

# Unemployment, Building Trades and The Asian American Workers Struggle

## The Two-Line Struggle in Building Multinational Working Class Unity in the Democratic Rights Struggle

How best to unite the multinational working class so as to unleash the revolutionary energy of the exploited in America, so as to eradicate the capitalist drive for profit that produces imperialism throughout the world and the oppression of national minorities and the working class at home, is a question of crucial significance today.

Unemployment is sweeping the land. The fight against layoffs and the fight for jobs is expressing the ever more strident militancy of the working class as a whole. The fight of minority workers for their democratic rights, against on-the-job discrimination, exclusion from higher paid jobs and industries, for the right to unionize in marginal industries, is a fight inseparably linked to the overall proletarian struggle. The unity of the class is a fighting task for workers of all nationalities.

Spontaneous resistance to the bourgeoisie's further degrading of working and living conditions will not automatically lead to liberation from exploitative rule. The advancement of the nationally oppressed in bold struggles in the plant, at the workplace or in the communities, without the beacon of Marxist-Leninist ideology and guidance of a new communist party, will not develop a movement sufficiently powerful and united to knock away the pillars of capitalist rule.

Politicians, presidential economic advisers, and labor "leaders" jockey for position to see who can disintegrate or divert working class militancy into a maze of bourgeois reforms. Yet as the economic crisis deepens, it is becoming an ever more arduous task for bourgeois spokespersons to convince workers that unemployment can be solved under capitalism. The task of communists is more than showing how the solutions to poverty and unemployment can only be found through socialism, by using examples of socialist countries. Our pressing task today is to arm the advanced elements of the working class in capitalist societies with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, in order to lead the mass struggles towards the final onslaught of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In this article we will analyze the struggle of one particular community in New York City in its fight for jobs and against employment discrimination in the construction industry. In May of 1974, the battle at the Confucius Plaza construction site was a campaign of the predominantly immigrant, Chinese-American working class community in its fight for democratic rights. Built upon the solidarity of a multi-nation-

ally united front of workers and members of the oppressed nationalities, the struggle dealt a real blow against monopoly capital.

A history of the minority communities' conflict with the construction industry, the white chauvinist practices of the building trades unions, and the tokenistic reform measures of the government's civil rights agencies, provides a backdrop for the events in New York Chinatown. To develop a fighting strategy, we must correctly assess the class forces, the allies of the proletariat, within the national minority communities and effectively build a united front around national oppression that advances the entire class struggle. Within the working class movement, we must thoroughly smash the shackles of revisionist outlook as promoted by the "Communist" Party, U.S.A. and the blind alleyways of Trotskyism.

### UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE UNDEREMPLOYED

Workers, through their labor power, create the material wealth of society. Capitalism in its brutal exploitation of this labor power and its mad quest for maximum profits, spasmodically hits a "crisis of over-production" with its attendant recessions or depressions and massive unemployment. This is an inherent contradiction of capitalism.

A sector of the population that is periodically unemployed or under-employed and in poverty is known as the "reserve army of labor". There are barriers within the working class, such as white chauvinism, and sex discrimination, that divide the class and systemically confine certain groups to part of the "reserve army". This "marginal" labor force is used at the disposal of capitalist economic cycles as a means to suppress the wages at a minimum during both periods of "prosperity" and "recession".

The refusal of union bureaucrats to organize the unorganized, which often includes minority, women, foreign-born and unskilled workers, plays into the hands of the exploiters. As Marx stated in *Capital*, "The condemnation of one part of the working class to enforced idleness, by the overwork of the other parts, and the converse, becomes a means of enriching the individual capitalists." National minority workers disproportionately swell the ranks of the "reserve army of labor". In many cases they occupy the bottom rungs of marginal service industries and agriculture. Their more than century-old battle to organize, to eradicate discriminatory barriers, to break into main-stream industries, is a fight to break the cycle of super-exploitation and a fight in the interests of the emancipation of the working class.

## MINORITY WORKERS AND THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

In New York City during the past 11 years, the construction industry has been the target of intensified efforts to fight discrimination and provide job opportunities for thousands of skilled and unskilled minority workers. Protests against discrimination in the building trades go back to the 1920's. Since the 1960's, groups of minority construction workers such as Harlem Fight Back, the Black and Puerto Rican Coalition of Construction Workers and the Black Economic Survival group, have emerged from massive, often militant confrontations of community coalitions with the police and construction contractors at sites in the huge N.Y. ghettos. A similar eruption and clash occurred in the New York Chinese-American community in May of 1974, as hundreds participated in weeks of demonstrations at the Confucius Plaza site, a \$40 million middle income housing, school, commercial and community facilities complex. The demand for the immediate hiring of Asian-American construction workers on the site was backed up by work stoppages in construction and demonstrations at the Criminal Courthouse and City Hall. To protect the interests of the capitalists the police cracked down with the arrest of 57 Asian, Black, Puerto Rican and White workers and supporters.



