocrats, who add their bourgeois ideology to our ranks. This can only weaken the proletariat ideologically, politically and economically by leaving the class under the influence of the labor traitors.

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## UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS: CARTER'S PLAN

Why do so many undocumented workers come to the US from Mexico? Mexico is caught in a severe economic crisis. With the devaluation of the peso, high inflation, unemployment at 40-50% of the work force and a daily wage of only \$5-7 for those who find work --these are just a few reasons why Mexican workers are forced to cross the border to earn a livelihood.

Why do these conditions exist? Imperialist domination means underdevelopment and oppression. The plunder of Mexico by the export of US capital and unequal exchange of commodities has stifled Mexico's development. One of the consequences of this underdevelopment is that the imperialists have created an enormous source of cheap labor for US agriculture and industry both inside and outside Mexico.

Carter's plan for undocumented workers includes the following points:

- (1) Permanent Status - Aliens who entered the US illegally before January 1, 1970, and have lived here since, will get permanent resident-alien status. They may bring in family members and in five years may apply for citizenship. In order to qualify for this the individual must have documented proof that he or she has lived in the US for the seven years between January 1, 1970 and January 1, 1977, and did not leave the country at any time between these dates. According to the immigration department, of the millions of undocumented workers, only about 50,000 would qualify.
- (2) Temporary Status - Undocumented workers who came into the US after January 1, 1970, but before January 1, 1977, and who register within one year after the law takes effect, will become temporary residents. This will enable them to stay and work for five years. This is the group that most of the undocumented workers will fall in to. When a worker registers, he automatically becomes ineligible to collect unemployment insurance, food stamps, welfare, and any other federal assistance program. They won't be able to bring in their families, hence they will be cut off from all family life. The position of these workers would be worse than it is now -- they would still be unable to fight against low wages, bad working conditions, speed-up, etc. But being registered, a word from the employer to the immigration department and the worker's temporary status would be revoked.
- (3) Employment Restriction - It will be against the law to employ an undocumented worker. Fines of up to \$1,000 for each individual hired could be imposed. This is included to make it seem as though employers will be fined or prosecuted for hiring undocumented workers. The capitalist, who controls the state, put these clauses in to protect them-

selves. For an employer to be fined, he must knowingly and repeatedly hire undocumented workers. The employer can get around this simply by asking for some form of identification. This will increase the harassment of Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and other Spanish-speaking people, whether they are documented or not.

(4) Countries where the most undocumented workers come from will be helped by the US to create more jobs at home. This is one of the main reasons this plan was developed. In the general crisis of capitalism, socialized production vs private ownership of the means of production and the ever-present economic crisis inherent in the capitalist system, means that US imperialism needs to expand its system, its shrinking markets. Using this, US imperialism can export capital in the form of economic aid, but in reality expand its hegemony over these countries, moving forward its never-ending push for world domination.

(5) Temporary Work - The program under which foreign workers are brought into the US to ease labor shortages, especially during harvest time, will be reviewed to make it easier to bring in such workers while still protecting the job rights of American workers. Now here's a real contradiction: Carter develops a plan to eliminate the undocumented workers because he says they're taking jobs from American workers, thus creating the high unemployment in this country; then, in the same plan, he's going to make it easier to bring foreign workers into the country to "ease the labor shortage". The real fact of the matter is the capitalist system is the cause of high unemployment. During these times of economic crisis the capitalist class tries to shift its burden to the backs of the working class, the brunt of which is felt by the most oppressed and exploited workers (such as national minorities and undocumented workers).

This plan is an all out attack on the undocumented workers by US imperialism. The Mexican workers, who are forced by US imperialism to seek a livelihood in the lowest-paid and usually undesired jobs in the US labor market, are being used as the scapegoat for US imperialism. By building national chauvinism, US imperialism is pitting American workers against Mexican workers. Imperialism tries in every way to split and divide the working class, for they know a united working class will mean the end to capitalist exploitation and oppression and the building of a socialist society. To overthrow our own bourgeoisie we must fight for the right to political secession for all nations oppressed by US imperialism; full democratic rights and equality for national minorities; and an end to all deportations of undocumented workers.

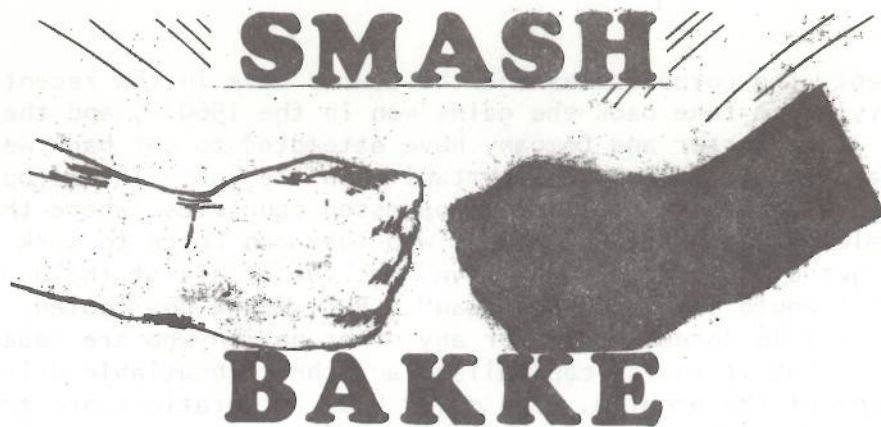
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#### SELF-CRITICISM

In the September issue of Workers's Press, our lead article, SOCIALISM IN CHINA, contained a major error in that it failed to mention the principal contradiction in socialist society -- continuing class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie-- and it failed to acknowledge the intense class struggle presently being waged within Chinese society. This struggle is evident within the Chinese Communist Party itself and is reflected in the downfall of the "gang of four" and the re-instatement of Teng Hsiao-Ping. We are currently investigating the struggle and will present a more dialectical understanding of it when completed.