### WHITE CHAUVINISM AND THE BUILDING TRADES

The building trades have long played a most reactionary role in American working class history. White chauvinism in the working class has festered under the cover of the narrow craft unionism staunchly maintained by the building trades.

The American Federation of Labor, a large proportion of which has traditionally been from the construction crafts, was founded in the 1880's. Based on narrow craft unionism, the Federation included unions that barred non-white workers by constitutional provisions or by unspoken customs

of exclusion. Early examples of this were the national unions of the Brick-layers and Carpenters. The growth of monopolies and super-exploitation increased the bribery and corruption of bureaucratic leadership, furthering white chauvinism in the labor movement. White chauvinist Samuel Gompers, the AF of L president for almost 42 years until 1924, for example, agitated against Chinese labor which helped lead to their legal and virtual exclusion from the U.S. for sixty years. Also, in 1903, when Japanese sugar beet workers led a strike against their bosses in Oxnard, California, he refused their application for membership into the Federation. The corrupt Gompers' misleadership endorsed the establishment of segregated locals, when black workers were permitted to join at all, during this period.

This class collaborationist legacy continues today. Building trades misleaders offer the "finest" portrayals of the bankrupt "labor aristocracy". George Meany the AFL-CIO president, was for many years a business agent in Plumbers Local 2 in New York City. The present Secretary of Labor, Peter Brennan, was the head of the Building and Construction Trade Council in N.Y.C., the federation which promotes bourgeois ideology among construction workers.

### BUILDING TRADES AND IMPERIALISM

The building trades misleaders, in collaboration with the imperialists, have opposed national liberation struggles abroad and the democratic rights struggles of the oppressed at home. The capitalists along with their henchmen in organized labor, have prevented the unionization of large numbers of workers, of all nationalities. Through the decades, Italians and Irish have gained dominance in locals. There has been maintained a special belligerence in keeping third world people out of the higher skilled trades. For example, in 1966 a New York State commission had ruled that Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers had "automatically excluded" blacks over the entire 78 years of its existence. This exclusion especially in the South, where a large portion of construction labor remained unorganized, furthers the exploitation of all workers.

In exchange for a "go soft" commitment from the federal government, a commitment to not cancel any contracts based on violation of minority hiring clauses of "affirmative action" plans, the building trades leaders signed up to play the part as the bulwark of "Middle America's" support for Nixon's hawkish policies in the Indochina War. Union misleadership and a few hardhats played out the scenario in the streets as anti-war demonstrators were dramatically assaulted at a Wall Street protest during the Cambodian invasion in the spring of 1970. Brennan was then president of the Building Trades Council. Recently, from his position as the Secretary of Labor, he is administering the government's end of the cheap bargain by conveniently putting on ice all the regulations which through enforcement against contractors of federally funded projects could have substantially increased minority hiring. Cheap indeed, for the trick was also played out on the majority construction workers who are back on the streets, this time jobless in rates that are double the national unemployment.

## "AFFIRMATIVE ACTION" PLANS

In the summer of 1963, amidst police violence and hundreds of arrests, the masses of the black communities took to the streets in New York, Philadelphia and other cities to protest the widespread refusal to admit them into union membership and jobs on the many large publicly financed construction projects. A variety of "affirmative action" plans to boost minority employment have been tested out.

Despite the tremendous demand for new construction in N.Y.C. which has been estimated as a \$3 billion a year industry, the increase in minority employment has been dismal. This failure has been signaled by the rise of new militant groups of construction workers such as the Black and Puerto Rican Coalition and the Black Economic Survival. Political power embodied in the militant and protracted site shut-downs by the nationally oppressed, both skilled workers and unemployed, and unskilled workers, became a convenient bandwagon for minority politicians and minority construction contractors. The absence of Marxist-Leninist leadership in these basically spontaneous struggles of unemployed minority workers reveals itself in the tendency to tail after the petty-bourgeois leadership of "community leaders", poverty pimps, minority capitalists and cultural nationalists. Nonetheless, the contradictions have sharpened. In efforts aimed at blunting the edge of class antagonism and avoiding the danger of mass insurrection, reformists such as the "liberal" ex-Mayor John Lindsay, and civil rights groups, in recent years have supported minority workers in resurrecting the more stringent "affirmative action" plans, entitled Executive Order 71. At the same time they initiated court cases against Secretary of Labor Brennan and his brainchild, the "New York Plan". How this contradiction between the city's liberals and the federal bureaucracy can be utilized will be discussed later.

All in all, the "affirmative action" and job training programs are smokescreens that serve the monopoly capitalists by maintaining the slow rate of absorption of minority and women workers into key industries. The capitalists allow in only the number whose exploitation increases the rate of profit. Entering as part of training programs, they often start as part of a cheap labor pool, channeled into insecure or technically obsolete positions, often denied union membership, only to be laid off when the program ends during the next recessionary cycle.

The exclusivity of the construction crafts coupled with, until recently, tremendous demand for new construction, has boosted unionized workers' in the North and Northeast salaries to be among the highest of industrial workers. In the South and West construction workers are not among the highest paid industrial workers and their wage is about the average of the industrial workers. Yet these labor gains of the construction workers in the North and Northeast are minimal compared to the hundreds of millions reaped by the capitalists, the mortgage bankers and major realty investors, builders and contractors and suppliers of construction materials and equipment. The pitched battles on sites, between minority workers and contractors, demonstrated that

the government-sponsored "affirmative action" plans have not materially altered any aspects of the severe minority unemployment and under-employment crisis.

## CHINESE-AMERICAN WORKERS

The Asian-American working class' demand for jobs in construction, for unionization, was a demand to break the cycle of exploitation. The Chinese in the United States have been one of the fastest growing nationalities during the past decade. Today, as in the past, Chinese immigrant workers have been among the most conspicuous victims of national oppression.

The plunder abroad, from which the imperialists derive their super-profits has traditionally destroyed the national economies of and has driven many immigrants away from their homelands. During the past century, pre-liberation China was a clear example of this imperialist plunder. Then as now monopoly capitalists observe no national boundaries when they need to draw immigrant labor into the U.S. to prop up the industries with relative thin profit margins such as farming, food services, and garment manufacture. To maximize profits here, they tightened the screws by oppressively shunting the immigrant nationalities into the poorest housing, health and educational facilities. At times, to fulfill the demand for labor to an appropriate level, the imperialists encourage petty capitalists of the immigrant communities to bring in their village cousins legally or illegally. The Chinese Six Companies and the Chinese Consolidated "Benevolent" Associations have played this role in American Chinatowns for over a century. When the economy slackens or when working class militancy is on the rise, the monopoly capitalists get their labor lackeys to point to immigrants—the scapegoat, illegals or overseas nationalities as the source of the crisis in the U.S. From the 1880's to the present the Chinese have suffered, endured, and fought back against such attacks.

The monopolists at times turn on the petty capitalists. Two years ago, Dept. of Labor officials pressed cases against 50 garment factories in N.Y. C. Chinatown based on under-payment of wages. The enforcement measures were token. We are witnessing in American Chinatowns today the harassment of Chinese restaurant owners and workers in search of "illegals" and crackdowns of a few gambling joints and the arrest of Chinese Merchant Association (tong) leaders, who have fronted for such operations. "Combatting crime" is a temporary facade. This increased concern by the state apparatus, can easily be aimed at suppressing the increased consciousness and organizing efforts of the Chinese-American community as a whole in its struggle against national oppression and against exploitation by the bourgeoisie.

There are approximately 60,000 residents in New York's Chinatown, with thousands more Chinese in the area using the community as the center of activities. Over 65% of Chinatown's workers are in garment and restaurant industries, suffering under fierce competition and denial of the right to unionize or the denial of union protection. From necessity, both parents often must work. Even so, more than 22% of the families are below "poverty" level, twice the rate of the city as a whole. As unemployment for the whole of

New York City zooms past 7.5%, the Chinese-American working class community surviving in marginal industries is particularly hard-pressed. Their organized resistance is growing as represented in the past several months in unionization drives at the Lee Mah electronics factory and in the Jung Sai (Great Chinese American Sewing Company) garment factory in San Francisco Chinatown.

#### DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS STRUGGLE

The democratic rights demands of the Confucius Plaza demonstrators were: for the immediate hiring of 40 Asian-American construction workers; for the appointment of an investigator to monitor Asian-American employment for the implementation of concrete employment goals to offset the decades of exclusion; and a call for the end to national oppression and employment discrimination in the industry. As Marxist-Leninists, we know that the struggle must not be a mere economic struggle fighting for reformist gains and lending it a "anti-racist" political character. The struggle is one crucial front in a fusion of economic and political struggle on all fronts opposing monopoly capitalism by building struggles around the fight for democratic rights, the fight against attacks on our standard of living, the fight against the menace of fascism and the fight against wars of aggression, and the support of oppressed countries around the world.

At Confucius Plaza the struggle is basically a democratic rights struggle, fighting national oppression against the monopoly capitalists and their lackeys. It is also a struggle against attacks on our standard of living. This can be seen in that the burden of the economic crisis is shifted to the working class, particularly to the sector of oppressed nationalities. In such struggle, the Asian-American minority must not only unite with workers from other oppressed nationalities, but also with the whole American working class, for in the final analysis, the question is a question of class contradiction.

Agitation, labor and community organizing, are the base of the struggle; but more crucial is putting the struggle in the context of the objective of the first step of communist organizing in advanced capitalist countries, that is, winning the vanguard of the working class ideologically and in particular, theoretically consolidating the advanced elements to form a new anti-revisionist, multi-national communist party; AND NOT advancing mass struggles in the pattern of practice-practice-practice.

#### RULING CLASS ANSWERS BY REFORM AND REPRESSION

The ruling class answers the Confucius Plaza struggle with both the tactics of reform and repression. Two token jobs were allotted to AAFEE workers at the heart of the fermentation of the demonstrations. The two workers were subsequently fired when the demonstration started, at which point the government and construction industry responded with the involvement of hundreds of police, with full back-up of horses, scooters and communication trucks. They also hired thugs to rough up protesters who penetrated the site to rally the support of the workers inside by slow-downs or stoppage of work.

As the struggle escalated, police repression also escalated with 57 arrests of Asian, Black, Puerto Rican and white workers and supporters. The state sent down its concilia-

tion experts from the Department of Justice to cool out a possible "riot" situation. Frightened by the militancy and persistence of the masses, the court was forced to drop all the "criminal" trespass charges after stalling for six weeks.



Concessions were also made in terms of an agreement to arrange slots of 24 jobs for AAFEE workers and boosting up the number of Asian-American workers in the site by 15 men in the midst of the demonstrations. It was clear that once the correct ideology of the struggle for democratic rights had been grasped by the masses, a powerful material force was set into motion. Representatives of the monopoly capitalists, government administrators and conservative Chinatown leaders were forced to contend with the rising forces among the Asian-American working class. It was also true that when the ruling class can still afford concessions due to its super-profits from the super-exploitation of the American and the international working class, it still would continue to use both reform and repression, and in general principally the former, as tactics to counter any revolutionary potential of the mass struggles. In providing leadership to these struggles, communists must educate the masses through their own experience that "economic" concessions (or pseudo-concessions) are, of course, the cheapest and most advantageous from the government's point of view, because by these means it hopes to win the confidence of the working class." (Lenin, What is to be Done) Our job, as revolutionaries, is to uphold revolution, and to lead the struggle for reforms to the revolutionary path.

#### REVOLUTION OR REFORM? WORKING CLASS OR PETTY-BOURGEOIS NATIONALIST LEADERSHIP?

During the struggle, the most essential conciliatory forces, who in their vacillation serve to maintain or strengthen bourgeois rule, include the petty-bourgeois forces of various nationalities, coming out as "community leaders", politicians, community agency directors, training program specialists, or bourgeois national "revolutionaries". They have been putting out democratic rights demands on health, education, housing, community control issues, etc., and in some cases do lead important struggles and nationalist movements that have a progressive aspect. But these demands are advanced in a reformist way, without seeing the nature of class struggle nor seeing that bourgeois democracy, i.e. bourgeois dictatorship, is itself the root of national oppression, and

not the way to uproot the oppression. These liberal petty-bourgeois nationalists, acting as apologists for the monopoly capitalists and government corruption, waver in the face of the masses who threaten to go beyond bourgeois legality, and delineate the dual role that this class plays in the mass struggles. For the revisionists who assert that through the solution of nationalization of big enterprises, welfare services, etc., the bourgeois state can truly carry out socialist policies to serve the oppressed, they take the state to be an instrument above class. Such direction would but lead whatever struggle to the dead end of bourgeois reformism and become its appendage.