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# SMASH



# BAKKE

The Bakke case and the concept of "reverse discrimination" is more than an example of racism in our society. Bakke illustrates the way in which this society is dealing with the fact that our economic system is going through a gradual but irreversible decline. The economic system in the U.S. is an advanced capitalist system. Modern industry has developed to full capacity within the U.S. Yet the capitalist class - the owners of large scale industry - must continue to expand its business operations in order to maintain and expand its rate of profit. There is only one way to accomplish this. The capitalists must invest their wealth in other countries whose markets and economies have not fully developed. The newer and less developed areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America have historically been subject to this type of exploitation. Thus, great amounts of money have been invested in these countries by U.S. businesses who, in order to protect their investments, employ military force and corruption of these nations' governments and political processes.

For example, in Iran, the CIA overthrew the government of Mossadegh, replacing it with America's great friend and despot, the fascist Shah. However, history tells us that wherever there is oppression, there is resistance, and today many nations once oppressed by the U.S. have been able to free themselves, partially or totally, from its domination. This has deprived the U.S. capitalist class of its license to plunder the nations and peoples of the world.

However, the transformation of the Soviet Union from a socialist country and friend of the world's people into a new capitalist country which calls itself socialist, yet which exploits and oppresses other countries for the profit of its own ruling elite, has created a new enemy of the people of the world. The Soviet Union is competing with the U.S. for whatever world markets are available, and this places more constraints on U.S. access to foreign markets. This has intensified the developing crisis of the U.S. economy.

Crisis? With profits soaring? The question is really: crisis for whom? The answer: minorities and working people. Corporate profits are up and so is inflation, but funding for health care, education and child care are way down. Jobs are getting scarcer and employer attacks against the unions are on the rise. It is in this context of a deteriorating economy that we get the theory of "reverse discrimination". The same capitalists who wreck havoc throughout the world will use this new theory to close down special admissions programs and thus force minority students to pay for the capitalists' crisis.

The capitalists know that as economic conditions worsen, there will be less money for education and, therefore, more competition for college and graduate school admissions. By getting rid of special admissions programs, they hope to pacify whites at the expense of minority students. Through this process, they will attempt to turn people of different races and nationalities against each other. More than anything else, the capitalists fear the unity of all races and nationalities who, instead of fighting each other, will turn their attention on the capitalists and demand quality education for all qualified students.

The government, the corporations and the courts have in the recent period been systematically trying to take back the gains won in the 1960's, and then a little more on top of that. Jimmy Carter and Company have attempted to cut back welfare payments, abortion rights and equal employment opportunity on the job. The corporations have been running away to non-union states and oppressed countries, where there are large supplies of unemployed and oppressed people who they can force to work for low wages. They then try to get U.S. workers to believe that the crisis of the U.S. economy could be solved if we all would only "Buy American". But we are not fooled, and we see that it is not the workers in Korea, Mexico or any other nation who are causing the economic crisis in the U.S., but it is the capitalists and their insatiable drive for profits that is at the root of the problem. The major U.S. corporations are trying to shift the burden to us by demanding take-away union contracts, speed-ups and wholesale layoffs. The courts have cut out huge chunks of the anti-discrimination laws that were won by the struggles for equality in this country. They have made it possible for employers to keep minority people in the worst paid, lowest level jobs. The courts have denied undocumented workers any civil rights and have upheld the constitutionality of the death penalty. They allow the capitalists to poison us on the job with all kinds of cancer causing chemicals, all this so that they can make more and more profits.

In this environment, the Bakke case developed. Egged on by an administrator of the University of California, Alan Bakke filed suit with the aim of destroying affirmative action programs at the U.C. Davis Medical School in particular and the universities throughout the country in general.

The Regent's response to the Bakke case has been to take a "dive". They are standing up taking the punches trying to look like they are fighting, but not hitting back with any force because they know they are supposed to lose the fight. The fix is in and the fixer is the corporate capitalism which runs the government, the courts and the universities in this country. The Supreme Court is really the bought-off referee. Each time a round ends, the Supreme Court comes down with something that they think looks fair, but in the end you know that we will lose in the courts.

They have already performed this act in the area of employment discrimination. The Supreme Court has systematically cut back the rights won by national minority people and women in the struggle against discrimination on the job. The Court, like the capitalist class generally, fears our unity and so promotes racism and sexism to keep the people divided. In times of economic crisis, the capitalists always look for scapegoats. In Nazi Germany it was the Jews. In the U.S. today, it is minority people, women and homosexuals whom the capitalists want to make the target of the anger we all feel. History shows us that at every turn, they try to put the burden on our backs. Bakke is no exception to this; but, history has also shown us that when the masses of people rise up and struggle against these attacks, the capitalists are forced to back down.

The bonus marches, the civil rights movement, the anti-Vietnam war movement are some examples of the victories we have scored in our struggle. Bakke will be another testing ground for them and for us. History has proven that we can stop them, as long as we are able to unite people of every race and nationality, workers and students, the unemployed and progressive people in all walks of life. We cannot rely on the courts, but must take this struggle into the streets, schools and factories of this country.

PEOPLE UNITE - DEFEAT THE BAKKE DECISION

FRUITVALE LAW COLLECTIVE