The same liberal petty-bourgeois nationalists have also fallen into the trap of bourgeois reform tactics through destroying the emergence of multi-national class solidarity. They rely upon ethnic division and heighten nationalistic prejudices all in order to enhance their own petty-bourgeois respectability and material interests. Ruling class interests are further served by diverting the militant and politically aroused masses into bickering confined to narrow institutional spheres. Such concepts to build united fronts exclusively based on "ethnic constituencies", "territories", or "communities", rather than on class line and political principle, are dangerous to the struggle of the whole class, for it hinders and denies the strategy and necessity of building multi-national united fronts which correctly align class forces so as to advance the revolutionary movement. There are also "Marxists" who carry this narrow nationalist strategy which flows from their conception of party building based upon the "federation" of communists who represent their nationalities as their constituencies, rather than the fusion around a correct line, program, strategy and organization principles. Such Bundism must be totally smashed.

Proletarian ideology must prevail. The struggle must be built under the leadership of the proletariat, surging beyond the pallid concepts of "equal rights" so as "to educate the masses and organize them, enhance their political consciousness and accumulate revolutionary strength for the seizure of state power when time is ripe." ("Differences between Comrade Togliatti and Us", FLP, Peking, 1963)

"In countries where bourgeois democracy exists, the proletariat should utilize the democratic rights already won to fight for more democratic rights in order to educate, arouse and organize the masses to fight the bourgeois system of exploitation and violence."

"Leninism and Modern Revisionism", FLP, Peking, 1962

In dealing with the backward strata of the oppressed nationalities, as well as with the backward elements of the working class, communists must not sink to or pamper the level of their consciousness. Rather, as Lenin states "You must tell them the bitter truth. You must call their bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary prejudices-prejudices." The backward strata must be transformed "from the reserve of the imperialist bourgeoisie into the reserve of the revolutionary proletariat." "Despite tactical or practical alliance, ideological struggle against "reformism" in democratic struggles must not cease. Backward elements must be

exposed to the vast majority of middle and advanced elements of the national minorities.

#### UNITED FRONT AND ALL FORMS OF STRUGGLE

The Confucius Plaza struggle amply illustrated how a broad united front with various and temporary alliances can be developed for a particular campaign under the initiative and ideological organizational leadership of the proletarian forces. The front ranged from the workers from different nationalities, social workers, certain politicians, and the liberals of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA), which is a historical product of national oppression and the official policy of isolation of the U.S. government. With the CCBA, the principle of "divide one into two" was implemented, with the understanding of the united front strategy, that is, in this particular campaign uniting with or utilizing the relatively progressive aspect of the Chinatown super-structure of heads of traditional institutions, newspapers, etc., so as to strengthen the front and further isolate and expose the Kuomintang reactionaries and their lackeys. The misleaders who were against the mass mobilization to fight against national oppression are exposed. It showed that the more solid the proletarian core, the broader the front.

This principle of divide one into two also applies to organizations and institutions where the masses are to be found, even among the most reactionary mass organizations. This aspect of work has been much neglected because of our primitiveness and over-reaction to revisionist outlook which panders to "parliamentary struggle" and "peaceful transition to socialism".

As stated in the "Proposal Concerning the General Line for the International Communist Movement", "In order to lead the proletariat and working people in revolution... (we) must master all forms of struggle and must be able to substitute one form for another quickly as the conditions of struggle change. The vanguard of the proletariat will remain unconquerable in all circumstances only if it masters all forms of struggle-peaceful and armed, open and secret, legal and illegal, parliamentary struggle and mass struggle, etc. It is wrong to refuse parliamentary and other legal forms of struggle when they can be and should be used." "Reforms are a by-product of the revolution", and "The revolutionary will accept a reform in order to use it as an aid in combining legal work with illegal work, and to intensify, under its cover, the illegal work for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie." (Foundations of Leninism, Stalin) As Chairman Mao has said in principle we have to be as firm as the oak, in tactics we should be as flexible as the willow.

#### REVISIONISM'S BOURGEOIS "INTEGRATION" OR MARXISM-LENINISM?

In our application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought to the concrete conditions in the U.S. today, we must determine how the oppressed nationalities, as allies of the multinational proletariat, can be drawn into broad struggles against monopoly capitalism. And, most importantly, how the oppressed nationalities' struggles for demo-

cratic rights can be consciously built under the leadership of the proletariat to surge beyond the pallid concepts of bourgeois "equal rights." In order to achieve this, we must undertake the important ideological task of combatting and decisively defeating revisionism.

Disarming the proletariat ideologically, the revisionists, the lieutenants of the bourgeoisie, fundamentally oppose the teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought on the nature of capitalism and the capitalist state. Denying that the state under capitalism is the armed dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which oppresses the masses in order to perpetuate its bloodsucking rule, revisionism preaches pie-in-the-sky fantasies about a "peaceful transition to socialism" through "progressive" and "peaceful" reforms. Far from preparing the class ideologically for the great struggles against monopoly capital which lie ahead, the revisionists set the class up for capitulation and defeat.

Just as the revisionists sabotage the struggle against monopoly capitalism on the question of the state, they sabotage the struggle of the oppressed nationalities for democratic rights, and the struggle of the proletariat to forge the revolutionary unity of the class. The revisionists of the "C" PUSA, having liquidated the Black national question (but obviously not the national oppression of Black people) in their 1969 programme, now push their infamous "integrationist" line. Babbling like the con artists they are about how the oppressed nationalities in the U.S. can end their oppression through capitalist reform, through such idocies as breaking the "monopolists' domination of Congress and the Federal Government," (Henry Winston, Strategy for a Black Agenda), while the bourgeoisie and their standing army sit by and twiddle their thumbs, no doubt, the revisionists hope that the oppressed nationalities will halt their revolutionary movement against the bourgeoisie and pin their hopes on "peaceful transition," bourgeois reformism, and bourgeois legalism. Struggles of the masses like AAFEE show clearly the bankruptcy of the revisionist line.

The liquidation of the struggles of the oppressed nationalities is only one aspect of the "C" PUSA's revisionist poison. In the name of "class unity," the revisionists actually split the class, help the bourgeoisie to intensify the contradictions among the people, and actively assist the bourgeoisie in suppressing the people's struggle, through the strategy of "divide and rule."

Multinational working class unity can only be achieved through struggle against the monopoly capitalists. Fighting in the day to day interests of the exploited, and demanding the democratic rights of the oppressed nationalities is precisely the only way in which the proletariat forges unity of all na-

tionalties. Through their integrationist line, the revisionists try to diffuse the revolutionary energy of the oppressed nationalities. By liquidating this struggle, the revisionists actively aid the bourgeoisie in splitting the class, because without the unity forged through struggle, bourgeois chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism dominate. And this, of course, is exactly what the aim is of the bourgeoisie.

The poison of the "integrationist" line also has a different aspect to it. Integrationist strategies such as bus ing and "scattersite" housing have remained highly charged, emotional issues. While we must at all times fight for the democratic rights of the oppressed nationalities, we must also try to diffuse the antagonism between the nationalities, to render it harmless to the proletariat, as Lenin put it. In the situation of open antagonism within the class, to simply beg peevishly for "integration" without trying to divert the direction of the blows toward the real enemies, the monopoly capitalists, is to be ridiculous to the extreme and to become the tail of both the liberal bourgeoisie and of the most backward sector of the white and minority communities. By not actively combatting national oppression and bourgeois chauvinism which splits the class, the revisionists actively aid counterrevolution and a fascism which would ride into the U.S. on a racist tide, not the emancipation of the multinational proletariat from the barbaric rule of capital.

#### "C" L: TIEING THE HANDS OF THE MASSES

"C" L's counterrevolutionary "left" line is the flip-side of the "C" PUSA's ultra-right line. Pushing the line that all mass struggles (including those led by communists) should be reduced to a defensive one against fascism, "C" L liquidates the ability of the proletariat and oppressed masses to successfully struggle for concrete advances, albeit always partial and temporary, at the expense of monopoly capital. It goes so far as to deny that concessions can and are being made by the monopoly capitalists. Agents of the bourgeoisie that they are, "C" L would tie the hands of the masses behind their backs and prevent them from rising up and dealing some sledgehammer blows at capital and the government in defending their standard of living, protecting their democratic rights, and combatting the danger of world war.

Contrary to "C" L's trot line, the class struggle at home must be seen as an objective component of the offensive of the increasingly conscious international proletariat and oppressed peoples against the imperialists, who are beset with troubles and on the decline. As part of our movement toward proletarian revolution, we must link up these struggles and lead them as part of our offensive strategy, the united front against monopoly capitalism, leading to the overthrow of U.S. imperialism.

